

UNIVERSITÉ DE YAOUNDE I

FACULTE DES ARTS, LETTRES ET
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CENTRE DE RECHERCHE ET DE
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DEPARTEMENT DE SOCIOLOGIE



THE UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I

FACULTY OF ARTS, LETTERS AND
SOCIAL SCIENCES

POST GRADUATE SCHOOL FOR
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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

POLITICAL SOCIALISATION OF STUDENTS IN CAMEROON. CASE STUDY OF THE UNIVERSITIES OF YAOUNDE I AND BUEA

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**WARNING**

The University of Yaoundé I has not given any approval to the ideas or opinions raised in this work nor has this been defended in any other University. All authors cited and quotations used have been fully acknowledged. The work is considered as proper ideas of its'author.

This study is dedicated to my beloved children; NGAH EPIE Bless-wright, NGAH EPIE Roy EBONG, NGAH EPIE Kely-Bright NTUKE, NGAH EPIE Melvin EWANG, and NGAH EPIE Angle-Beltha NTUBE. I pray it serves a measuring rode in future for them to do more.

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ABSTRACT

In Cameroon, the question of citizenship is a focal point of concern in education. Civic education did not begin at recent but lack of consciousness of students. From the “Mother University” (Federal) to the 1993 reform, Higher Education developed rapidly. In addition to the structural reforms and an exponential increase in students’ population, the social mission of Cameroon’s Universities, in particular their ability to train students that are concerned about their civic responsibilities termed political socialisation is declining aware of their rights and obligations. In this perspective, the present study has as focus to understand why this disinterest thus; the place of political socialisation within Cameroonian Universities. It is a qualitative study based on structural constructivism of Bourdieu, systemic analysis of Easton and strategic analysis Crozier. Data for this qualitative study is obtained through four technics of data collection namely; direct observation with observation guide, semi directive interview through the use of interview guide, focus group and recourse to documentary analysis. The study is conducted in Buea and Yaounde. Data collected from students, teachers and some administrative staff at the Universities of Yaoundé I and Buea show that political learning is not deeply rooted in the content of University programmes. To this end, students' disinterest in political culture is partly due to this institutional or procedural vacuum. This explains the various controversial points of view of the actors who make up this educational channel. In this spirit, political learning takes various forms and applications according to historical, cultural and socio-economic contexts. This results in a disproportionate influence on the internal and external dynamics of Universities.

Key words: Political socialisation, citizenship, students, culture, civic responsibility, deviance, University of Yaoundé I, and Buea.

**RESUME**

Au Cameroun, la question du civisme est fondamentale dans l'éducation. Cette question n'est pas nouvelle, mais de nos jours on constate que les étudiants n'ont pas un comportement civique. En partant de « l'Université mère » jusqu'à la réforme de 1993, l'enseignement supérieur s'est rapidement développé. Ainsi, à côté des réformes structurelles et d'une croissance de la population étudiante, il s'observe un recul de la mission sociale des Universités camerounaises, notamment leur capacité à produire des étudiants soucieux de leurs responsabilités civiques, conscients de leurs droits, obligations et socialisés politiquement. Dans cette perspective, la présente étude a pour question de départ : quelle est la place de la socialisation politique au sein des Universités camerounaises ? Il s'agit d'une étude qualitative dont les analyses reposent sur le constructivisme structuraliste de Pierre Bourdieu, l'analyse systémique d'Easton David et l'analyse stratégique de Michel Crozier. Pour collecter les données nous avons eu recours à l'observation directe par le guide d'observation, aux entretiens par le guide d'entretien, aux Focus Group et à l'analyse documentaire. Notre étude s'est déroulée dans les villes de Yaoundé et Buea. Il ressort des données collectées auprès des étudiants, enseignants et personnels des Universités de Yaoundé I et de Buea que la culture politique n'est pas profondément enracinée dans les contenus des programmes des Universités. À cet effet, le désintérêt des étudiants pour la culture politique est en partie dû à ce vide institutionnel ou procédural. Ce qui explique allègrement les divers points de vue controversés des acteurs qui composent cette chaîne éducative. Dans cet esprit, l'étude de la socialisation politique revêt diverses formes et applications selon les contextes historiques, culturels et socioéconomiques. Toute chose qui se traduit par une influence disproportionnée de la socialisation politique des étudiants sur les dynamiques internes et externes des Universités.

Mots clefs: Socialisation politique, étudiants, culture, citoyenneté, déviance, Université de Yaoundé I, Buea et Cameroun.

LIST OF INITIALS

AEENS:	Association of Students of L'Ecole Normale Superieur
AEFALSH:	Association of Students in the Faculty of Arts, Letters of Human Sciences,
AEFAS:	Association of Students from the Faculty of Science
AEFMSB:	Association of Students of the Faculty of Medicine and Bio-Medical Science.
CEFAN:	Cameroon Education for All Networks.
CNU:	Cameroon National Union.
CNYC:	Cameroon National Youth Congress.
CPDM:	Cameroon People Democratic Movement.
DASA:	Division of Sportive and Associative Activities.
FASA:	Faculty of Arts Students Association.
ICT:	Information, Communication and Technology.
IMF:	International Monetary Fund.
IQ:	Intelligent Quotient.
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organisation.
NTC:	New Technics of Communication.
SDF:	Social Democratic Front.
UNESCO:	United Nation Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation.
UPC:	Union de Population Camerounais.

**LIST OF ACRONYMS**

PRESBY: President BIYA Youths.

SAP: Structural Adjustment Plan.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

I. Context and justification

In Cameroon, it is undoubtedly clear that the political context during and after the 1960s¹ did not favour political awakening of youths in general and scholarized in particular (la politique aux politiciens et l'école aux écoliers)². With the passage of time, in the late 1990s, the situation did not remain stagnant. This period experienced a drastic transformation of the country's political arena. The changes marked by a renewal of political discuss in favour of inclusion. This gave rise to policies and slogans as political renaissance (rebirth), the role of law liberalism, and other developments like the Green Revolution (1973), the end of one-party system and the birth of the Cameroon People Democratic Movement (CPDM) in 1985, in favour of the Cameroon National Union (CNU) and the Social Democratic Front (SDF). This also did not only give rise to the birth of Democracy and its multi-party system but as well favoured the anticipation of youths in general and scholarised youths in particular. This situation had a direct impact on the sphere of education and its content.

It is reminiscent that Cameroon was born from German protectorate and partition, after the First World War between French and English with autonomous governments and a corresponding significant influence on the political climate during the 1990s. The idea of formal education owes its origin to the European colonial background with the coming of European missionaries in Africa in general and Cameroon in particular in 1884³. The formal system of education was introduced under the auspices of the school. As a formal British and French colony⁴, the Cameroon educational system has evolved since pre- colonial time to colonial, post-colonial and to modern times of globalisation. Consequently, these evolutions have been influenced by national and international factors, actors and models. Seen as a social construct⁵, the source and inspiration of school is based on national realities and

¹ ENOW BOTELA, E., *The Advance level Pathfinder a Complete "A"Level Course*, Revised edition, Buea, Septembers, 2008.

² This statement was used for the first time in Cameroon, in the late 1950, by the High Commissioner Xavier TORRE, in a visit in evangelic collage in Libamba. By this slogan, he advised students not to give in to the political chaos of maquissa at the time. In the same light, Paul BIYA at the beginning of 1990, made allusion to this statement in order to limit the implication of students in the social movements consecrated to the political liberalisation of the country. (cf. testimony of Paul OMGBA in the document published in view of the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the National School of Administration and Magistracy (ENAM) Cameroon, December 2009).

³ LEKE TAMBO, I., *History of Educational Developments in Cameroon after Independence (1961-1999)*, first edition, U.S.A., 2000, P, 03.

⁴ DUPRAZ Yannick, *French and British colonial Legacies in Education: A Natural Experiment in Cameroon*, 2015, most recent version: <http://www.parisschoolofeconomics.eu/IMG/pdf/jobmarket-paper-dupraz-pse.pdf>.

⁵ CROZIER, M., *l'acteur et le système: les contraintes de l'action collective*, Edition du Seul, 1977, P. 86.

enriched by international experiences which are not free from constraints⁶. For Pena-Ruiz, “the traditional mission of the republican school is to instruct future citizens in autonomous judgment as well as give them solid bases for professional formation”⁷. The main goal of school is to impart knowledge for the development of critical thinking as well as train learners to be autonomous and self-reliant.

In Cameroon, there exists a multiplicity of institutions of higher learning⁸ almost fashioned to the European system of education yet with its national peculiarities. According to statistical estimates issued by the service of the Ministry of Higher Education, the number of students registered in these institutions for the academic year 2020-2021 is 420,000⁹. What makes these milieus greatly sought thus crowded and a mixture of diversities. One thing remarkable in this is how the students group themselves during free hours. Described thus as a “scientific laboratory, the University produces intellectuals with a high level of IQ (intelligent quotient) capable of reflecting critically and provoking thoughts to come out with solutions to problems and new knowledge to influence development in the society. This sector of education ought to be at the center to pivot activities in society.

Contrary to this, an examination of its relationship with other sectors proves that as opposed to its mission of being the mirror of the society nature¹⁰ – nurture¹¹ argument¹² as is the opinion of Henri (a society is made of school and not a school made of society)¹³, the school is prejudiced in its representation as far as its role in the functioning of society in general and the political sphere in particular is concerned. In carrying out these functions, the school has the prime duty to train learners to be responsible citizens in general and in the political sphere in particular. It trains students in civic responsibilities; knowledge on rights and obligations, political events and on political personalities thus permits them to socialize

⁶ DURKHEIM, E., *Les Règles de la Méthodes Sociologique*, Paris, PUF, 1937, P.5.

⁷ Pena- Ruiz, H., *Qu'est-ce que l'école?* édition Gallimard, Paris, Falio Actuel, 2005, P.17.

⁸ We have 08 state Universities spread over the territory, with a certain number of institutions of higher learning. In the early months of 2021, some other three universities are created by the Presidents of the republic His Excellency Paul Biya. These are Garoua, Bertoua among others.

⁹ Statistique disponible en ligne, <https://www.cameroon-tribune.cm/35682/fr.html/rentree-academique-2020-22021-420>

¹⁰ The nature –nurture argument seeks to explain the role of socialization on learners basing its interest on whether it is the biological inheritance or the society. Genetics says it is the gene transmission traces that determines the individual. While environmentalists on their part say it is entirely the environment. Socialists are moderate for them both the genes and the environments are a conglomerate to learners' socialization. The genes set the pace and the environment shapes it.

¹¹ Schaefer, Richard. T., *Sociology a brief introduction*, sixth edition, Mc Graw Hill, 2004, P. 81.

¹² MENDRAS Henri., *Eléments de Sociologie: l'individu et sa société*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1989, P. 17.

¹³ Gaston Bachelard. cited by Mendras, *ibid.* P. 36.

politically. This enables the transformation of political culture from one generation to another and leads to the continuity of the system.

It is on this note of relationship and continuity of a system that EASTON affirms “all systems are in permanent interaction¹⁴ with both the internal and the external environment, thus the school being the mirror and the continuity of society¹⁵. However, this permanent cohabitation is slimly oriented towards its final goal. The idea of school as a formal agent in the transmission of political culture as initiated by the United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation¹⁶ (UNESCO), enshrined in its recommendations, the promotion at every stage of education, an active civic training that will enable everyone to gain knowledge of the work of public institutions at the local, national and the international levels¹⁷. To ensure a better understanding of these political events, dates, notions as well as the continuity of the political ideologies of a system, their structures and various institutions, it is eminent for the said political culture to be passed on to the younger generation through the process of social learning termed political socialisation.

The rapid mutation of society and the urgent need to fine-tune studies, account for the need to politically socialise and engage students. Actualizing a preferred future relies on citizens who are prepared to effectively engage, education should not merely be adapted to the changing world but to proactively shape and suit democratic values. The demands of society are structured into policies and are introduced into schools programs. These vary from economic, cultural, social and political. These help the transformation of students into cultural, social, economic and political beings thus political learning via political socialisation. Law number 90/ 056 of 19 December 1990 as enacted by the Cameroon National Assembly¹⁸, brought about the institutionalisation of multiparty system and an end to one party system thus the beginning of opposition in Cameroon¹⁹. These developments as well as others like the Economic crisis which stroke the world in general from 1993 as a result of failure in most financial institutions led to a fall in the value of dollar. This directly

¹⁴ Mead, M., in her theory of interaction, centers on cooperation. In the same vein, the process of political socialisation of students is based on interaction between the various actors and their milieu.

¹⁵ COT, J.P. et MOUNIER, J. P., *pour une sociologie politique*, Tom 2, édition du Seuil, 1974, P. 66.

¹⁶ STITZLEIN Sarah M., *Using Civic Participation and Civic Reasoning to shape our Future and Education*, 2020.

¹⁷ UNESCO and the introduction of civic programs in schools. www.unesco.org> retrieved on 10 June 2021.

¹⁸. Law number 90/ 056 of 19 December 1990 as enacted by the Cameroon National Assembly,

¹⁹ MBONDJO, P. M., *Le Retour au Multipartisme au Cameroun : L'Afrique en transition ver le pluralisme politique*, Paris, Economica, 1993, P. 237.

affected France and Cameroon in particular thus leading to the fall in the value of franc CFA and the prices of raw materials like Coffee, Cocoa and timber²⁰. To remediate the situation therefore, the introduction of the Structural Adjustment plan (SAP)²¹) by the Britain woods institution and International Monetary Fund (I.M.F.)²² had adverse effects on jobs, salaries and regress in education and health funding). This influenced and conditioned political opinions (discontent with the government which gave rise to periodic strikes) of youths in general and scholarise in particular at the time. This favoured the birth and multiplicity of students' protests movements or associations. To this effect, students who before then had been enjoying the economic benefits, consciously or unconsciously took this as an opportunity to manifest their grievance. This is as a result of the fact that they failed to comprehend the financial difficulties that the State was going through. It also coupled with the fact that the State itself did not amply prepare the minds of students in a bid to avoid tension. With this misunderstanding, students went on rampage therefore the situation was exploited by political opponents. They took active part in influencing the political atmosphere and conditions in the country mostly in the domain of Higher Education.

Whatever was the case, today it has been observed that the situation is not same. Students manifest lack of consciousness, knowledge, and interest in the activities of the "cite"²³. They are more interested on what immediate gains²⁴ they can make in attending public manifestations neglecting their republican obligation. It is a common phenomenon to see students shying away from national occasions like youth and national days. Others who scramble say they are interested in the sums of money and plates of food offered after these events instead of taking it as their duty. In this light, as the highest institute of learning in the country from which much is expected of students. It is on this note of observation that the research seeks an analogical examination (understanding) on the place political socialisation today occupies in Universities in Cameroon as well as why students manifest this behavioural pattern.

²⁰ Cameroon hit by global Economic Crisis, retrieved on 30 October 2016 and Cameroon Overview of Economy, in Cameroon, retrieved on the 30 October 2016.

²² The Impact of the International Monetary Fund : Economic Stability...www. Wilson center. Org > article > the.....

²³ ONANA, J., *Initiation a la Science Politique: la notion, le mode de connaissance, le savoirs*, Paris, L'Harmattan, P. 13.

²⁴ Aanonymous source from interview conducted in the university campus of Yaoundé I and Buea with students on 18 of June and July 10TH 2021 respectively.

II- Problematic

Considered as an identification of what poses a problem,²⁵ the problematic of this research study is centred on students' lack of interest in political learning in the university. Reviews of relevant literature as well as statement of the problem are viewed in this sub section.

II.I - Literature review

Review of relevant literature constitutes a piece of excellence where the researcher of a scientific discipline treats information concerning the variables as well as important theoretical questions. On this note, there is no science without theories²⁶. The collection of valuable literature for this study centers on three principal documentary types. The first phase is based on a brief history on origin, objective and importance of school (University). This is capitalised on Laws, decrees and works of authors such as BASTIT (2007), FONLON (2013), LANTUM (1975), CARLYN²⁷, MVOGO (2014), KUM (2008), MERLE²⁸, NGWA²⁹ KRAMME, MUMA. The second type of documents capitalizes on the subject of political socialisation of youths in general and students in particular. The works of authors alluded in this perspective are DURKHEIM (1935), LAGROYE et al (2006), and NJOYA (1999). Literature on the role of school in political socialisation is also examined with the works of authors like MENTHONG (1994), MARIET (1979), MBEMBE (1985), NTUDA (1989), JOHN and OSBORN (2006), MVESSO (1998), TAMBO (2000) and BAJOIT (2000). Finally, but not the least works on the influence of school on political participation are also consulted with KHERRAZ, DURAND and WEIL (2006), just to name but these.

²⁵Olivier, L., Guy, B., et Julie, F., *L'Elaboration d'une problématique de Recherche: Source, Utiles et Méthode*, Paris, L'Harmattan, (2005), P P. 24.

²⁶ Olivier, L., Guy, B., et Julie, F., *L'Elaboration d'une problématique de Recherche: Source, Utiles et Méthode*, Paris, L'Harmattan, (2005), P. 87.

²⁷ KARLYN, Anne, D.M., << the Study of School and Social Dimensions of Education >>April 25, 2015, [www.slide shareare.net](http://www.slide.shareare.net).

²⁸ MERLE, P., *La Democratization de l'enseignement une synthese pertinent et accessible de derniers acquis de l'histoire et de la sociologie de l'education*, 3^{eme} edition, la decouverte, Paris, 2017. P. 4.

²⁹ NGWA, p., << curricula sustainability and Graduates Disponability in Cameroon >>, Lambert Academic publishing, [www.amazon .fr](http://www.amazon.fr/curricula-sustainability)>curricula-sustainability 4 marsh 2022.

II-I.I- Literature on the brief origin, objective and importance of school (University)

For the purpose of the present study, we have made allusion to a brief history on Higher education. Higher education in Cameroon originated from the basis of studies and recommendations which pointed to the fact that foreign institutions of Higher Education satisfied very “insufficiently and partially the training of qualified personnel that was needed by Cameroon”³⁰. It also became very expensive to the state viewing the urgent need of these experts thus the need for the creation of a higher institute to meet this objective led to the creation of a University termed the federal in 1962.

The Federal University of Cameroon was created on July 26, 1962 by decree No. 62/ DF/ 289 to provide Higher Education within the fundamental objectives of the nation’s plan for economic and social development³¹. Three Faculties namely the Faculty of Law and Economics, Faculty of Science and the Faculty of Letters and Social Sciences were opened all of which had developed from the national institute of University studies. The Advanced Teacher Training College became an integral part of the University by decree No. 62/ DF/ 372 of October 8, 1962³². By decree No. 73/ 326/ of June 23, 1973, the Federal University of Cameroon became the University of Yaoundé³³. Decree number 75/ 501 of April 16, 1975 signed by the then president of Cameroon (AHMADOU ALHIDJO) was a turning point in the development of formal education in Cameroon. From this date, schooling with the exception of the curricula and examination regulations of higher institutions became the responsibility of the then newly formed Cameroon Government. Consequently, the establishment of Higher Education facilities to train personnel to develop autonomous critical thinking individuals to help develop a just and democratic society became imperative. Cameroonians at the time saw schooling as the only solution to the problem of under development. Higher Education was needed to equip them with skills and capabilities for national development under the Ministry of National Education. The University of Yaoundé was later decentralized with the creation of four other Universities centres located at Ngaoundere, Douala, Dschang and Buea.

³⁰ NDONGKO, T. M., & LEKE, I. T., (2000), *Educational Development in Cameroon 1961 to 1999, Issues and perspectives*, first edition, USA, University of Regina Press, P. 126 . 132.

³¹ Decree No. 62/ DF/ 289 of July 26, creating the Federal University of Cameroon to provide Higher Education within the fundamental objectives of the nation’s plan for economic and social development.

³² Decree No. 62/ DF/ 372 of October 8, 1962, the Advanced Teacher Training College became an integral part of the University

³³ By Decree No. 73/ 326/ of June 23 1973, the Federal University of Cameroon became the University of Yaoundé.

The Universities of Ngaoundere and Buea were created to meet the bicultural nature French and English respectively in Cameroon by decree No. 92/074/of 13 April 1992. These centres were headed by director generals appointed by presidential Decrees. They were however subordinates to the chancellor of the University of Yaoundé who coordinated the activities of the centres. By Decree No. 77/ 108 of April 1977, the Universities centres were given autonomy. By this Decree, the Director General presided over the governing Boards of their respective Universities centres. They recruited their support staff and admitted their students. They were however responsible to the Minister of Higher Education for all their actions. Other universities centres were later created. Today, Cameroon counts ten states Universities and more than a hundred private ones which are charged with educating students (youths) intellectually, socially, economically and why not politically. To buttress the engagement to have youths socialised politically, the head of State has just created three other Universities as a means to promote regional balance in terms of development.

BASTIT³⁴ seeking to know what constitutes the University as a social system traces its origin from France as a community of science whose aim is knowledge acquisition. It originates from medieval founder; Pythagoreans, Aristotle and Plato. They thought of an institution for reflection and created in the middle age period towards the end of the XIII Century, as a result of the strike caused by the brutality of urban guard, professors and students obtain victory. A charter was put in place through the pope that guaranteed professors and students the privilege to study in peace in the midst of an autonomous institution with a moral person and territorial privilege amongst others. It is a capital institution that generates its proper fund which permits the management of its activities. It also appeals for funds from internal and foreign donors as well as makes partnership with other friendly Universities. It gets assistance from them intellectually, materially and financially. The University constitutes land, a certain level of administrative autonomy and capital that is both material and human. The human capital of the University can be sub divided into three groups namely: the teachers (Professors, Doctors and Support Staff), the students and the administration³⁵.

This author's reflection of what constitute the University is of capital importance as far as the present study is concern. Firstly, the author talks of the University which is the point of

³⁴ BASTIT Michel, *Que' est – Ce Que L'Université?*, Paris, L' Harmattan, 2007, P. 7 – 25.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 2007, P. 22 - 28.

concern to the present research. The University population constitute the subject for this research although he is more general in his analysis of the University. He has not limited his work to a particular University. On this ground, the present study is limited to Yaoundé I and Buea Universities. In his sub classification of what constitutes the University, the author makes mention of “human capital”. The human capital of the University constitutes the population that is the actors as the core. Human capital of the University is distinguished orderly or hierarchically from top to bottom into; the administration, the professors and Doctors, support staff and the students. Students constitute the core of interest in this research. It is noted that they manifest diverse reactions as far as political learning is concern. Some of the students do not show interest in political activities, yet others do take active part in the activities of the University. They work with lecturers in the classrooms guided by content. In the teaching and learning process, there are at the centre of their learning through the guide of their lecturers without having the final say. As well, the students work hand in globe with the University administration and form part of it. There is the presence of a student administration which helps to run the activities of the students as well as many of students’ associations. These organs of the school, serves as an intermediary between the students and the administration. Though fully integrated into the activities of the University, it has limited powers.

As far as the structural layout is concerned, the University community is divided into faculties, departments and disciplines respectively. Each discipline has its angle of attack but with the need of an inter-disciplinarity thus there is need for coordination of the diverse fields³⁶. Each of these forms a sub community well-structured and managed. Each sub community is responsible to relay information about its functioning to internal hierarchy in a bit to ensure and facilitate the smooth functioning of the whole system. Although interrelated, each sub community (faculty, department, unit and specialty) has its subjects and content. These, orient the students in their different disciplines accordingly pertaining to its goals and objectives.

The point of view of “human capital” of the University as shown here is also of key importance to the present research. Although limited to three aspects, in the present study the

³⁶ Dubar Claude, *la socialisation, Paris, Armand Colin, 2000. P. 22*. This author sees socialisation as a process of socialisation between the socializer and the socializee. In this vain, this process involves a dyed and thriad relationship which although at times not direct, helps to impact political socialisation in school.

researcher have gone beyond by involving a fourth aspect which binds the other three this is content or subject matter (curriculum and co-curriculum). Content forms the core in teaching and learning process. It involves the theory of material worth transmission to the learners. The prime motive of the University is knowledge acquisition, scientific research and development, done through the process of teaching and learning of the curriculum and co-curriculum, it brings together personnel and students under the auspices of the administration. Here, all what students learn either consciously or unconsciously³⁷ is made possible through content. It is what makes teaching and learning complete. What is learned through the process of political socialisation is spelt out in the content. Content is what shapes learning. Content on its part forms one of the bases for this study. It seeks to partly understand the basis of political content offered to students both in and out of class.

Each action of humans is guided by a reason (noble goal).³⁸ Seeking to understand the objective reason related to each action of individuals, Fonlon alludes to administration. To understand the brain behind the government governing and the people accepting to be governed, as far as politics in Africa is concerned. He talks of the noble goal. According to him, this goal ought to be natural and intrinsic. Every human being is driven by natural and intrinsic goals (benefit) which he will achieve in all activities. It is for this goal that every community accepts to be governed³⁹. Alarmed and distressed therefore at the path our Universities are taking as well as students' attitude towards University studies, he decides to question their goal (the reason why they inscribe) in his novel titled the *Nature, End and Purpose of University Study*. This author puts in question programs in the University saying they are not well structured thus "they render students half formed and superficial"⁴⁰.

In the light of this study, this author is of capital importance. His work, has not only viewed the programmes in the University (content) but has put students' attitude as well as their earns in question. Relating to the natural and intrinsic goals to be achieved in every activity therefore it can be said without fear of contradiction that some students manifest lack

³⁷ Developing and improving teacher –learner relationship has important long lasting implication for both knowledge acquisition and social development.

³⁸ NSOKIKA FONLON B., as a Cameroonian politician and educationist who work on the development of bilingualism in Cameroon. He was the first Cameroonian to receive a Ph.D., and he supervised the first Ph. D Thesis in Cameroon. His works equally in the field of education are very enriching.

³⁹ FONLON, B., « Le devoir d'Aujourd'Hui » *Revue Culturelle Camerounaise*, ABBIA, No. 29-30 – 1975, p. 10.

⁴⁰ FONLON, B., *the Nature, End and Purpose of University Studies: an Academic Testament*, Yaoundé, Edition CLE, Yaoundé, 2013, P. 8.

of interest in political learning because they do not find it intrinsically motivating. At the same time, on the other hand, those students who show interest in the activities are natural and intrinsically motivated. That is, they have discovered that this will profit them not only at present, but also in the nearest future. In this light, the learning of political culture needs to be motivating to attract students that is they should really see the benefits they will derive from learning it.

The author was motivated by the frequent revolts in America and France in those days through which the University environment became an arena of chaos due to students' furry which most of the time occurred as a result of the absence of dialogue. According to him, this made the University more of a business than a learning environment. In addressing this situation, the author tries to examine the goals (moral and spiritual) of the University by buying Newton's point of view of "influence and organization" in the establishment and running of it⁴¹. According to him, if the University does not teach a student how to think, it has not taught him anything of genuine worth thus failed wide of its mark. To prevent this therefore, its programs should not only be compulsory but should be motivating. The learning and exercise of political culture not exempted. Students should find every reason of getting themselves involved into these programmes even before they finish learning them. There should be readily available openings that will benefit them as this will help increase their interest in learning.

He also holds that the University is not a place for everybody in his words "the University is not for a mindless mob but for a talented tenth thus abides to Newman's view that the University should open its doors to those who come in search for wisdom and for this to be acquired in all its dimensions the University should seek to acquire, develop and possess in fullness, the true, the good, the beautiful and sublime in substantial being, it should try to exploit all departments of knowledge, should exhibit all diversities of intellectual power it should equally make perennial war against mindlessness and should allow no room for intrigue and expediency"⁴². A point worth contradicting here is the fact that he views a University as a place for a selected few. This is not so today this environment is a place for everybody. What matters is that specialisation should be improved in order to skill students to

⁴¹ FONLON Bernard., *ibid.* P.13.

⁴² *Ibid.* 15-16.

be masters and mistresses in specific domains. In the course of this, they should be exposed to learn some general knowledge that will braze them to the civic or political world.

Another point appealing to the present research is that the author makes mention of the choice of teachers. For teachers to impact manifold wisdom into the rising youths (students), they should be seasoned academics. Therefore, in order for the University to attain its ends, certain conditions are imperative with regards to the choice of teachers.

According to LANTUM, “the achievement of the goals of the University largely depends on the quality of academic staff whose duty is to utilize their expert knowledge to effect materialization”⁴³. To attain this, the author proposes that those responsible for the selection and recruitment of university teachers should have at their reach an objective schedule for testing and dictating academic potentials of prospective faculty⁴⁴. The quality of students and University organisation are also important. Both teachers and students should have influence. That is on the part of the teachers, they should be specialized, knowledgeable and skilled in dealing with youths. These three qualities should blend harmoniously with certain qualities of heart (a professor should be a father, a junior member of the faculty and a genuine brother to the students). While judicious firmness should be the rule, no room for the over bearing bully whose temper flares into blazes at the slightest misdemeanour who is intolerant of any opinion that is against his or her own, whose attitude to the students is that they are there to be seen not to be heard, to listen and not to speak whereas the teaching and learning process demand feedback. The idea of making students being seen and not heard as evoked by LANTUM is very crucial in this study. It is a critical error in teaching and learning which hinders feedback. According to AYIAWUNG⁴⁵, This is one of the problems affecting acquisition of political knowledge.

In the teaching and learning process, we socialise. Socialisation demands an enabling environment that is one which is peaceful and cooperative⁴⁶. In a situation where both teachers and students are well behaved⁴⁷, intelligent as well, the school (University)

⁴³ LANTUM, N. D., “An instrument of objective evaluation of university teachers” *Cameroon cultural review*, ABBIA, 1975, P. 78.

⁴⁴ MVOGO, D., *Réflexions sur la refondation de l’université Camerounaise*, éditions CLE, Yaoundé Cameroun, p. 50.

⁴⁵ AYIAWUNG, D., interview on civic content exposure in the Universities.

⁴⁶ Dubar C., *ibid*, P. 22.

⁴⁷ Rimm, Sara. K., *Improving students’ relationship with teachers to provide essential support for learning*, *University of Virginia*, article retrieved on 27 April 2017.

environment will be calm and peaceful thus conducive for learning and vis versa⁴⁸. On a constructive note, students are the core of the creation of University⁴⁹ therefore should be actively involved in its functioning. This constitutes what is termed “student power” in the University which should not be any how abused. By this power, students deserve a fair share in the University management through the representation of the students’ government, through which they can actively vent their views void of excesses. In order to understand the important role students’ play in the University, this author begins by examining who a student is.

“today, some students in the University are far from minors, some are even married men and women with heavy responsibilities, straight from such profession as teaching, administration and have exercised authority, have tasted power, some are widely read persons and some are even writers”⁵⁰.

With the advancement in age and others they ought to understand and better appreciate values from an objective note. The author is also of the opinion that students have no right to dictate to the faculty, so too are they entitled to air their opinions on what they need to be taught and how they should be taught should not be abused⁵¹. On a serious note, the present research abides to this view. To train sound mind educated students intellectually, socially, culturally and why not politically, there is need for impact from the following three key items; organisation, influence and books⁵².

As far as books are concern, Carlyle is of the belief that “a true University is a collection of books and that through it, the influence of a living breathing teacher could be done away with altogether⁵³. A living University must be accompanied with what is called the indivisible trinity (the University library, bookshop and the printing press”⁵⁴. Teachers, students, books and the organisational structure have great impact on the socialisation process

⁴⁸ [http:// www.ascd.org/publications/books/101524/chapters/](http://www.ascd.org/publications/books/101524/chapters/): developing positive teacher –learner relationship, on 10 April 2017.

⁴⁹ Bernard, F., *the nature, end and purpose of university studies :an academic testament*, edition CLE, Yaoundé Cameroon,

⁵⁰ *ALATUM, bid.* P.21.

⁵¹ MVOGO, D., *ibid*, P. 180-181.

⁵² FONLON, B., *idem*, p. 50-51.

⁵³ *Ibid*, 2013, p; 23, cited by Michael Tierney president, university college Dublin, in his introduction to Newman’s *University Sketches* Browns and Nolan, p. 31.

⁵⁴ Carlyle, B., was the manager of the first University the Museum of Alexandria began as a collection of books. To conceive of Universities today, sometimes numbering ten or hundreds of thousands termed students without books, is unthinkable. Those who institute Universities without making ample provision for books, are guilty of a serious and unpardonable crime, *ibid*, p. 23.

of students in general and political socialisation in particular. This is examined in the course of the work under the following sub headings; impact of teachers, books, parents, peers and the organisational structure on students' political socialisation. Each of these categories of relationships as far as impacting the life of students is concerned needs proper cordiality, security and dialogue. On this note, "when a boy leaves home for the University, his faith and moral are in danger both because he is in a strange world and also because he is among strangers⁵⁵". To remedy this situation which the University presents to hundred thousands of students is to create within its homes, conditions such as those or better than those he has left behind. Small communities must be set up where his better thoughts will find countenance and his good resolutions supported. Where waywardness will be restrained, his heedlessness forewarned and his prospective deviations anticipated.

Furthermore, this new environment (University) needs to be structured such that the diligence of students will equally be stimulated, guided to work to his aims, to ascertain his progress and his week's work like a labourer's measure level of progress. It is not easy for a young man or woman to determine for himself whether he or she has mastered what has been taught on this note, a careful catechetical training and a jealous scrutiny into power of expressing himself and of turning his knowledge to account, is necessary if he or she is really to profit from the able professors whom he is attending. The fact that the University is a vast institution with many students makes some to seize the opportunity to abuse the process of socialisation. Instead of pursuing the principal objective of coming to the University which is study, many take advantage to divert the attention of others from learning. The effect of peer is of great impact to learning which can be positive or negative. To view this, FONLON frowns at the way students put interest in keeping their homes (cite) instead of concentrating in studies. In order to have a good University system, there is need for a fatherly monitor and discipline to be fostered as well as the print of community life and public responsibility instilled.

In order to understand the role played by University in Cameroon, MVOGO urges us to look at its principal mission from unset (...), what have been our implication as well as our engagement in the accomplishment of the mission of this institution and its results. He also urges us to examine the institution in the light of its weaknesses of time and the

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 50.

environment⁵⁶. In line with these, the author defines the University as “the place where all branches of truth are exploited, where all the diversities of intellectual forces are manifested (...) where youths of adult age assemble from all parts of the earth to attend and acquire knowledge⁵⁷”. Contrarily to FONLON who thinks the University should be for a selected few, Mvogo holds it is a place for all where all branches of truth should be manifested. Today, looking at the principle of Universities as closed and apolitical milieu, it is glaring that this greatly side-lines certain practices thus making the practical agenda hidden. This hiddenness is manifested in content and equally presents the teaching style of some teachers. For the purpose of this study therefore, focus is to understand whether the knowledge acquired by students at this level of schooling permits them to develop a political conscience that is interest in the activities of the “cite”⁵⁸.

II.I.II- Literature on the subject of political socialisation

DURKHEIM looks at political socialisation as a methodological and authoritarian education of the young generation in view of implanting and reinforcing social solidarity. According to this author, both mechanisms for learning as well as the society in general, have a role to play in the process of inculcating socio-political and cultural norms⁵⁹. As far as the present research is concern, Durkheim is inspiring for haven evoked the fact that education aids the transmission of values as well as poses constraints. But at the same time, he is so general in his analysis. Durkheim did not limit his notion of education to a single agent talk less of levels. It is on this note that the present research is focused in the University and also to narrow the study institutionally to two Universities namely Yaoundé I and Buea.

LAGROYE see political socialisation by the school as a means of acceptance of legitimate political order. For these authors, each community puts in place processes of inculcation relative to the government in power. Political socialisation is within the frame work of the dynamic acceptance of legitimate political order⁶⁰. Done through the mechanisms of learning, interview of thoughts and attitudes common to all members of the same society creates possibility for comparison between diverse political communities, their agents of socialisation in specific culture. For this author and his group, it is necessary to

⁵⁶ MVOGO, D., *Réflexions sur l'université Camerounaise*, éditions CLE, Yaoundé, 2014, P, 11.

⁵⁷ MVOGO, D., *ibid.* P. 16.

⁵⁸ ONANA, J., *idem*, P. 13.

⁵⁹ DURKHEIM, E., *Les Règles de la méthode Sociologique*, Paris, PUF, P. 5.

⁶⁰ LAGROYE, J., et al, *Sociologie politique*, 5^e édition, Paris, Dalloz, 2006, P. 28, 409.

understand what political culture is as it is the existence of a common origin, belief, attitude, and sentiments shared by all members of a political system or society. This is reached and postulated by tenants of the systematic analysis who say that “political culture assures the cohesion and permanence of systems imposing to all and effects the drives of individuals in civic role and their response to the law⁶¹”. The author is within the frame work of what obtained prior to the advent of globalisation. Today, students are at the cross roads in respect of the wide frame of receiving political socialisation skills, beside the schools, other sectors appear to better abreast them on political knowledge which puts in question the aspect of acceptance of legitimate political order.

Moreover, political culture according to this author can be seen in two dimensions namely cognitive and affective. Political culture in its affective domain analyses the experience of relationship between groups and between members in family life, school, enterprise just to name but these, through negotiation and compromise resenting from violence. Culture in the cognitive domain, refers to the appreciation of actions of governance, their aptitudes and organisation of specialists to satisfy individual demands. Being socialised politically in this domain consists in adopting attitudes and sharing thoughts of all common groups, parties or cultures which encloses other aspects of social life. From the inspiration of the above cited author, we are motivated to understand the mechanisms used by the University to transmit political learning to students in the Universities of Yaoundé I and Buea respectively.

NJOYA carried out research on the political socialisation of youths in Cameroon. This author views political socialisation from the angle of reproduction of socio – cultural identity in Cameroon. From the perspective of conventional participation, the author precisely examined the role political parties play in political socialisation of youths⁶². This research is limited to the influence of political parties, It also generalises youths without distinction. It talked of middle age range youths without distinguishing whether scholarised or not. This author is so general in looking at political socialisation. He would have understood that youths when distinguished as to scholarised and non scholarised as far as political socialisation is concern will react differently. Also, he fails to realise that political

⁶¹ MBEMBE, A., *Les Jeunes et l'ordre politique en Afrique Noire*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1985, P. 26, 46-48.

⁶² NJOYA, M. M., *A Thesis on the Role Played by Political Parties in the political socialization of youths in Cameroon, Maîtres in Political science*, University of Yaoundé 1, 1999, p. 13.

socialisation is not limited to conventional but extends to unconventional participation. It is on this note that the present research stems to examine the role school precisely University plays in political socialisation of students precisely those in Buea and Yaoundé I.

II.I.III- Literature on role of school in political socialisation

MENTHONG is of the opinion that very little study has been carried out as far as the transmission and transformation of political learning by the school to students is concerned. He therefore looks at how the school can be considered as a witness or theatre (stage) for political change to this effect, the author says it is difficult to talk about school without linking it to the political environment in which it is found⁶³. The school is a sub system in the general system which directly reflects such in its activities. He therefore sees school as a fundamental vector for the diffusion of values of the political system. This research is based on secondary school students of both general and technical. He examines how the democratic principles of the Cameroonian society are carried out in school. This author limits his work to secondary school. He fails to realise that the notion of school is not only limited to secondary neither are democratic principles needed only at this level. He equally side-lines the fact that political culture is not only acquired formally but also at other levels of the society, precisely the family, church among others. These shall constitute our development in subsequent chapters. It is on this note that the present research is carried out at the higher level with students of the University precisely those of the University of Buea and Yaoundé I.

MARIET carried out a research on the political socialisation of children both those of the primary and secondary schools in France. With the use of a questionnaire, he distinguishes variables such as the interest of children in politics, their perception about the political world (actors and the system) and their feelings of belonging to a political community. The results of this study showed a clear distinction between children of the primary schools from those of the secondary in terms of organisation of knowledge and political feelings⁶⁴. He discovers that as from 11 to 12 years, teachers and parents assist in a rationalisation of knowledge and differentiation of political ideas of children (hierarchisation, structuration) whereas before the age of 11 years, the principal group of reference remains the

⁶³MENTHONG, H.L., « Mutations politique et champ scolaire », in SINDJOUN, L., *La Révolution Passive au Cameroun. Etat, Société et Changement*, Paris, Karthala. 1999, P. 9-66.

⁶⁴Mariet, F., pour une science politique de l'éducation, *Revue Française de Pédagogie*, No. 47 (avril, MAI et juin) 1979, P. 101-108.

national community with political groups, partisan's skills seem ignored by children. The results motivate the present research in two counts; on the first count, the results prove that at the secondary level, students are already rational in terms of reasoning. On a second note, he says at the level of the primary school, partisan skills seem ignored by children. This is not true children actively partake in the acquisition of political knowledge both consciously and unconsciously.

The fact that children are exposed to political learning from the primary to secondary levels of education motivated this research to see how this process continues at the level of the University. Also, at this level, students are more rational than the secondary school, they gain reasoning as far as political ideas are concern, this motivates the research to find out why instead of students being more motivated to develop interest in participation, at the level of the University, they develop loss of interest. Furthermore, the study is carried out in France, we on our part, conceptualise our research in Cameroon precisely in some two states Universities.

MBEMBE sees a child as a precious gift from God that needs to be handled with care. He also sees a child as a sign of continuity of not only the family but that of black Africa at large⁶⁵. Children after birth experience their first contact with the home. As time goes on, the children at the school entry age of six years are sent to a first wider community. Other than the home, when they get to school, they meet other children of diverse family backgrounds. Some of those they meet are their peers yet other older than them. The people children are exposed to in school, also come from varied socio-political backgrounds. While in school, they need to work as a common group. Socialisation in a group thus becomes eminent and moves from one level of schooling to the next up to the University which is our point of focus in this study.

At the level of the University, students are socialised politically as in other levels of schooling by their mates as well as other people and activities in the school environment⁶⁶. This author looks at school in its struggle to meet the aspirations of youths as encouraging conflict in the society. The idea of conflict has been fully employed by him. The present research shares this view yet, criticises on grounds that he bases his analysis of school

⁶⁵ MBEMBE, J. A., *Les Jeunes et L'ordre Politique en Afrique noire*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1985, p. 26-46.

⁶⁶ Students' peer influence, in High School: the Pattern and Relationship to Educational outcome, June 1997.

on conflict as if it is the principal goal. This research differs from the previous views in that the study has been limited to scholarised youths in state Universities namely; Buea and Yaoundé I instead of black Africa as a whole. Furthermore, it is understood that learners as they live and study together in school as members of that social institution, have their peculiarities. They need to study the attitude, endure and accommodate each other. Thus they do not only conflict but work together to ensure a smooth learning process. The negative effects of socialisation in school need not be ignored nor be over emphasised as it is a milieu of cooperation as well. Teachers and students who converge in the University with the objective of teaching and learning come from different socio- cultural and political backgrounds thus are bound to have differences. What matters is how these differences are managed.

NTUDA EBODE carried out a research on political socialisation of African students. He analysed the evolution of internalisation of French democratic values by African students. The study consists in measuring the level of polarisation of African students upon their entry into and exit from France. After the students are exposed to training in political skills, they were tested in order to observe whether they have evolved positively in Democratic principles in order for them to affect a change in their respective countries⁶⁷. The study is vast as is conducted on the whole of black Africa. The present research is limited to two State Universities in Cameroon, and seeks to examine how the University through the process of socialisation transmits political knowledge and how this influences their political engagement in society. The author is not far from the truth prior to our modern society which requests that learning in general and acquisition of political knowledge in particular be done in cognisance to our social realities. This explains reason why we are interested to see how political knowledge is transferred to University students in Cameroon.

JOHN and OSBORN researched on the influence of school ethos on learners citizenship attitudes in Kenya⁶⁸. In this research, two sets of learners from two contrasting schools are used. Learners of one of these two schools are exposed to and those of the other not exposed to democratic principles. With a comparative research design, the result of this study reveals that the school does influence its pupils particularly in relation to democratic

⁶⁷NTUDA EBODE, J. V., *La Socialisation Politique des Etudiants Africains, Mémoire de Master en Sciences Politiques*, 1988, P. 1-3.

⁶⁸ John P.D. and Osborn, A., “*The influence of school Ethos on pupils’ citizenship attitude*” Educational review, vol. 44, published online on 2 August 2006.

values and the rights and freedom of individuals. What is peculiar about this research is that it is conducted on two primary school pupils groups in Kenya. This shows or portrays some similarities in terms of choice effected between the author of this work and the present research which is equally focuses on two schools but this time around on Universities of Buea and Yaoundé I, harbouring matured people. The study is widely conducted by involving the entire French country in view of socialising African students. Indeed, this has a bearing with this in respect of impacting values to African students. However, we distance ourselves from the geographical presentation which is vast. Our research is conducted in Africa precisely Cameroon. Involving uniquely two state Universities to wit; Yaoundé I and Buea, and a different research design in view to show case the political socialisation of students. Furthermore, the present study does not aim at sharing students into two groups neither does it limit the research on moral values alone. Instead, it is capitalised on the role the University plays on political socialisation of students.

ANNICK and PERCHERON as cited in SHADNOLLAUD⁶⁹ are of the opinion that with age, a learner develops capacities of comprehension and of representation of the social Universe and some of its significations like politics be it in its affective or cognitive sense. These two authors carried out a study on the political socialisation of children and of adolescents on their relationship with politics in France. The study carried out in centre d' etude de la vie politique Française contemporaine (11), (C.E.V.I.P.O.F) to which they outline those hostilities vis-à-vis the political vocabulary with conflict connotations like; party, syndicate, class and ideologies is high. They discover that children do not like what resorts to disunion. Words better accepted and loved are therefore assimilated earlier. These words are those that have to do with the national community (fatherland, state, flag, Liberty, equality and fraternity) as well as the institutions themselves (democracy, citizen, election, vote and law). These researchers say the assimilation of these words takes place before the age of ten years. This study carried out on two groups of children (more and less privileged) discovered that children of more privileged groups of families better assimilate these values than those of the less privileged families who are more opened to words like protests, violence but to name a few. From his work, many conclusions stem, three types of political sub cultures as

⁶⁹ CHAGNOLLAUD, D., *Science politique : Elément de la sociologie politique*, 3^e édition, Paris, Dalloz, 2000, P. 110-113.

forming the basis of political value these are; those of the left (radicals⁷⁰), those of the right (conformists⁷¹) and a political subculture of refusal (pessimists⁷²). Each of these groups of political subcultures has its coherence, structure and its ideological preferences which separate them. They also discover that those many subcultures are aware of the existence of parties and partisans which confirm republican values and the sense of belonging to the national community.

Our approach in this research is not based on differentiating students to whether they come from lesser or more privileged backgrounds as the above authors, but instead it places every student on the same platform for studying republican values. It also seems to differ on the fact that age contributes to learners' development capacities of comprehension and of the representation of the social universe and some of its significations like politics be it in its affective or cognitive sense.

PIAGET in CHAGNOLLAUD carried out research on political socialisation of learners. The researcher seeks to know how children learn in the course of living in an environment and make their personality⁷³. The study proves that children structure or build their personalities by learning values and norms taught. Through this, they construct a representation of the world. It is discovered through this research that appropriation is not only linked to the development of age but also to the continuous training which the children acquire in the form of interiorising space and the universe of signs in which they live. Training of children according to CHAGNOLLAUD is not only linear. Two plans of socialisation are distinguished; one related to learning in the environment and the other linked to the capacity of the child's intelligence in the course of development. This author viewing political socialisation looks at the environment in general. He also evokes the idea of intelligence as a product of inborn tendency and a product of maturity. He did not limit the scope to a single idea or agent in order to be more specific therefore, the present study is limited to the University precisely Yaoundé I and Buea although the contributions of other agents are sought, it is in line with the school.

⁷⁰ In the light of this research, a radical is considered as a respondent who is so drastic, severe or serious of the fact that students should not be exposed to learning political culture via socialization.

⁷¹ In the light of the same topic, a conformist is one who abides to the fact that it is important for students to be initiated and exposed to their political learning in school via the different school activities.

⁷² As oppose to a radical, a pessimist is not quite categorical about the exposure or non-exposure of students to their political culture. In this way, pessimist is not quite clear, this may be as a result of not having adequate information about the issue or not being quite concern.

⁷³ CHAGNOLLAUD, D., *ibid.* P. 114.

TAMBO in assessing the contributions of school on learners says it promotes social and political integration, social control as well as social change⁷⁴. This author examines the contributions of school in general. He pays no attention on a particular level. School or formal education is divided into three levels namely primary, secondary and higher learning. The present research therefore seeks to examine how the higher institutes of learning politically socialises students as well as how the knowledge they acquire prepare them for political insertion in society therein and after.

BAJOIT et al maintain that the school system is mandated and controlled by the state. In a journal titled the role of school in politics, they examine the effects of school and the educational process on the political attitude and behaviour of students. In doing this, they examine the effects of the curriculum and co- curriculum exposure as well as the teachers views among others. According to them, the education of children is not a burden duty of parents alone but that of the state. The ideology of the presidential support of fifty thousand francs (50, 000) yearly to University students goes a long way to relieve families of the schooling burden of their children. In instituting this, the government's commitment in its republican public institutions of higher learning is destined to form liberal and equal citizens as well as to educate youths who are envisaged as the future nation⁷⁵. These authors in their analysis on the contributions or government's effort in education gives the importance. Accordingly, the objective of school is to train people to be what the society wishes them to become. For these authors, the school does not always meet up with the objectives of educating its citizens. It reproduces social differences as well as encourages school drop out and exclusion. To better elaborate this view, the authors draw allusion to the situation of schooling in North America and that of Belgium. In North America, it is recently that interest has been placed on school dropout. In Belgium, more emphasis is instead placed on school failure and repetition.

Also, BAJIOT in his work analyzes the notion of school as a whole talking about inscription, dropout as well as repetition. On this note, we want to evoke his idea of school but limit the scope to the University. The issue of repetition, poor performance as well as school dropout from the University, can be viewed from the stand point of parents economic,

⁷⁴ LEKE, T., *History of Educational Development in Cameroon after Independence, (1961-1999)*, Buea, P. 98-99.

⁷⁵ BAJIOT, G. DIG, MEFFE, F. JASPARD, J. M., et NOLLET, *Jeunesse et Société : La Socialisation de Jeunes dans un Monde en Mutation, Bruxelles, Boeck et Laver, 2000, P. 177 – 216.*

social and intellectual background as well as peers and students themselves. Economically, parents may not be viable to afford for their children's school needs, also they may not be literate and so see no need of following up or encouraging their children though with some exceptions, students are also the course of their failure. The government of Cameroon notwithstanding knowing the importance of schooling especially at the higher level and the fact that the education of children is not a burden duty of parents alone supports it each year. The present research draws allusion to this author's approach of examining the role the school plays in the political socialisation of students. This is limited to University students precisely, those of Yaoundé 1 and Buea Universities.

SINJOUN in viewing the impact of school in learners sees it as having cultural and ideological functions. Culturally the school inculcates political values. It deals with the acceptance of legitimate political order⁷⁶. Socialising students politically is not only important to them. It is also important to the society that they come from as well as that which they form part. In varried ways, socialising students politically leads to political integration of the school community, a sense of national identity and a feeling of belonging to a political system these, as a means of respect of civic obligation.

A synthesis of the exploratory study on literature on this topic proves that some work has been done on the notion of political socialisation of youths in France and Africa in general and on pupils and secondary school students (ANNICK et PASSERON, NTUDA, Mariet) in particular. While some authors dwell on the political socialisation of primary school pupils (BALA MBARGA, SINJOUN, John and Osbon, MBEMBE)⁷⁷, others have looked at participation at the secondary level (MENTHONG, Annick et Passeron, NTUDA, Mariet)⁷⁸. Yet others globalise youths without distinction as to whether scholarised or not as far as their involvement into political life is concern (BIYA, KHERRAZ, Lisa, Revault, Dousselin, MBEMBE, Stiftung, Christophe and EBOUSSI et al, MVESSO, Bajiot et al and TAMBO).

At the higher level, very little has been done on this perspective of which it is the highest level of education. There is need of understanding how political socialisation here

⁷⁶ Luc, S., cites BALA MBARGA, idem, p. 11.

⁷⁷ BALAMBARGA, cited by Luc SINJOUN, idem. P. 11.

⁷⁸ MENTHONG, H. L., *La Socialisation Politique par L'école au Cameroun*, Mémoire de 3^{eme} cycle présente a l'école Normale Supérieure, Yaoundé, 1994, P. 10.

obtains. For youths of today are leaders of tomorrow. Also, with the urgent need of attainment of an emerging economy by 2035, it is incumbent to actively involve youths most especially the scholarised to partake in decision making thus influence development.

The present research therefore orientates and postulates its analysis on political learning under socialisation in school precisely the University. Cognisance of the role of school in the continuity of society (mirror of society) in general and that of political learning in particular, on learners from one level of schooling to another, especially those of the highest institute of learning. It is also noticed that departments with political orientation are scarcely populated unlike other departments. Similarly, associations with political orientations are scarcely in existence. Moreover, courses with topics warranting political discourse even in other departments like history, geography and other units like political sociology have limits in exposing content. Contrarily, from the basic level students are exposed to the political culture of their country. At the University therefore, students ought to manifest a technical know-how of their political culture coupled with their advancement in age and maturity. But instead the reverse is true they shy away from their republican responsibilities. Although is noted that the school is not the only agent that educates students and that other actors may account for students like or dislike, school widens intellectual capacity and reasoning, as well as provide learners with the skills of making valid judgment. It is on these grounds that although apolitical and primordially consecrated to academic and scientific activities, the object of this research is diverted to seek an understanding on why students manifest this mind set or behavioural pattern at the level of the University.

II.II- Problem statement

Youths in general and University students in particular manifest lack of interest, consciousness and a sense of commitment in political learning. It is a duty of every youth to understand and uphold his or her civic rights. It is also incumbent on them to respect their civic obligations vis-à-vis the State for the benefits they derive from the citizenship of a specific nation, helps to strengthen the cord that bind them to it. In Cameroon, youths in general and students in particular are oriented to the farms and schools while the game of politics is for politicians (BIYA). To further compound this view, schools are rendered closed and apolitical environments. Although according to the dispositions of University Reforms of

1993⁷⁹, schools (Universities) are conceived as closed and apolitical environments, and the Yaoundé I and Buea are not exempted.

The reality on the ground shows that school in general and higher education in particular, is and remains the principal channel through which ideologies of every country are passed from one generation to another (a mirror of society). As such, though apolitical, it has its worth in the transmission of the political culture of Cameroon⁸⁰. Worth noting also is the fact that the idea of political socialisation of student is not limited to their political participation. Even at that, participation is conventional and non-conventional therefore not limited to part taking in elections. The idea of school as a formal agent in the transmission of political culture as was initiated by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) is yet to gain full applicability though prescribed that the idea of political socialisation be initiated in school at every stage of education, an active civic training that will enable everyone to gain knowledge of the work of public institutions at the local, national and the international levels is important.

Today in the University there is increasing mismatch between the energy students spend in schooling and their civic creativity. The social unrest, as well as lack of opportunities create a deep sense of unease and is questioned, if it is the source of reject and many secondary manifestations. The violence reaction or exclusion fuelled by the violent culture on media, turn to become structural, especially in the Universities. Therefore, although the only genuine form of wealth and power (potential future generational leaders in Cameroon) youths in general and students in particular manifest a high sense of neglect or reject of political consciousness. They stay away from political activities whereas even before arriving University, they have acquired knowledge and skills in Civic Education from elementary through High School which trains them on basic patriotic norms and love for Fatherland. This knowledge and that acquired in the University ought to permit them better understand, analyse and take part in political activities as well as seek modifications in decision making while preventing themselves from being used by others for political destabilisation.

⁷⁹ Article 30, of Decree no. 93/027 of 19 January 1993 bearing common dispositions for Universities in Cameroon.

⁸⁰ MVOGO, D., *idem*. P. 32.

Although conscious of the fact that, the law prevents political participation prior the age of twenty years⁸¹ as well as taking part as a student⁸². Also aware of alternative forms and the fact that hundreds of thousands of students between the ages of eighteen (18) to forty (40), workers and non-workers alike, able and those with impairments, who constitutes the youthful force and prospective leaders, crowd the corridors of Universities today in an era where youths are future leaders and the school a “mirror” of the society. It is a question therefore worth asking what the future holds if youths especially those of the University continue to manifest this behavioural pattern as well as seeking an understanding on why they do so in the following questions.

III- Research questions

The object of this study is articulated through questioning of the problematic based on a central research question and three specific ones.

III.I- General Research question

- What is the place of political socialisation of University students in Cameroon?

III.II- Specific research questions

- What is the relationship between political socialisation and University milieus in Cameroon?
- What perceptions do actors have of political socialisation of students in the University?
- What influence does students’ political socialisation have on society?

IV-Research hypotheses

The research hypotheses equally articulate around a general and three specific ones.

⁸¹Law number 2016/001 of 19 April, Relating to Electoral code, Article III, Chapter I, p. 15.

⁸² Decree n0: 93/ 027 of 19 January 1993, article 30, bearing common disposition of Universities, precisely considering the University as a close and apolitical milieu.

IV.I- General Research Hypothesis

- The concept of political socialisation of students is rooted in structural layout as well as co-curriculum programmes of the Universities.

IV.II- Specific Research Hypotheses

- There is a close link between students and political socialisation in the Universities.
- Both internal and peripheral actors share diverse views and roles as far as students' political socialisation in Universities is concerned.
- Political socialisation of students does impact the internal and external dynamism of school.

V- Research objectives

As a principal engine for study the research drive also articulates on a general research objective and three specific ones.

V.I- General Objective

The main aim of this study is to understand how University students are political socialisation in these milieus.

V.II - Specific Objectives

The study specifically aims at understanding the link between students and political socialisation in the Universities.

Actors in the field of education are enormous, so are their views therefore this study aims at identifying perceptions and roles of actors in students' political socialisation.

Finally, the study seeks to examine the influence of students' political socialisation on society.

VI- Research methodology

In sociological study, the word methodology does not only connote the quest for information but all that has to do with getting information on the subject⁸³. The methodological instruments chosen for the realisation of this piece of work corresponds to constructivism, strategic analysis of social phenomena or relations in the social field and systemic analysis. This approach has not only enabled the construction of the concept of political socialisation of students but has also helped to analyse it strategically in terms of its place and stakes in the system.

VI.I-Theoretical frame

MENDRAS affirms that there is no observation of social reality without a minimum of theory. From the onset, we do not look at what happens in the society without having some preconceived ideas, therefore sociologists like any other contemporary science constructs its object based on reality in function of hypotheses and theories⁸⁴. In the context of the present sociological study, three theories are employed namely; Systemic Analysis of David Easton, constructivism theory of BOURDIEU and the strategic analysis of CROZIER and Friedberg these are examined below;

VI.I.I- Systemic Analysis theory (David Easton)

For Roger- Gerard, the concept of a general theory of systems can be classified into three principal groups. The first is simply descriptive of the system limiting it to whether it is an opened or closed system, the second concerns the regulation and the maintenance of the systems and lastly, the third envisages their dynamism⁸⁵. Easton proposes the utilisation of this theoretical frame in the study of political socialisation. The principal question to pose is how does political socialisation contributes to the maintenance of the system to which it is exposed? The answer to this question warrants us to see if the school constitutes part of the system or if it is the system that makes up part of school. Of course, the school is a part that is a microcosm of the system therefore it is the “mirror” that is a reflection of that system. As

⁸³ Paul N'DA, *recherche et méthodologie en sciences sociales et Humaines, réussir sa thèse, son mémoire de master ou professionnel, et son article*, Paris, l'Harmattan, 2015, P. 136.

⁸⁴ MENDRAS, H., *Eléments de Sociologie*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1989, p. 8-9.

⁸⁵ SCHWARTZENBERG, R.G., *Sociologie Politique: la théorie générale des systèmes*, 5^e édition, Paris, Cedex, 1998, P. 82-87.

a description of the school as a sub system, it is worth noting that it is at the same time “opened” and “closed” as concerns certain democratic values and civic principles which are termed dysfunctional.

The University as an opened system is characterised by exchanges with both the internal and the external world as far as friendly relations are concerned. Also, as a sub system, it is well structured and organised into parts that may be considered further sub parts in the sub system (faculties, departments and units). Though different, these fractions further guarantee internal organisation through integration, interdependence and centralisation. There is constant interaction between these sub systems with their environment in terms of input and output. On the postulate of assuring regulation and maintenance of the system, the school in general and the University in particular is a closed and apolitical environment as such, the political content exposed to students reflects the feedback we get from some of them. The values and principles worthy of inculcation are transformed into policies, educational ideologies and passed onto school as content. In his input, support and output analysis, political content exposed to students in school which is principally supportive of the system (patriotic symbols, attachment to community life, civic initiation as well as cultural taboos which render inadmissible certain exigencies) leave students with no option than the restraint frame of thinking within the context. This system of parenisation develops civic qualities of citizens (students) thus their fidelity to the rules of the game and a source of maintenance of power.

Furthermore, Easton makes use of support which is very necessary in the accomplishment of inputs for the realisation of output. Most often, the government provides support in terms of finance to accompany the students in their goals. Worth noting is the fact that support as analysed in the systemic analysis can as well be suppressive or better still, oppressive. Whatever the case, the quality and quantity of support provided as inputs, conditions out put though other factors external of the milieu may influence behaviour in favour or against. This leaves them with little or no option than reproducing what they are limited to. Thus, to some, they find it not necessary or worthy of interest.

VI.I.II- Constructivism theory of Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002)

Bourdieu in line with the present study, talks of three notions of key importance “habitus” (habits formed out of learning process, content and experiences), fields (structural

layout and its influence on learning) and Capital (the worth intellectual, economic and cultural heritage to be transmitted). In his organisational theory, the author put's in use the notion of habitus which connotes the processes as well as the physical dispositions which are inculcated by learners. He uses sport metaphor "field for a game". On this note, the University is considered as a field, a social enterprise where learning goes on. The moral of learners in these organisations are influenced and determined by the content they are exposed to as well as the way they learn incorporated social capital. This is likened to the way the labourers' morals influence and determine their turn over. Therefore, moral boosting⁸⁶ is a key determinant as far as increase in production is concern (motivation)⁸⁷. In the same vain, the learning process in the University in particular needs motivation to help encourage and sustain the drive of interest in students, especially in the domain of political knowledge. This is essential for the formation of their personality in general and the political personality in particular. To conclude, habitus can also be linked to "taste". Taste economically refers to the value and value is viewed in terms of worth. In this work, taste refers to feeling or interest. The taste (Feeling) students have for political aspirations conditions their acquisition of political knowledge in the University. Here, Bourdieu's idea of cultural taste (food, clothing etc), in his work on distinction, where he links French citizens' taste to their social class position, arguing that aesthetic sensibilities are shaped by their culturally ingrained habitus.

In line with Bourdieu, it is noted that students and teachers who make up the University population come from different socio-cultural, economic and political backgrounds. These, undoubtedly have an influence on their likes and dislikes as well as choices and aspirations for the future. It is discovered that most students who affirmed having interest in the acquisition of political knowledge are those from families with solid political foundations⁸⁸. They want to grow in that same light. Others who do not see any need in learning them are some who are discouraged by their parents to have nothing to do with that because of the old memories some of them have as far as University Strike in the past is concerned. Some are also motivated or discouraged by their peer this therefore influences their behaviour. In sum, in the light of this work, habitus refers to the acquired predispositions under the influence of

⁸⁶ David Easton and his input output motivational strategy.

⁸⁷ Motivation is a drive which pushes individuals as well as conditions them to learn. It is considered as having two diamesions namely intrinsic and extrinsic. In the light of this research, both internal drive and that out of the learners when reinforced will influence a change of mentality of learners in favour of their bligations.

⁸⁸ METUKE, G., in an interview on why students manifest lack of interest in political culture notes that most of the student who develop interest in these are those from solid political backgrounds.

the school as well as all other channels which support learning in school. These predispositions are acquired in different setting in the University called fields.

Field is a place where relations of power and domination take place between classes and sub classes. It is also a place for the unequal distribution of power⁸⁹. The University is considered as a field. It is liken to stadium which permits players (students) to engage in a game through the guide of a referee (teachers). It is a milieu in which learning in general and that of political culture in particular is made possible. Its activities are complemented and or supplemented by other sub fields which are worthy of mention family, peer as well as media. The process of political socialisation is also influenced or affected by these. The influence from parents, peer and media help to orient and condition students' perceptions and contributions about the political world thus contributes in fashioning their interest or lack of interest in this vain. Analytically, field refers to University in terms of structure and function as well as other channels through which students are exposed to political culture, the structural layout and co- curricula activities.

A field is made up of a group of players who through a chain of connections and rules, relate to play a game. In the light of the topic, the University (field) is made up of a population termed players. This population is sub classified into sub groups in terms of faculties, departments, units and specialties. Each of these sub classifications is made up of players. The University population in general is classified in a hierarchical order either from bottom to top or from top to bottom beginning with the Vice chancellor and ending with the students. To ensure the smooth functioning of this institution in general the different sub groups as well as its members (parts) need to work together (interaction). The interactive process is possible through the establishment of some rules and regulations. These rules make individual members work in conformity either voluntarily or for fear of punishment⁹⁰.

Also, worth noting is social tension or conflict that can affect the process of schooling as an organisation. The fact that the more the organisation grows bigger, the more human problems increase in the same way is the University as an institution. As humans, students

⁸⁹ Braud, Philippe., *Sociologie Politique: champ social et société connexionniste*, 10^e édition, Paris, Paris Cedex, 2011, P. 120-122. Borrowed from sport and physical education, the field connotes a terien for play. In this study this word means diciplines, various channel through which political learnin is acquired.

⁹⁰ Reinforcement conditions study. It can be termed positive or negative. Positive reinforcement is voluntary while negative is conditioned by force. It is also termed punishment. The term punishment is central in teaching and learning in general and political learning in particular.

and teachers are bound at times to tie or step on each other's toes thus causing social tension collision or conflict. Also, the struggle for supremacy and subordination at times lead to tension in the University. But what is important to note here is the affective climate, the spirit of belonging and participation as well as communication between individual students, groups (faculties, departments, units, and other social and cultural groups), teachers and the administration. Through dialogue, better human relationship is established which permits resolution of problems resulting from teaching and learning interaction as well as other activities in University. When this is assured, it leads to an increase in the technical progress as well as relationship between actors. This does not only strengthen the working conditions but interest in learning in general and political learning in particular.

Important to note also, is the aspect of peculiarity of members (students or actors) even while in a group. Bourdieu's players say in a group, players acquire peculiar playing styles that make them partly different from others. This is as a result of social learning as well as personal abilities partly as a result of genetic inheritance of each player or his or her motivation. Evidently, in the context of this research, some University students are exposed to political learning through curricula and co-curricula activities. The structure of the University programmes as well as the curriculum reflects this. The University has particular faculties like that of law and political science, political science found in almost all state Universities as well as specialties in other departments like sociology where political sociology forms part, history and Geography. Here, courses warrant the exposition of students to some political notions, dates, events and figures of the country. Moreover, the University routine activities as well as the administrative layout (students' union, students' government) are some areas which can be exploited by students to enrich their habitus. Their reaction to this in terms of like or dislike or interest and lack of interest differs. While some see it as not having any importance, other look at it as a necessary prerequisite for their political insertion when they leave school thus a source of investment of cultural capital.

Capital generates and sustains an action or activity. It can be sub classified into economic, social, Human (intellectual) and or cultural capital (cultural heritage). In his concept of cultural capital⁹¹, Bourdieu refers to the collection of symbolic elements such as

⁹¹ Bourdieu identifies three sources of cultural capital: objective (works of arts, cultural books), embodied (accent, language, mannerism and preferences) and institutionalized (qualifications, educational credentials). Culturallearningalliance.org.uk > what-is...

skills, taste, materials and credentials that one acquires through being part of a particular social class. Although the author makes mention of three capitals namely; Economic, cultural and social, this work lays emphasis on cultural capital. Cultural capital is sub split into school capital (attested today by diplomas which are unequal in terms of worth), cultural capital that is the deeply ingrained habits, skills and dispositions possessed due to our life experiences especially those at school. These permit identification of taste, judgment and knowledge on what is and is learned. Lastly, we have social capital; it deals with social network of relationship⁹². Sharing similar forms of cultural capital with others creates a sense of collective identity and group position. He also points out that cultural capital is the major source of inequality. Cultural capital is divided into two. Embodied cultural capital is that which is implanted by nature for example one's accent or dialect. While objectified cultural capital for example is a luxury car. In its institutionalised form, cultural capital refers to credentials and qualifications such as degrees or titles that symbolise cultural competence and authority.

In the light of this research, cultural capital in students originates and develops from three sources same. These are inborn qualities inherited through the process of genes transformation during the period of conception, through the process of social learning in school as well as through the process of putting in to practice of course the popular adage goes "practice makes perfect". From the general perspective of capital, the learning process in the University is possible thanks to the economic capital. In terms of money, capital is needed to pay fees, buy books pay rents, feed, clothing, and afford other bills just to name but these. Where these demands are not met, the learning process may be hindered and voided.

VI.I.III- Systemic and strategic analysis of CROZIER and FRIEDBERG

The objective of this analysis is to study a social organisation that is its functions and dysfunctions. Talking about an organisation connotes the study of a group of individuals and their social dynamism. These theorists talk on the actions organised by people. In analysing the condition which makes these possible as well as the constraint it poses on them. They used the reasoning of an organisation as a system. At the same time the strategies put in place

⁹² The University is a social structure made up of a network of relationship of actors and actresses called teachers and students. In a set of dyad or triad relationship, social interaction exists between actors. In this vain, they contaminate each other.

In this vain, much of what learners learn is accidental which according to ALIYU is as a result of fear of punishment.

to ensure the smooth function of the organisation. In their book titled *L'acteur et le système*, the authors talk of “a system of concrete action” to show the necessity of a system to work in collaboration to achieve its goals. According to them, the necessity to attain the objectives of the organisation leads to conflicts as a result of the subjectivity of social actors in the system, which needs to be resolved through punishment⁹³, negotiation and alliance. To better understand this theory and relate it to the present context, we have sub divided it into two namely;

VI.I.III.I- The systemic analysis

The systemic analysis or approach seeks to understand the structure, the functioning and the dynamics of a system. It makes us to understand that even in the most mechanical types of organisation, where individuals are most constrained and with a lot of rigidity, the individual conserves a margin of maneuver, he or she has his personal ambitions and drives before being member of a group which also has its values. On this note that individual can play on the organisation to respond to his personal norms and exigencies. In the light of this study the University therefore is a social system. As such it has the way it functions. As a social system it reflects on the goals of putting in place a system, to discover the existing relationship between the objectives, goals, functions and the structures. In the same light, the University as a social system has its goals and objectives as well as the style of functioning. This explains the reason why fewer students' recourse to political socialisation which is partially taught in the University. From the systemic perspective of reasoning, these authors postulate that a system is a group constituted as a field, where the different elements (parts) are coordinated interdependently (interaction).

In the same light, the University population made up of students and teachers as well as the support staff is sub divided into different faculties, departments and units. The authors of this theory affirm the interdependence of elements that is the behaviour of individuals creates the effects on the system as a result of interaction. Within each sub classification as well as between them, there is interaction. These groups work hand in glove to ensure the smooth functioning of the whole University. They are interdependent. In the University system, there are common courses that are offered by students of all the departments. These courses are

⁹³ ALIYU, S. O., Socialization processes, social studies for effective citizenship, Kano, Kano- Zaria social studies collection centre, 2004, p. 123.

popularly known as “common courses” these courses show a clear indication of interrelationship and connection as far as different departments are concern. It clearly shows that no single department can pretend to be distinctively on its own. There is bound to be cooperation between the teachers as well as students of one discipline to another.⁹⁴ This enables all students to have a common view in this regard.

Also, worth noting as far as cooperation in a social system is concern is the fact that there are bound to be individual difference. The difference might help to slow down the attainment of the system’s objective as well as may help to bring down the organisation. For fear of this, differences need to be settled for the interest of the organisation. According to the theoreticians, differences need to be settled to avoid distortion in the system. This therefore necessitates the completion of the analysis of the system with that of strategies⁹⁵. Strategies need to be put in place to combat disorder. The systemic causality consists in considering effects and causes as being interdependent within the system. From the look of things, the University can be viewed therefore as a system. As such its structure, functioning and dynamics is sought through this approach. Through this analysis, the goals as well as the objectives of these institutions are investigated and the variation in the behaviour of students as far as political socialisation is concerned. Also, through the help of this analysis, it is deduced that the University as an institution is not only made of different parts that is the various faculties, departments, and specialties but also of a population at each level.

The students and the teachers as well as the administrative staff of the University come from different socio-cultural, economic and political backgrounds. This does not only make these members first seen as individuals in terms of variations, but also influence their way of thinking and doing things. It also influences how they relate with each other as individuals or as sub groups in the entire grouping. This can be evident in the fact that students who are exposed to the same learning environment, same content, and same instructors still do not perceive or analyse things in the same way. This is partly the reason why in terms of students’ interest in political learning some have and take active part while others do not.

⁹⁴ Classroom peer relationship and behavioural engagement in elementary school: the role of social network equity <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pub/media/24081319> retrived on 27- 4 – 2018.

⁹⁵ CROZIER, M., et Freiberg, E., *L’acteur et le système, les contraintes de l’action collective*, Edition du Seuil, 1977. P. 197-198.

On the other hand, interest does not only come externally that is either from parents or from the school in terms of content, teachers, friends and, or all other things around us. Intrinsic that is internal motivation which comes from within the learner is a powerful drive to learning. Students who have that internal drive which pushes them to work are more conscious than those who are motivated externally. Take for instance a University student who has that internal drive of becoming an important political figure in future will do every thing possible to develop interest in learning (manifest and latent functions) all what will enable him or her achieve that dream than the one who sees no reason but is being forced to do so. In most cases, it is at this point that truancy sets in since the student knows that the parents are doing every thing within their capacity to see him succeed in their ambition not his, he will also do every thing within his capacity to trick them so as to gain what has been promised.

Also, while some get involve in tricks, others are actually pushed to work because of what has been promised them and end up liking it. It is also important to evoke the fact that in the teaching and learning process, there are huddles. The school in general and the University in particular is not free from constraints (obstacles) says Durkheim, that hinder the smooth functioning of the process. These obstacles or constraints are at time posed by the learners themselves, the teachers as well as the administration and the environment. What ever be the case, a lot of strategies have been previewed and put in place in the school to manage situations.

VI.I.III.II- The strategic analysis

In his novel titled *Les phénomènes bureaucratiques*, Crozier puts in lamp light empirical research that influenced his analysis. Influence by Max Weber the American functionalist and organisational scientist, the author of the strategic analysis seeks to overcome the theoretical imperfection of Weber, criticised the “absolute superiority of the hierarchical model of regulation and bureaucracy in terms of its efficiency”⁹⁶. According to this model, hierarchy is final that is, it is all knowing and ever correct for this reason it should be responsible in taking every decision as well as doing every thing. He also criticise the administrative “blockage” in the French society due to the structure of authority, of

⁹⁶ CROZIER, M., *Les phénomènes bureaucratiques*, here the author opposes absolute bureaucracy and seeks a model based on cooperation, participation and rationality. Here the workers in the organisation have individual margin of liberty which make them unpredictable thus a minimal control on the organization.

centralisation and regulation which characterised it thus not permit profound change. Crozier therefore seeks to put in place an organisational structure based on “cooperation” and “participation” as well as “rationalisation”.

In the light of this study, Crozier’ organisational model on merge of liberty holds, students are not only considered as students but as human beings with rights. That is why in the teaching and learning process, University students are placed at the centre of their own learning. It is a give and take process (exchange). Students are not considered as empty vessels but as those full with knowledge⁹⁷. What the teachers do is to serve as facilitators to bring this material out of the students. Most often than not, students are shared into groups and given topics to prepare and expose in class. At this particular time, they take the role of the teacher to teach the rest of the students on those topics but without forgetting the relationship of power which also exists at this level. The latter monitors and moderates the exercise.

Interested in organisational change, the author studies how rational individuals behave characterised by the relationship of power (distinguished into technical know how and hierarchical power). He proposes the analysis of organisational phenomena from a double perspective that is individual (merge of liberty) and collective (whole)⁹⁸. For this author, the individual is an autonomous being who has a constraint liberty by incertitude surrounding the actions of its partners as well as his shortcomings on the effects of the system endangered by the multitude of links structured on the social space. Crozier’s analysis is made up of three powerful concepts namely incertitude, a system of action and relationship of power. At the same time the author puts in place an analysis of strategies which keeps rational individuals binding through the relationship of power. In his analysis, the relationship of power appears as the principal element which structures an organisation. Here the author shows how centralisation of power and multiplication of rules also leads to a vicious cycle of bureaucracy and how this helps to rigidify the organisation. Even with this rigidity, there is no social

⁹⁷ Tabula rasa (blank slate), is a principle that individuals are born without build - in mental content and therefore all knowledge comes from experience or perception. They disagree with the doctrine of innatism which holds that the mind is born already in possession of certain knowledge which is the birth of learner centered education. John LOCK March 2018.

⁹⁸ In an organisational setting, collective whole takes presidence over individual self but it should’nt go without affirming that the individuals also have a merge of liberty which maya t time influence activities of the organization.

system which is entirely regulated and controlled (margin of liberty)⁹⁹ for this reason he designs “the zone of incertitude” as being fundamental in the process of negotiation. The margin of liberty is at times employed in the zone of incertitude and behaviour manifested (dysfunction) is the result of a rational strategy taken.

Borrowing from this analysis therefore, the process of political learning in the University though institutionalised is a matter of rational choice. Students have a merge of liberty through this some students decide to stay away from these activities although they are constrained to follow. According to some students,

although staying away from political activities of the country may not be the best thing to do as a student of the higher institute of learning from whom much is expected (not optimal), we just see it as the best thing to do (satisfactory) to avoid reflecting on the political issues as well as the system. It is a means to stay away from reflections on the system in place thus allowing our political conscience to remain dormant¹⁰⁰.

This is also pertaining to the information they get from some parents, peer, media as concerns the current situation the country is facing and their exigencies. According to this analysis, the actor (student) has a margin of action that is he is autonomous, his behaviour not determined in advance. He is intelligent, an opportunist who adapts to circumstances. He has his proper way of thinking (proper logic of action) and the zone of incertitude within the organisation (University) and between the University and the surrounding environment. With regards to the topic at hand, that is the political socialisation of student in the University, some students drawing allusion to the popular adage which goes onto whom much is given, much is expected. The students exhibit a sentiment of dissatisfaction with the level of political knowledge the University exposes to them. Also, that, the political system has greatly discouraged them as far as the political learning in the school and practice is concerned (apolitic nature of the school). This has therefore encouraged them to use their rational sense of judgment not worthy to associate themselves.

On this note, they need various motivational strategies to attract them. These can be either internal or external of the learners. The school (University) should create an arena for a blend of theoretical knowledge with practice. It should be a motivating environment where political culture is not only learnt but greatly practised. Also, the introduction of political

⁹⁹ BERNOUX, P., *La Sociologie des Organisations*, edition du seuil, Paris, 1989, 145-150.

¹⁰⁰ Interview conducted in the campuses of Yaounde and Buea with some respondents on campus.

learning should not be a thing for particular departments or units but if viewed as a compulsory course in the whole University will help step up its importance not only on the part of students but also on the part of the government. Another clear attraction of the analysis of Crozier to this study is his relationship of power in an organisation. In the University, the pattern of relationship of power is from top to bottom. The administration is at the top, followed by the teaching staff, the supporting staff, the students' government and the students.

There is also what is known as external Supervisory Control by the Minister of Higher Education. The University is considered as a system that is structured into fields with its activities coordinated interdependently. The process of learning is only possible thanks to interaction. In the course of students relating, they learn consciously and unconsciously, positively or negatively. The functioning of humans in a given system like the school may necessitate a change. As oppose to the functioning of machines in a system, the human beings are not fixed but rather undulating. They can change or influence others to change at any time in terms of their likes and dislikes. This partly explains the reason why some students are influenced by their peers to develop hate and lack of interest in political learning.

The essential points of the strategic analysis, is the internal functioning of the organisation and the study of its dysfunctions. This study involves three key issues; the analysis of the attitudes of the different actors in the organisation, the analysis of the different links for corporation and an out line behaviour of agents with respect to their margin of liberty with the conditions in the determined institution. CROZIER summarises the principle of strategic analysis as a given organisational situation that does not totality constrains the actor¹⁰¹. The actor always keeps a merge of liberty and negotiation. This merge of liberty is a source of incertitude for his mates and the organisation since it renders partly the behaviour of the actor unpredicted. Thanks to the merge of liberty, each actor disposes power on other actors which is at time greater than the source of incertitude pertinent for them that is to say it affects substantially their capacity in the strategic game. He resolves from these three principles that each actor enforces constrains on others and avoids them from constraining them. This principle drives us to a view very complex as far as organisation is concerned.

¹⁰¹ CROZIER, M., et Erhard F., *l'acteur et le systeme, les constraints de l'action collective*, edition du Seuil, 1977, P. 17-63.

Also, in an organisation there is the idea of manipulation (motivation) as well as competence of the population.

VI.II-Research design

This qualitative research study used a qualitative research design for data collection. Under this, we have viewed area and population of study both in space and time as well as data collection and analysis instruments as follows;

VI.II.I- Area and population of study

As indicated this research work is delimited in space (a) and time (b).

Geographically, even though it is true that our research topic touches Cameroon, the area is precisely limited to two out of the ten regions. These are centre and south west, with their headquarters in Yaoundé and Buea respectively. Institutionally, the research is concerned with the Universities the case study warrants, us to work with students and teachers from the above sited Universities. A University is a higher institute for learning. In Cameroon, the very first University was created on July 26, 1962 by decree N^o. 62/DF/289 called the Federal University¹⁰². The aim of this institution is to provide higher education within the fundamental objective of the nations plan for economic and social development. At that time, it was to have the monopoly of conferring diploma. On June 4th1973, the Federal University of Cameroon became the University of Yaoundé by decree N^o. 73/326/ of June 23 1973. It had three faculties namely; science, Arts or Law and Economics. Following the exponential increase in students' population, other four universities were created to wit; Ngaoundere, Douala, Dschang and Buea. In the later years, the University of Yaoundé II, Maroua, Bamenda were also created. Today, Cameroon counts over ten states and more than eighty private Universities. Recently, other three are created to meet up with the demands. For the purpose of study, we have limited our work on the state Universities since private Universities are more concerned with curricula and little or no interest on cu- curricula activities. Two State Universities are involved here namely that of Yaoundé I and Buea.

Temporally, contrary to the developed world which had earlier experienced political socialisation and the problem of political participation of youths, African countries to be

¹⁰² TAMBO, L., *idem*. P. 130.

more precise Cameroon, did not very much welcome political learning and engagement of young people until the 1990s with the coming of democratic wind. The Cameroonian political field in general and that of youths in particular had been motivated after the 1990s with the birth of democracy. With the ramifications made on a good number of international and national judicial instruments based on the electoral code, political learning has experienced a poor learning consciousness exercised by youths as a result of the fact that they are oriented towards school. To compound this view and keep youths permanently out of the political game, schools are rendered apolitical. In the same light, school buildings have not seized to be considered as convenient venues for electoral pulls on grounds that there are approximate and appropriate. But conversant of the fact that the game of politics is not only limited to voting, as well as the fact that the apprehension of other political values are of core importance to students as it help prepare them for future responsibility, of course it is said “a journey of a thousand miles begins with a step”. To correct this ill therefore, political powers have decided to put in place strategies and methods which will permit a better integration of youths in general and students in particular in nation building. Some authors are of the opinion that how well political culture of a country is transmitted from one generation to another depends on the way they are injected or pumped into the school programs for a further transmission, interiorisation and exteriorisation of the values by the youths. It is on this note that this research is titled political socialisation of students in Universities. It permitted collection of information for firm analysis.

VI.II.II- Data collection and analysis

Empirical materials for this qualitative research is collected through a combination of research procedures and instruments namely direct observation with the use of an observation guide, semi directive interview through interview guides one directed to students and the other to personnel. Finally, documentary analysis is also sought.

Direct observation is defined as “(...) a pre-requisite for the construction of a good interview or questionnaire”¹⁰³. This technique of data collection permits direct understanding of students’ opinion and behaviour towards political learning. A semi structured observation is possible through the aid of an observation guide. Both classroom and some out door activities are observed. The curricula activities of some departments in subjects like history,

¹⁰³ DURAND, J. P., et WEIL, R., *Sociologie contemporaine*, Paris, Vigot, 2006, P. 42.

geography, sociology just to name but these are followed up. This technic is blended with interview. It is a process of scientific investigation based on verbal communication to get information in relation to the established objectives”¹⁰⁴. Employed in this research seeks the opinions of various actors beginning with students, teachers as well as other external actors on how the idea of political socialisation is conceived. To understand why students, manifests lack of interest in political learning. Through the use of two interview guides, one directed to students and the other to personnel. In some cases, students were grouped in small focus in others, a one-on-one discussion. In sum, fifty persons were interviewed in each University making a sum total of one hundred (100) for the two Universities. Other sub classifications like student workers and non workers, also in terms of age variation sub grouped into three that is; 18 – 26, 27 – 34 and 35 – 42 and above were considered. The selection of respondents in these two Universities obtained through a non-random process. Documentary analysis was also employed as a supplement to combat the lapses and complete the material achieved from the other sources. Finally, it helped to simplify the principle of triangulation of data gotten also from direct observation and interview. The consultation of documents for the research varied from press, print as well as soft ware. Also, students’ memoires, press articles as well as emissions all formed part of analysis of content.

Picture 1: Image of the rectorate and some classroom in the University of Yaounde I



Source: Free-Apply.com, retrieved 28/02/2024

¹⁰⁴ GRAWITZ, M., *Méthodes des Recherches en Sciences Sociales*, Paris, Dalloz, 2001, p. 644.

Picture 2: Image of the entrance to the University of Buea



Source: Free-Apply.com, retrieved 28/02/2024

VII- Pertinence of study

The focus here is to view significance from the scientific perspective. This can neither be undermined nor over emphasized since socialisation problem constitute a menace in this area. Irrespective of this, the worth of the topic is viewed under scientific interest;

What the society expects of its youths especially those of the highest institution of learning like the University is structured into educational policies, ideologies and legislations. These are translated and learnt in school. Political socialisation of students is of importance not only to the education family but society as a whole classified in the field of political sociology specifically under politics of education. Contrary to other researches on this topic, we have examined political socialisation from the angle of scholarised youths at the higher institute of learning. From this reseach, the place political socialisation occupies in University programmes better still, the role political socialisation plays in exposing students to the political culture of their country as well as the contributions of the latter to their political participation is examined. Youths constitute the base and future of each generation their education on societal norms as well as practice is therefore very necessary if we should be talking of the continuity of a generation. The future of tomorrow most especially in the domain of management lies in the hands of scholarised youths especially from the highest institution of learning that is the University. From this research, the place political socialisation plays in implanting socio- cultural and political values of the country University students is exposed.

This research goes a long way to conscientise policy makers in education, stake holders and other educational officials like the Ministry of Higher Education, teachers, students and parents on need to fine tune the process of political socialisation in the University. This will not only implant or imbed political culture of the country but will accompany it to a certain extent, the zeal of taking part in civic obligations as well as others. Through this research study, it is realised that when fostered and greatly encouraged, students will be more concerned about their dues and obligations towards the State and thus ready to accomplish these through participation at all times. It has also exposed the need for the government through the Minister of Higher Education and other policy makers to see the need of authorising and instituting in University program a Compulsory Civic Education for all the faculties. This programme will aim at stepping or boosting students' knowledge, commitment and competence in civic building and participation. Also, a compulsory University student's service of at least six months should be initiated at the end of their program as this will not only help blend theoretical knowledge acquired with practice but will initiate students to job market as well as have a better understanding of the job market. During co-curricula activities involving all the Universities as usual, provision for competition in Civic knowledge should be considered. These when instituted will create an arena for putting in practice their civic knowledge on heighten interest, encourage competition and competence in nation building, as well as foster the bond between the students (youths) and their nation.

VIII- Definition of concepts

Every scientific research consists in clearly defining concepts in the context of the researcher. In this light, DURKHEIM states “ la première démarche sociologique doit être de définir les choses dont il traite afin que l'on sache et qu'il sache bien de quoi il est question”¹⁰⁵. Orienting the definition of concepts according to the researcher's context prevents prenotions as well as confusion with other authors. It is based on this fact therefore that we have defined the following terms;

VIII.I- Concept of school

School is a formal agent of socialisation. The concept school is a very broad one used at different levels to connote different things. This term is viewed in different dimensions

¹⁰⁵ DURKHEIM, E., *idem*.P. 34.

beginning with the root meaning of the word. Etymologically, school comes from an ancient Greek Word “Schole”. Borrowed in Latin, “Schole” laid emphasis on the place of instruction. This was automatically passed in English as school meaning rest that is leisure applied to philosophical discussions which were initiated during leisure time in the Greek societies¹⁰⁶. Progressively, the focus of school transformed to learning. The Oxford Advance Learner Dictionary says school is a place where children go to learn. It also views school as a Doctrine (school of thought) as well as a place for the acquisition of skills¹⁰⁷. According to Etienne, the mission of the school is simultaneously complementary¹⁰⁸. It is true that school consists of learning for children but the author fails to know that everyone can't enrol in schooling we believe his definition focusses on primary schools. To us, a school is a place where people meet to acquire new ideas for their self development and the betterment of society which the form part.

DURKHEIM sees school as a formal institution for social learning, which poses constrain on learners. The school is made up of Teachers, Learners, and Institution, Curriculum and co-curriculum activities. Learning is done formally and it is a transition from an environment of impersonal relationship to one which is more interpersonal. At school, talents are evaluated on the basis of set standards as requirements. The school helps the learners to adapt to socio-cultural and political standards through the formal and hidden (latent and manifest) curricula in order to prepare for a stable later life. Moreover, school is specialised to impact intellectual skills, techniques and cultural heritage of the society so that individuals are able to integrate into it. In most cases, socialisation provided by the school, some times erode values learned at home thus being in conflict¹⁰⁹. In Cameroon, schooling is divided into levels namely Basic, Secondary and the Higher. Each of these levels is represented by a minister to help manage its affairs. This work refers to Higher Education precisely the Universities. It is first and foremost a place for acquisition of elementary knowledge like reading, writing and understanding languages. In addition to this basic instruction is the transmission of culture which takes into consideration cultural diversities to teach common norms and values to a given society. Unlike the definition offered by the

¹⁰⁶ Webster: Encyclopedias Britannica Company www Merriam – Webster. Com/ Dictionary School. Retrived on 15th January 2021.

¹⁰⁷ HORNBY, A.S., *Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary*, fourth edition, Oxford University Press, 2016, P. 1320.

¹⁰⁸ Jean Etienne et al, *dictionnaire de sociologie*, (CHOL), Paris, Hatier, 2004.

¹⁰⁹ SCHAEFER, T. R., *Sociology: A Brief Introduction*, 6th edition, New York, Mc Grew Hill, 2006, P. 92 – 96.

Advance Learners' Dictionary and that of Durkheim, it is crystal that they limited their focus on primary to University. They failed to extend this definition to cover professional schools as well. This is rather provided by Merriam.

According to Merriam, a school is seen from the dimension of institution for teaching children, college or University and institution for specialised learning. From the philosophical perspective, the term school is considered as a group of people holding a common doctrine or opinion or who follow the same teacher as in philosophy, medicine or theology. Moreover, school can be seen as a process of drilling in specific knowledge for instance schooling a man in language. The act of discipline is sometimes referred to as schooling for example to school one's self in patience.

For the purpose of this study, the term school is limited to the higher institute of learning precisely the Universities of Buea and Yaounde I. It is seen as a social institution made up of a population; students, teachers, support staff, administrative staff. Here focus is laid on content curriculum and co-curriculum activities as well as the teaching process. Made up of methods and procedures through which students are politically socialised enduring and accommodating individual differences (constraints) in favour of collective action (group force). Teaching and learning lays emphasis on the learners who are at the center of instruction. Far from these definitions which lay emphasis on formal education, we should not lose focus that the aspect of school in this work embodies both formal and informal for their complementarity.

VIII.II- Student

A student is a learner. He or she is a person who is studying at the University or college¹¹⁰. According to political powers in Africa, a student is one who ought to be contented with learning, training and education. He ought to alienate himself from the State and participate in the security of institutions like abstaining from all forms of criticisms. He or she constitutes an investment of capital resources which ought to produce benefits through which, members of the family will emerge. The student looked upon as one who has to bring money and honour to the family, clan and society¹¹¹. Comparative to the Franco-saxon

¹¹⁰HORNBY, A.S., *ibid.* P. 1484.

¹¹¹MBEMBE, A., *idem.* 1985, P. 51 - 53.

connotation, the word students is only limited to secondary school “*eleve*”, University students denoted as “*etudiant*”.

FONLON holds that, “today some of the students in the Universities are far from being minor, some are men, married men with heavy responsibilities. Some come straight from such professions as teaching, administration and have exercised authority, have tasted power, some are widely read persons, some are even writers”¹¹². On this note, the students command respect and they are entitled to airing their views or opinions on what they need to be taught and on how they should be taught. They should not be considered as empty or ignorant but should be given a role in their learning. At the same time this right ought not to be abused to succeed in training sound minded educated students. There is need for organisation that is the learning process in general and teaching in particular should be organised to reflect not only what the society wants its learners to know but also what the learners want to know. This may help build or mould a solid foundation in the learners. Teachers can equally learn from the students thus the University should be a milieu for high intellectual and moral rectitude¹¹³ that every one merits and respects his or her position.

On the part of content, curriculum should be involving not too rigid. It should give little room for those in the learning process to develop critical thinking, as this can lead to the development of lasting solutions in areas of interests in learning. The importance or influence of books should be felt¹¹⁴. Influence should come from teachers and students as well as peer and the home. Since the teaching and the learning process is a synergy between the various actors in the system. They need to contribute their own quarter to guarantee the smooth functioning of the system in general and the acquisition of political skills in particular through political socialisation.

For the purpose of this study, students connote educated youths of both sexes (male and female) up to the level of the University, workers or non-workers, able as well as those with disabilities, with the age variation between eighteen to forty-two (18-42) years. These students are divided into three categories. The first, being students between; eighteen to twenty-five (18 – 25), the second twenty five to thirty three (26– 33) and the last thirty four to

¹¹²FONLON, B., *ibid.*p. 21.

¹¹³ MVOGO, D., *reflexion sur la refondation del’universite Camerounaise : de l’ethique universitaire*, edition CLE, Yaounde, Cameroun, 2014, P.123-130.

¹¹⁴ FONLON, B., the inseparable trinity, *ibid*, p. 23-26.

forty two (34 –42 and above). As earlier stated, we have also sub classified them into student workers and non workers as well as citizens. Citizenship is a status that corresponds to a number of defined laws whose political legitimacy in a democratic society and identity is based on the sense of belonging to a political community. It is fashioned by the spirit of nation building and necessitates radical distinction between private and public space where the priority is a common national belonging. This sentiment of belonging is less automatic and less spontaneous like those that link individuals of other groups (family, religious, ethnic, school and professional). These groups have varied norms and can be at times contradictory thus conflict.

VIII.III- Culture

Culture comes from a Latin word “colere” which means to cultivate land. The word culture generally evokes in its literary sense, the spirit of cultivation. From the 15th century, the word principally centred on land. It was not until the 19th century that it took the dimension that is today given by anthropology and sociology. In this light, it is talked of a person who is cultivated. In this sense, culture is distributed certain societies or persons are cultured while others are not. The word in its current connotation denotes a strong ethnocentric spirit. It refers to a group of beliefs and practices common to a society or a particular social group. According to TYLOR, it is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society¹¹⁵. Culture corresponds to a very vast domain this covers all activities created by man. The culturalist American school, have propagated this perspective in two dimensions. Firstly, culture is a structure. Secondly, it is a common heritage to all the members of a given society, susceptible of transmission from generation¹¹⁶ to generation¹¹⁷ through agents as the school. In Cameroon, there is no specific school for culture acquisition. It is learned through observation and practice, reason why every ethnic group has its own culture and anthropologically non supercedes the other. Rather they accompany and acculturate aspects of other culture in varied domains including political.

¹¹⁵ TYLOR, E., definition of culture, www2.palmar.edu.> culture > culture1 retrived on the December 27, 2019.

¹¹⁶ Raph, L., *Cultural Background of personality*, “status personality” common element that forms the basic personality 1945. www.britanica.com > retrived on 20 December 2021.

¹¹⁷ LEVI- STRAUSS, C., *structural Anthropology*, culture as a system of symbolic communication, 1958. www.carim-int.info>E-LHOM-1, retrived on 21 December 27, 2019

VIII.IV- Political culture

The process of learning political values, beliefs, ideas, figures and events is called political learning. Political learning in school on its part constitutes political socialisation into culture. Political culture assures the cohesion and permanence of a system. It imposes on individuals their political role exposing the content of political exigencies and their response to the law¹¹⁸. Political culture is therefore defined as knowledge, values, beliefs which permit individuals to make sense of their experiences and relationship with the power that governs them as well as groups which serves as reference for the construction of their identities. It has a double dimension that is its relationship with the past which serves as a drive to history and collective memory more or less elaborated which projects into the future¹¹⁹. Political culture assures the cohesion and permanence of the system. It affects the drive of individuals into their political roles, the content of their political exigencies as well as their response to the law. In the culturalist perspective, three characteristics these are; culture, sub-culture and contre culture. Subculture defines specific culture common to a sub group within the global society. It composes a certain number of traits found in the global society as well as others that are specific to it. For instance, the school culture is a sub culture of the global society. On the other hand, the term contre or against culture portrays an inverse of cultural norms of the dominant culture termed deviant culture which is negative and aggressive. Besides, each sector of activity has its own culture which permits the said sector to be specific.

Political culture involves both the affective and the cognitive dimensions which can only be distinguished through an analytical process. The affective dimension deals with the feelings or relationship with political culture while the cognitive deals with acquiring knowledge on it that is to know. In a null shell, culture deals with feelings for and acquisition of knowledge on values, beliefs, representations, customs and practices worth transmissible and their relationship with these from generation to generation through the process of practice to form habits. This process of habit formation is only possible through the process of interaction between individuals and groups in the society term political socialisation.

¹¹⁸ LAGROYE, J., Francois, B., et SAWICKI, F., *Sociologie Politique*, 5^e édition, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po: Dalloz, 2006. P. 409 - 410.

¹¹⁹ BRAUD, P., *sociologie politique: la socialisation politique*, 10^e édition, Paris cedex, Montchrestien, 2011, P. 316.

VIII.V- Political socialisation

The topic school and political socialisation of students falls within the ambit of science of politics of education though in the field of sociology, it permits us to ponder on questions concerning policies, laws and decisions in education or educative questions. It seeks to study the political attitude or behaviours of students as a function of political learning. It also seeks to examine what political specificities are brought under the auspices of the school (parties, political institution, political figures, political life, political theories as well as seek a dichotomy between political science and political discuss. As quoted by Mariet, Pierre Bourdieu and Boltanski are of the opinion that « la politique dominante se confond désormais avec la science politique »¹²⁰. The teaching of political knowledge in school is called political science it is the theoretical part and its practice is called political discuss.

DURKHEIM looks at political socialisation as a methodological and authoritarian education of the young generation in view of implanting and reinforcing social solidarity. According to this author, both the mechanisms for learning as well as the society in general, have a role to play in the process of inculcating socio-political and cultural norms¹²¹. As far as the present research is concerned, Durkheim is inspiring for haven evoked the fact that education in general and schooling in particular aids the transmission of values as well as poses constraints. It is a question therefore to understand how the school does this and how this helps the students. Durkheim is so general in his analysis. He did not limit his notion of education to a single agent talk less of levels. It is on this note that the present research is focused in the University and also narrowed the study institutionally to two Universities namely Yaoundé I and Buea. It is a question to see how University transmits political culture in students as well as what constraints this poses.

HARMET et al. underpine that political socialisation is “the process of insertion into a given society and the internalisation of norms and values proper to that society¹²². Political socialisation distinguishes the dimension of political integration of individuals and their political roles ascribed through the process of learning. ALETUM sees political socialisation as a process of learning political life and the different means through which political culture

¹²⁰ Mariet, F., pour une science politique de l'éducation, *Revue Française de Pédagogie*, No. 47(avril, MAI et juin) 1979, p. 101-108.

¹²¹ DURKHEIM, E., *les Règles de la méthode Sociologique*, Paris, PUF, Page 5.

¹²² HERMET, G., et al, *Dictionnaire de la Science Politique et des Institutions Politiques*, 7^e édition, Armand Colin, 2010, P. 280.

maintains or changes¹²³. In this vain, people through political socialisation learn to respect political authorities or not, to participate in political activities or not and to obey or not to obey the law.

Political socialisation occurs at both individual and community levels. At the individual level the traces can be inborn and later develop either positively or negatively. It extends beyond the acquisition of political culture to encompass the learning of more sophisticated ideas and orientations. It is a life long process initiated by a variety of actors, groups and institutions which contribute to its shaping effects. Furthermore, learners become socialised through existing laws, media, schooling, and peers. The process of political socialisation is never ending and the factors which shape it are encompassing known as agents. Agents of socialisation affect the development of political values and attitudes differently though all contributes to individual understanding or orientations towards politics. Basically, political attitudes and values turn to be form earlier in childhood and turns to be relatively consistence throughout life. The school is an important agent in political socialisation. However, the degree to which political base orientations are retained in school varies from one person to another. This variation in the degree of orientation can be due to the discontinuity one may experience in his or her political life. Hence, this is where other agents of political socialisation become fundamental in one's development.

From the above definitions, the present research considers political socialisation as the study of the politics of school. That is the political content learnt, political behaviour put up by students' and teachers, in the course and after learning the content. It also involves every other thing around the school environment that influences directly or indirectly, positively or negatively, the behavioural pattern put up by students. It is as well considered as a process by which political culture is transmitted into learner via school (University) through the aid of socialisers and peers as well as other aids that help to facilitate learning and the political setting in the school milieu for a better socialisation in political culture.

VIII.VI-Definition of citizenship education

Citizenship education is taught in schools as academic subjects (curriculum) and co-curriculum similar to politics of sociology. It is known by different names in different

¹²³ ALETUM, M., *Sociologie politique*, 3^e édition, Graphisme, Yaoundé, 2008, P. 103.

countries for instances citizenship education in the United Kingdom, civics in USA and education for democratic citizens in part of Europe. For the purpose of this study it is consider as political socialisation.

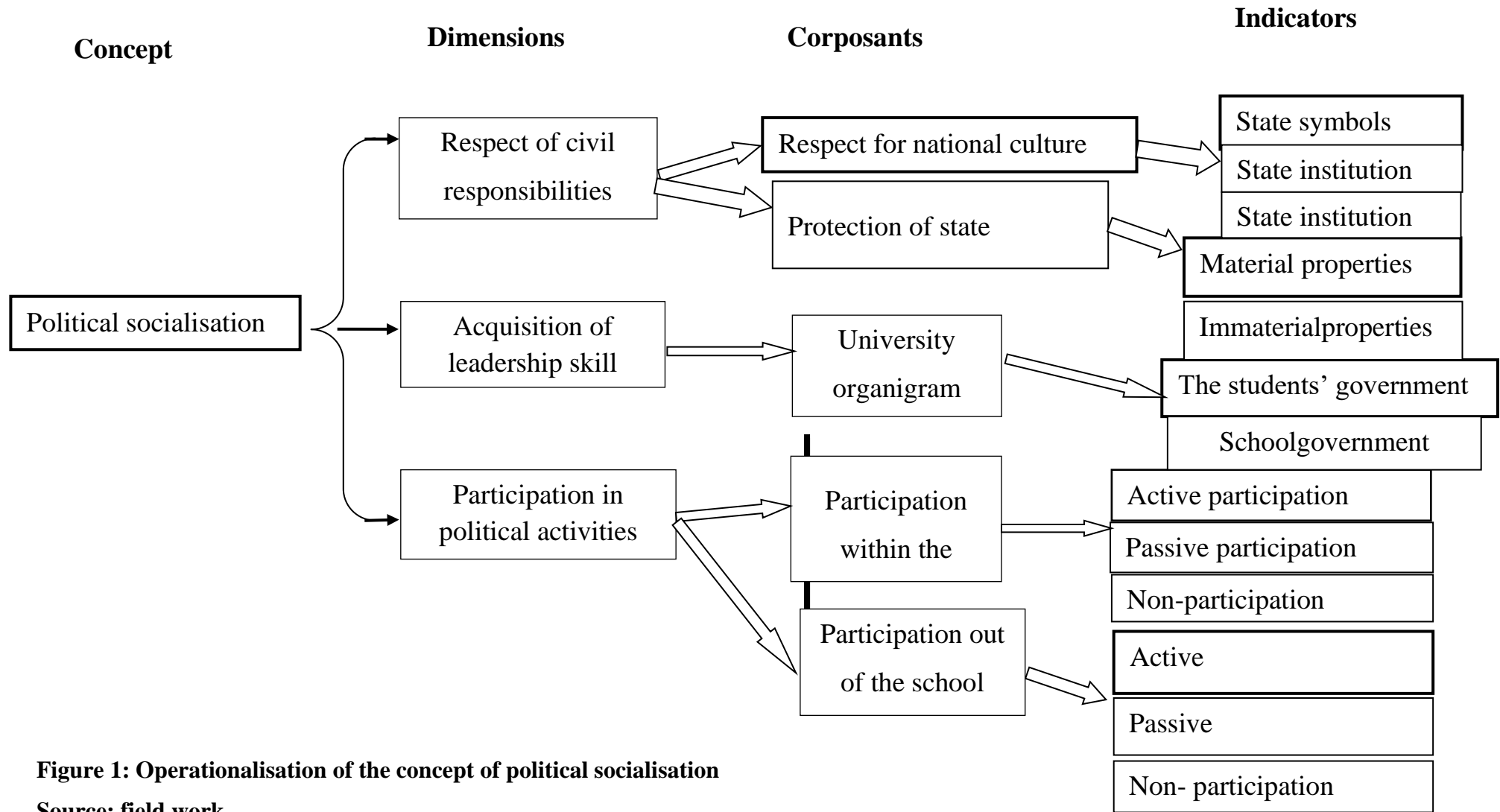


Figure 1: Operationalisation of the concept of political socialisation

Source: field work.

IX- Deviance

The term deviance appeared at the beginning of the year 1950 in American sociology and diffused rapidly there after. This term though simultaneously used should be distinguished from related words like delinquency and criminality most often used by specialists of criminal law. Sociology of deviance is not just reduced to crimes punishable by the penal code, but englobes behaviour such as alcoholism, sexuality just to name but these. This refers to all behavioural pattern judged non conformists to social norms of a group whether codified or not. Every where norms are in existence, there exists equally the transgression. Therefore, Durkheim sees it as a normal phenomenon in the sense that it is met in all human societies¹²⁴. In this sense, the phenomenon of deviance is co-substantial to the existence of life in society. Conversely, the different forms that deviance can take have different effects from one society to another. Even in the mist of a society, there equally exists a plurality system of norms which are at times, contradictory. It is understood that one is never a total deviant but in one or more social groups which compose the society. In the light of the present study, deviant behaviour in the University vary from alcoholism, drugs, sexuality of all sorts. These behavioural patterns are most often than not instigated by peer influence over weaker students and help to capture and divert learners' attention from learning in general and political culture in particular.

Deviance is related to the place where it was committed or the time of act. Indeed, there are two types of deviant actions; formal deviance and informal deviance. Formal deviance entails a crime which violates law in a society. Informal deviance is minor violations that break unwritten rules of social life. The sociology of deviance explores the actions and behaviours that violate social norms of society¹²⁵.

¹²⁴ European sociology review, "Emile Durkheim's theory of social order and deviance: a multi level test" vol. 20, n0: 4, September 20004.

¹²⁵ Deviance, (sociology) en.m. wikipedia. Org. 31/03/2022.

PLAN

No political society is viable without the interiorisation of a minimum of common convictions concerning the necessity of alliance to a community and obedience to the government in force. Political socialisation is based on a more or less stable combination of constraint and legitimacy thus political socialisation maintains a direct link with the construction of this legitimacy. It is seen as a process of inculcation of beliefs and representations relative to power (vertical dimension) and to a sense of belonging to a group (horizontal dimension) based on a double exigency of the governants and the governed¹²⁶. Political socialisation is also considered as a political function which contributes to the maintenance and the adaptation of the political system in place. It is a mechanism of stabilisation or better still parenisation of the political system in place across generations. Through this, the system inculcates in the new generation values and political attitudes of the preceding generations so as to ensure a permanent reproduction.

According to COT and MOUNIER, this theoretical frame, leaves very little space for political changes which although not ignored are considered abnormal and dysfunctional that is negative behaviour¹²⁷. The function of political stabilisation mentioned herein is of two types namely vertical and horizontal. Vertical stability deals with the assurance of a political system being maintained over time from one generation to another without rupture. On its part, Horizontal stability in a given society deals with the reigning of harmony, cohesion and civil peace. Political socialisation is therefore an instrument for the inculcation of consensus. It is a proper means or procedure for the reproduction of the society. On the other hand, the idea of political socialisation being a means of reproduction as well as the maintenance of the political system in place can be disputed. From the psychological point of view, individuals or groups, have their diverse ways of looking at or appreciating things. A generation can refuse to put into action what it has learnt. Also, a particular generation may choose to revolt against the preceding not by rioting but by not being concerned or interested in their activities. This process is intensified during adolescence where personality and relationship in the world are constructed. The study titled political socialisation of students in Cameroon is broadly split into two parts. Part one is captioned school: agent of political socialisation of students. Part two, role of other agents, stakes, constraints and impact of this process on the society. Each part is further split into two chapters.

¹²⁶ BRAUD, P., *ibid.* P. 305-354.

¹²⁷ COT, J.P., et MOUNIER, J. P., *Pour une Sociologie Politique, Tome 2, édition du Seuil, 1974, P. 66-92.*

PART ONE

**SCHOOL AGENT OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION OF
STUDENTS IN CAMEROON**

BRAUD is of the opinion that political socialisation inculcates norms which organise the perception of social agents on political power on both the vertical and horizontal dimensions¹²⁸. In the course of living, individuals adapt their personalities to the society and group of reference¹²⁹. As an agent of political socialisation, schooling in Africa in general and Cameroon in particular, owes its Origin from European colonial background. Introduced during the period of European exploration and colonisation¹³⁰ precisely with the coming of missionaries in Cameroon in 1884 and their activities, the formal system of education was introduced. Dotted every where, schools are structured to reproduce and shape students according to the demands of society¹³¹. Since then, formal education in Cameroon as a British and French protectorate has been structured to fit the taste of time. Divided into levels from Basic to Higher, their programs are influenced by national realities and enriched by international experiences, actors and models via the passage of time. On this note, the idea of school is seen as a social construct (CROZIER)¹³² which is also not free from constraint (DURKHEIM)¹³³.

Higher Education in Cameroon constitutes the Universities and other Institutions of Higher learning. It is an important milieu for socialization. The context of political socialisation of students in Cameroon can be traced prior to the accession of Cameroon as a sovereign state. Cameroon students were rather sent oversea to learn political culture which was new to the people through socialisation. Indogenously, the country's political platform as far back as the 1960s with the creation of the Federal University¹³⁴ reversed this. From this date, political socialisation of students in Cameroon has metamorphosised. The changes are broadly distinguished into two categories; past and present. The University harbours hundreds of thousands of students yearly. These students leave different socio-cultural, economic and political backgrounds and assemble for the goal of acquiring knowledge. To achieve this, students are bound to interact, endure and accommodate each other thus not only socialising themselves socially, culturally and politically.

¹²⁸ BRAUD, P., *Sociologie Politiques*, 3^e édition, Paris, 2004, P. 684.

¹²⁹ CHAGNOLLAUD, D., *Science Politique : Eléments de Sociologie Politique*, 3^e édition, 2000, Paris, P. 111.

¹³⁰ TAMBO, L., *History of Educational Developments in Cameroon after Independence*, (1961-1999), 2000, P.3.

¹³¹ TOURAINE, A., *la Production de Societe*, edition de seuil, Paris, 1973, P.43-56.

¹³² Crozier, M., idem, P. 86.

¹³³ DURKHEIM, E., idem, P. 5.

¹³⁴ Decree N0.26/DF/289 creating the Federal university in Caeroun in 1962.

Part one of the study comprises two chapters. Chapter one is titled political socialisation of students in the Universities and two on perceptions and contributions of actors, internal and external.

CHAPTER ONE

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF STUDENTS IN THE UNIVERSITIES

The context of students' political socialisation in Cameroon can be traced from the country's political platform as far back as the 1960s with the creation of the Federal University in 1962¹³⁵. From this date, political socialisation of students has undergone rapid spread and transformation. Viewing its place in the University warrants a retrospect into past and present. A look after the 60s, when the first University was created through the 80s to the 90s with the coming of the wind of change that favoured the birth of associations (the 1990 laws) namely socio-cultural Associations and mobilisation movements as well as their implication. This chapter is grounded in two sections. The first gives a vivid view of what obtained in this institution in the past from the 60s through 80s to 90s, under socio-cultural associations and mobilisation movements precisely; students' social movements, cultural associations and mobilisation during official and non-official occasions. Revendication movements with the advent of political liberalisation, within the school milieu and viewing their impact on the internal and external environment also constitute this section. The second section looks at how political socialisation operates today in the University having a dual view as far as close and apolitical environment in principle and the legal framework of secularism and independence of University from politics is concern. From this end, the structural layout and University governance in terms of faculty, students government and the place of this socialisation in educational policies, ideologies, methods and technics of teaching and learning are examined in the light of rendering the University a milieu for exposition of political learning, looking at its place in curriculum content and co-curriculum activities thus bringing about a difference in the bi-functional nature of some actors in the University as far as the difference from theory to practice as a new expressive form of political socialisation is concern in its manifest and latent forms. Before having a look at this, let's begin with a vivid view of socialisation in the past.

¹³⁵Decree No.26/DF/289 creating the Federal University of Cameroon in 1962.

SECTION 1: POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF STUDENTS IN THE PAST

The political socialisation of youths in general and students in particular in the past had undergone a metamorphosis term social mobility. It equally owes its genesis from policies transfer via Cameroon students who earlier studied abroad and later returned to manage the affairs of the Country. The study of social mobility consists in an analysis of change in position of individuals or social groups. These changes are apprehended with the aid of a socio-intellectual relationship of students and the surrounding environment of school that is peers, teachers, parents and other agents. An analysis of this mobility in the University, consists a double phase. An analysis of what obtained in the past consists a vivid diagnosis of students' associations as well as their role and impact with the advent of political liberalisation. The scope of the study dates from the 1960 precisely the 1962 with the creation of the Federal University. It is worth making an analogy situating political socialisation even before the 1960s. During this era, Cameroonian students could socialise politically in Abroad, therefore, they were taught foreign political socialisation, which indeed has a significant impact on the present political socialisation. This is chiefly because most of them were recruited to teach in the Universities where in my opinion, had to impact knowledge to students politically by constant adherence of what obtains Abroad (comparative studies) whether authorised or not. This was equally a mark to show that they studied with a white man. This behaviour prompted conflicts amongst them mostly with those who were not privileged to study Abroad. From the above background, then came the 60s.

1.1- A diagnosis of political socialisation of students in the past (60s-80s and 90s)

Political socialisation of students has undergone a great transformation from the 60s- through the 80s till date. This evaluation has helped to condition the system of social position. Political socialisation of youths in Cameroon in general and students in particular is important for the political development of the young generation and the continuity of the society as a whole. As oppose to clinical diagnosis done in the laboratory, political socialisation of students in Cameroon in the 90s can be traced from the country's political platform as far back as 1962 with the creation of the Federal University¹³⁶. The birth of the Federal University provided an educative atmosphere in which students saw and enjoyed the preivilages that were offered. The aim of this was the government pressing need of nationals

¹³⁶Dercee N0; 26/DF/289, Creating the Federal University in 1962.

to manage their affairs due to the fact that the colony was newly transferred to them for management as a means to transfer power. The enjoyment of these was also an attempt to encourage and enhance education in Cameroon. Finally, but not the least, it aimed at helping parents sponsor their children because the latter never had means to do due to less development. As time unfolded, the students' population rapidly increased and coupled with other problems¹³⁷, the institution could no longer afford to provide privileges students enjoyed before. From this date, political socialisation of students in Cameroon had undergone a process of change. This is seen from the perspective of associations or mobilisation, to be more precise, socio-cultural Associations and other students' mobilisations movement.

1.1.1 - Socio-cultural associations and mobilisation movements in the Universities

According to Rocher, socialisation is considered as “the processes through which the human being learns and interiorises in the course of living with socio-cultural elements of his milieu, integrating them to experiences and other significant social agents and by so doing, adapts to the social environment to which he is part”¹³⁸. This definition shows that socialisation is a process through which individuals or groups acquire constitutive elements of the cultural system of the milieu. By so doing, he forms part and develops individual and collective personalities. The society therefore exercises social control on this whether consciously or not. Socialisation permits them to be accepted by a collectivity and to bear the reference “we”. This is an opened process that leaves a margin for individual liberty. This permits actors to construct a personality and a proper identity. The construction of identity portrays a double dimension of socialisation. Firstly, identity is considered distinct as what is unique of each individual. On the other hand, socialisation reveals social constraint that a collectivity poses on actors as well as the margin of individual liberty to carry on.

The term social movement appeared for the very first time in the year 1842 in the works of STEIN¹³⁹. The term social movement designs diverse mobilisations. According to Etienne, in social science, there is no true consensus on the meaning we give to this concept.

¹³⁷ WIRDZE, E., “State Universities experiencing 1993 poor over crowded conditions” Cameroon postline.com.

¹³⁸ Rocher, G., *introduction a la sociologie generale*, Paris Seuil, 1970, P. 132.

¹³⁹ VON STEIN, L., in his study on formation and multiple expressions on socialism and communism in the French society, cited by Etienne et al, idem.

For BLUMER, it is a collective enterprise which aims at establishing a new order of life¹⁴⁰. This definition is strict on the fact that it is revolutionary. On the contrary, other actors denounce the arbitrary and strict character of collective action evoking interest between pressure group and social movement. The Wholists see in social movement the product of structural evolution of society and conflict which results. On the Individualist note, social movements are the aggregation of individuals' strategies. Socio-cultural tie is a principal force for grouping in the Universities. Law N0. 90/ 053 of 19 December 1990 gave birth to liberty of association, expression and other freedoms thus students associations and mobilisations became eminent.¹⁴¹ Socio-cultural associations here are viewed from the perspective of ethnic and language variations. These associations influenced the activities of the University of Yaounde I in particular and the political atmosphere of the country in general in the 90s. It is difficult to establish a clear cut distinction between social and political movements since both contribute whether directly or indirectly to political participation. As notes NEVEU « les mouvements sociaux sont une composante singuliere et importante de la participation politique »¹⁴². Students' political socialisation in the past was in one brief characterized by associations and movements. As a form of collective action, they were based on the notion of interest¹⁴³. The center of understanding here is how these associations came about.

The University is a social institution and as such, students who converge in it for the goal of knowledge acquisition come from diverse social, cultural and political backgrounds. While in these institutions, as socio- cultural, politico-economic beings, the urge to identify as such influence groupings in different social and cultural links in order to keep and maintain their cultural heritages. How instructive or detrimental this was or is to the process of political socialisation is examined suit.

¹⁴⁰ BLUMER, H., in his theory of symbolic interactionism states that human beings act towards things on the basis of meaning they have for them, that the meaning they have stem from social interaction one has with others and finally that these meanings are handled in and modified in the course of interaction. Outline of social movement. www.ipl.org

¹⁴¹ Law N0. 90/053 of 19 December 1990, bearing, liberty of Association.

¹⁴² NEVEU, E., *Sociologie des mouvements sociaux*, Paris, La Decouverte, 2002, P. 10-12.

¹⁴³ TILLY, C., cite par FILLIEULE, O., et PEUHU, C., *Lutter ensemble le theorie de l'action collective*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1993, P.91.

1.1.1.1- Students' Associations or social movements

Prior to the year 1990, Associations in general and social movements were considered illegal, there was no law authorising same. This can explain the dominant nature. The change of political reasoning in the 1990 equally felt in the University with the rapid emerging of students Associations and social movements, aim at requesting enabling learning atmosphere. Consequently, any student's groupings before the 90s, was tailored towards academic exigencies. The adhesion of students to associations in the University according to Kaufman¹⁴⁴ or Ascher¹⁴⁵ is the manifestation of individualisation of modes of life and of social relation by putting the actor as author of his choices, identity and path. The theory of collective behaviour has a tendency of explaining social movements through their psychosocial determinants. This consists in the development of collective action and its diffusion to the younger generation. In the 1960s, in the context of civic rights, which mobilised notably teachers and researchers, the paradigm "resource mobilisation" was developed and actors were inspired from it. This makes social movement ideologically legitimate and resulting from voluntary and intentional behaviour.

Students' social movements fall under the analysis of Touraine. This parallel linked to that of conflict of class in the Marxist tradition. It also takes a distance through its assentuation on the role of actors and on the cultural dimension of the movements. For Touraine¹⁴⁶, "people make their history, cultural creation and social conflict which produces social life, at the heart of society burning the fire of social movement". For this author, all social movements are constructed taking into consideration three elements termed principles namely;

- Principle of identification giving the identity of the group.
- Principle of opposition that is identification of adversaries.
- Principle of totality which is the elaboration of social or political projects (goals). This approach is inscribed in the total evolution of society.

¹⁴⁴ KAUFMANN, J. -C., « Vie hors couple, isolement et lien social : figure de l'inscription relationnelle », *Revue Française de sociologie*, vol. xxxv, n° 4, 1994, P593-617.

¹⁴⁵ ASCHER, F., « la Métropole comme mode de vie », chap. 4, dans *metropolis ou l'avenir des villes*, Odile Jacob, Paris, 1995.

¹⁴⁶ TOURAINE, A., *Un nouveau paradigme, pour comprendre le monde d'aujourd'hui*, Paris, Fayard, 2005, P 89.

Students' social groupings in the University vary from academic groupings like faculty departmental meetings as well as clubs of different forms¹⁴⁷. According to Bajoit, the word Association is parallel to individual subject, without its passage to social, the subject risks to be lost in individuality¹⁴⁸. A social movement is a collective drive, organised by a class of actors against an adversary for a social change¹⁴⁹. As opposed to the Chapelier Law of the 1791 which ban Associations¹⁵⁰, the 19th century saw the birth of diverse Associations with the putting in place of law n0: 90/ 053 of December 1900 bearing liberty of Associations¹⁵¹. The Associations vary from clubs, leagues just to name but these. An Association is a convention of two or more persons, putting their knowledge and activities together for diverse reasons other than just sharing profit¹⁵². For the first time, the expression social movement appeared in 1850¹⁵³. This term brings to mind varied significations according to different actors. Social movement refers to social practices different interms of birth, goals, activities and social impact. It is a group small or large whose aim is to attain social objectives through collective actions. In the same light, social movement is viewed differently by authors of different fields.

According to Grawitz, it is necessary to distinguish the sociological conotation of social movement from that of political science. In the social perspective, it has as goal, social objectives. In the field of political science, emphasis is laid on the goal of change. On this note, Erik states «les mouvements sociaux sont une composante singuliere et importante de la participation politique¹⁵⁴ ». Worthy of note is the fact that it is difficult to esterblish a clear cut distinction between social movement and political movement. For the purpose of this study, Social movements differ in size. They are essentially collectives. They result from a more or less spontaneous coming together to support a critical goal. It may be for the implementation or the prevention of a change. It is also the coming together of people whose relationships are not defind by rules and procedures but who merely show a common outlook

¹⁴⁷ Some Associations of this magnitude in the university of Yaounde I, are ; l'Association des Etudiants de la Facaculte des Arts, Lettres et sciences Humaines (AEFALSH), L'Association des Etudiants de la Faculte de Sciences (AEFAS), l'Association des Etudiants de la Faculte de Medecine et des Sciences Biomedicale (AEFMSB),

¹⁴⁸ BAJOIT, G., *socio-analse des raisons d'agir : etudes sur la liberte du sujet et de l'acteur*, Canada, les presses de l'Universite laval, 2009, P. 76.

¹⁴⁹ TOURAINE, A., *La voix et le regard: Sociologie Permenent*, edition du Seuil, Paris, 1978, P.104-128.

¹⁵⁰Chapelier Law of 1791, forbiding Associations.

¹⁵¹Law of 1st July, 1901, authorizing liberty of Associations.

¹⁵² DORTIER, Jean. F., *Le Dictionnaire des Sciences Sociales*, edition Sciences Humaines, 19-20

¹⁵³ VON STEIN, L., cited by AKOUN, A., ANSART, P., *Dictionnaire d'a sociologie*, 2^e edition, Paris cedex, larousse, 1990, P. 138.

¹⁵⁴ NEVEU, E., *Sociologie des mouvements sociaux*, Paris, La Decouverte, 2002, P. 10-12.

on society. In most cases, social movements at times concern a specific portion of the society. It may also englobe the entire country. This was the case of the food crisis in 2008. The objective of the movement is social transformation in a bid to attain social justice¹⁵⁵. Inversely, a political movement is a social movement in the area of politics. A political movement may be organized around a single issue or sets of issues. A political movement is organised to convince citizen or government to take actions on the issues or concerns, which are the focus of the movement. It is not meant to elect members of government-to-government office.

In the context of this study the regulatory text conscrated for University reform, has great surveillance on students' associative groupings. In its diverse and finale disposition, precisely article 70, it disposes "the activities of students and teachers' associations in the campus are defind by particular texts". In the same vein, the decree bearing administrative and academic organisation of the University of Yaounde I, attributes the charge of follow up of associations and cultural clubs in the University to the Division of Associative and Sporting Activities (DASA)¹⁵⁶. It is important to understand that the political character of lingual (socio-cultural) movement does not intervene except in the case where social movement turns to be exploited by political authorities. Also, social movement covers diverse processes through which, students mobilise themselves to attempt modification of institutions, rules or behaviour in a given environment¹⁵⁷. According to the analysis of Touraine, understanding the logic of a social movement warrants it should be placed in the general theory of class as conflictual actions of agents of social classes, fighting for control in the system in history¹⁵⁸. Consequently, three conditions are necessary for a social movement to exist. The first condition consists in defining the group and its objectives, then the existence of obstacles be combated and finally the attainment of formulated goals in the optic of construction of the social model.

In terms of classification, social movements are partitioned in terms of emergence that is what causes them to come together (ideological objectives as well as goals to be attained). On this note, Piven and Cloward in showing the ideological importance of social movements,

¹⁵⁵ KRUSZEWSKA, Dominika, << social mvemets and political party's n Projects >> Havard educational files, retrived on 30/03/2022.

¹⁵⁶ Decree no 93/036 of 29 January 1993, bearing Administrative and Academic Organisation of the University of Yaounde I, article 92.

¹⁵⁷ FERREOL, G., *Dictionnaire de sociologie*, Paris Armand colin, 2002, P. 121-122.

¹⁵⁸ TOURAINE, A., *La Production de la societe*, Paris, Seuil, 1973, P. 347.

say « they are not only positive ». They expose the negative role of organisations in terms of their mobilisation¹⁵⁹. From this postulation, the author suggests that in the first place, the members in a group have to define different levels of participation of the leaders and those at the base. Also, these members have to take into consideration risk bearing and compensation in the execution of actions.

What triggers the attention of the present research to this author is the idea of interest which can also be termed gain¹⁶⁰. There is a popular adage in English that states that nothing goes for nothing. The idea of students grouping themselves either for cultural or social affiliations is for the game of interest. In terms of typology, based on the condition of emergence, spontaneous movement are as a result of dissatisfaction leading to revendications. These are different from those well structured with strategies supported in the mist of associations like political parties and syndicates.

The second typology of social movements is inspired by the work of Neil who has established a distinction between « norms-oriented movements and value oriented movements »¹⁶¹. The former obeys the logic of users which is based in satisfying the interest of the group whereas the latter is based on profound social change through the promotion of new ideas. These different perspectives present the flaw of restraining political movements to contestation or protestation of established order. In this study, the concept is used in the perspective of Ralph and Lewis who consider that social movements can also bring about changes that were resisted¹⁶². Socio-cultural groupings of students in the University were influenced by the wind of change in the political context which favoured liberalisation in the 90s. Liberalisation also favoured freedom not only in the domain of speech but as well in grouping. Precisely, the 1990 laws favoured freedom of association¹⁶³. From this period many students' associations saw the light of time for diverse reasons. In the light of this topic, we have looked at linguistic and ethnic associations as well as revendication movements as those social groupings which inspire a change in the system.

¹⁵⁹ PIVEN et CLOWARD cite par FILLIEULE, O., et PEUHU, C., idem, P. 92-95.

¹⁶⁰ FONLON, B., idem.p.8.

¹⁶¹ SMELSER, N., *the Theory of Collective Behaviour*, New York, Free Press of Glencoe, 1962.

¹⁶² RALPH, H.T., Lewis, M.K., *Collective Behaviour*, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25515005>.

¹⁶³ Law on liberalisation of Association, idem.

1.1.1.2 - Lingual socio-cultural associations

As underlined by Martiniello¹⁶⁴ linguistic and cultural realities that characterise ethnic groupings condition social interaction. Historically, Cameroon is one of the countries in the world in general and Africa in particular that is richly blessed in diversities in term of languages. It is one of the only two countries in the world that are bilingual. The members of Francophony and commonwealth, whose premodial aims were to promote English or French. The bi-cultural nature of Cameroon which today cuts accross educational programmes stems from colonialism. It is the colonial legacy inherited from Britein and France respectively. Since then, Cameroonians are either French or English speaking or both (Bilingual). The bi-cultural nature of the country is reflected in educational policies and system. Cameroon now counts two Anglosaxen and two bilingual Universities. The lingual cultural association is seen more from the social perspective. In line with this study, they are viewed in two groups as to what obtained in the past namely the English and the French students.

1.1.1.3 - Students' ethnic cultural meetings

Before, ethnicism was regarded as an assert same was enhanced by students' ethnic cultural meetings and the zeal of political socialisation was promoted. Recently, the same ethnicism is considered as an aspect of stigmatisation and a source of division due to political latent interests. Abouna¹⁶⁵ explains the behaviour and conditions of individuals with respect to their ethnic origin. According to this athour, all what characterises the individual is dictated by ethnic belonging. This is visible in all spheres of the society be it in politics, religion and or enterprise. Ethnicity occupies a primodial place in cultural interactions. Cameroon counts more than two hundred and sixty ethnicities. These groups each constitute a language suming up to more than 260 ethnic languages¹⁶⁶. Students' cultural movement is examined from a broad distinction of ethnic origin of the Federal University students in the past. Before having a look at this, let's see what a cultural movement is all about. A cultural movement is one bond by ethnic or Anthropological ties. In this context, cultural movement evokes perspectives of 'strangers' and 'autochthones'¹⁶⁷. This is exposed by tracing the political era in general, specifically in the University at the time, as well as the drive behind each movement. During the era of political liberalisation in Cameroon, students of the

¹⁶⁴ MARTINIELLO, M., *L'ethnicité dans les sciences sociales contemporaines*, Paris, PUF, 1995.

¹⁶⁵ ABOUNA, P., *Le pouvoir de l'ethnie, introduction à l'ethnocratie*, Paris, Harmattan, 1997.

¹⁶⁶ Cmeroon History, www.cameroonembassyusa.org > history.

¹⁶⁷ KINNING, P., *ibid*.

Federal University seized the opportunity to voice out their multiple grievances concerning their living standard and studying conditions in campus.

As a result of the economic crisis, the benefits students enjoyed such as free education, feeding, payment of borses, employment opportunities were no longer available. Also, the drastic increase in student population in this University led to infrastural shortage. According to MBEMBE, the lack of basic infrastucture that was needed to accomodate the massive growth of the students' population since independence resulted in the rapid falling of academic standards¹⁶⁸. This situation was further aggravated by the severe economic crisis that affected the country coupled with the structural adjustment plan (SAP). This led to an increase withdrawal of of state support for Universities as well as to University students and graduates. Due to the crisis, government was compelled to make further reduction in University budget. It equally imposed payment of tuition fees¹⁶⁹. As well, the government requested a stop in the recruitment of new graduates into the already over-size state bureaucracy. As a result of such withdrawals, African Universities no longer appeared to be serving centres for Elite formation¹⁷⁰.

As oppose to those graduates who before then had left and where already serving, students during the era of University reforms of January 19, 1993¹⁷¹, compared themselves with the preceding who could count on getting jobs because of their degree. University students after this reform saw themselves as a lost or abandoned generation. No wonder during the period of political liberalisation, some students capitalised on it to voice out their grievances. This period offered them the opportunity to organise and fight to defend their interest. It is worth mentioning that even though it is said that political liberalisation offered students the opportunity to voice out, it also tends to divide them along regional lines.

1.1.2 - Students mobilisations

Mobilisation is a powerful force in collective gathering, it stems from individual desire as well as collective interest. The word mobilisation consists in bringing people together. It

¹⁶⁸ MBEMBE, A., idem.P. 45.

¹⁶⁹ MVOGO, D., P. 107.

¹⁷⁰ KINNING, p., *the Post Colonial State and Economic and Political Reforms in Cameroon*, 1996, London, Routledge, P. 244-265.

¹⁷¹ MVOGO, D., idem..

is a constitutional right. This right is guided over by law¹⁷² which entails that for any grouping or gathering of people in a public place, the said group, prior to their meeting, should declare their meeting to the administrative authority of the locality, who should grant same or not. Consequencies related to the non declared or denied gatherings lead to their consideration as illegal thus void. Most often, these gatherings are exploited to take dimensions which are not their principal goals. Mobilisations in this context are grouped into two namely those during official and others during non-official occasions.

1.1.2.1- Mobilisation during official occasion

Apart from students coming together because of ethnic or social ties, it is noted that they can also be brought together sequentially because of certain events or circumstances. These events bring them together in order to seek for their interest¹⁷³. Students' mobilisation is examined in two phases peaceful and agitation movements. Peaceful mobilisation is significant and aimed towards the manifestation of patriotic adhesion.

The adverb mobilisation means to organise, prepare or bring together. In the context of students, mobilisation means grouping of students. It entails all the different levels or perspectives that University students gather brought together under the canopy of school. In this sub section, we have viewed students' peaceful mobilisation. Peaceful movements constitute movements like students' academic groupings, mobilisation for national occasions, appreciation, motions of support as well as congratulation wishes. Students' academic mobilisations are those that gather students for the purpose of learning. These are divided into two namely Faculty and school groupings and attending national occasions. It is a tradition for students in general and those of the University in particular to be represented during official occasions like Youth and National Day celebrations. These mobilisation be them at the level of the Faculties (Faculty mobilisations), can be purely academic, in this light, students group themselves for exposition or to attain an organised academic competition during which they acquire and exchange new ideas meant for improvement of

¹⁷² Statutory provisions concerning public law and order, 6th September 2005, Constitution of Republic of Cameroon-ICRC databases on ihl-databases.icrc.org > ihl-nat > Co.

¹⁷³ RODOLFO DISI P., <Explaining student mobilisation in Chile>, in 2011, this mobilization is termed the highest since the country returned to democracy. What explains students' participation in mobilization is the financial grievance generated by neoliberal education policies and the massification of higher education are major causes of students' protest participation.

their social ties. Students grouping themselves or the school, are aspects of political socialisation, they have the manifest as well as latent connotations.

As a sign of civic commitment or duty, students are suppose to show up in these activities without any external force pushing them. But today, the situation in the University is different. Most students say they get involve in these activities because they are attracted by the external motivation that the University authority offers them¹⁷⁴. Also, another aspect worth questioning is the drive behind the institutional motivation to the students to show up during these official days of which it is their civic responsibility to do so. Most often than not, this has a hidden agenda in the minds of the actors. Students should be adequately groomed in their civil responsibility. If this is done, they will see every need of performing this without any external influence but that from within. Worthy of note also is the fact that students gather as a body to give motions of appreciation to the government. For example, when a decision is taken which favours the University. This mobilisation has latent connotation and accreditation to the authority that be. It is not all for the interest of the students but also depicts loyalty on the part of the University administration to the government¹⁷⁵.

1.1.2.2 - Mobilisation during non-official occasion

It is often said that youths in general and students specifically constitute the foundation of society. The question of mobilisation of citizens in general and students in particular is not an act of exercising citizenship conscience but more of a manipulation of students' consciences for personal aggrandisement. This act which some times, is frequent among them for personal interest termed exploitative¹⁷⁶. It has hidden agenda for the benefit of unseen actors. It is admitted that the engagement of students in non-official occasions is perceived by many as unlawful. This either for motions of support, contestation that is putting in question established orders that is instrumentalisation. In this effect, non-official mobilisations are in line with hidden or latten manifestation. As earlier stated above, non-official mobilisations

¹⁷⁴ Interview, anonymous source, conducted on the rate of civic commitment of students in political activities, in April 13, 2021.

¹⁷⁵ Anonymous source, in interview in the University campus.

¹⁷⁶ RODOLFO, D.C., *ibid*, it shows how weak organisational linkages with ruling political parties increase the likelihood of students' mobilisations. They instrumentalise them either as crowd or as steam. Disi Pavlic, R. (2018). Sentenced t debt: Explaining students' mobilisation in Chile. *Latin America Research Review*, 53(3), 448-465. DOI:<http://doi.org/10.25222/larr.395>.

are illegal. Some are however considered legitimate when they are geared to support governmental actions via motions of support.

1.2 - Revendication movement with the advent of political liberalisation

The achievement of political liberalisation or freedom of speech and association skyrocketed revendications amongst sub groups, the University inclusive. This equally concerned teachers who from time to time went on strike in a bid for amelioration of their working conditions. Agitation or revendication movement (national coordination of Cameroon students' or parlement students' movement) as oppose to peaceful movement, aggitation movements portray discontent. Most often, aggitation movements characterise crisis and deal with protest born from unsatisfactory situations or decisions taken. They deal with the disruption of social peace as well as leads to the destruction of lifes and properties or towards the decomposition of actors themselves.¹⁷⁷ Although considered as oriented towards reconstruction it results to threats and distruction. Aggitation movements have a binding with the concept of politisation. This can be understood in two ways though not contradictory.

The first employs the processes which drive individuals or groups to be interested in political life and also invest in it. The second involves appropriating processes which exert pressure on authorities as a means of the masses expressing discontent. In the operational mode of these movements, strikes have always been perceived as one of the most effective process of revendication and pressure. Better still, it is presented as the ultimate means envisaged when all other means employed have proven non-efficient. In effect, strike shows that force is necessary for revendication to be considered. It is a political force against the authority for non-violence reasons¹⁷⁸. Most often although the principal aim of this movement is not violence in nature, it is worth noting that it may at times result to violence. To extrapolate from the subject matter, Ann recounts the past memories recounted her by the father saying, we still have fresh memories of what has happened with the Cameroon Renaissance movement (MRC) these last years. In the context of this study, the actions of the following groups are examined in the light of politisation.

¹⁷⁷ TOURRAINE, A., DUBET, F., HEGEDUS, Z., WIEVIORKA, M., *Lutte Etudiante: Sociologie permanente*, edition du Seuil, Paris, 1978, P.91.

¹⁷⁸ EBOUSSI, F. B., NKOLO, E. A. et AGAES, GrP., *Les Jeunes et La Politique au Cameroun : Quelle perspective pour quelle participation*, Ed, Presse Universitaire, 2011, P. 30.

In the same vain, students Revendication most often result from discontent and a reclaim of social rights most often peaceful than violent. A situation which often than not is exploited by many (instrumentalisation) other interested parties at a distance to bring perturbation even out of the school environment at the detriment of the entire environment. It is on this stand that the government has as a burden duty to suppress strike actions. A manifest aim of ensuring peace security and a latent aim of avoiding pressure and exposure. In the past, student revendication in the University was frequent. This was as a result of frustration resulting from the internal environment of the school as well as factors external of school related to the changing economic and political environment and it's redicalising effects on the students as well as the then ethnic upheavals. The national coordination of Cameroon students, the Committee of Self Defence and the Beti Vigilantic Group are examined in the light of students' revolt in the University at the time within and external.

1.2.1 - Students' revendication movement within the school milieu

As earlier noted, revendication in the University in the past were compounded by a number of factors. The wind of change that blew accross the world with the economic crisis made the overcrowded University a fertile place for strikes and rebellion. Students clamoured for good education and unfringing rights that their predecessors enjoyed. This folding chaos in the University greatly originated from liberalism. The creation of new political parties that led to a revival of political activities to instrumentalise students' political conscience. They took advantage on this to express their internal worries against the government in general and the University in particular. The role students played in the crisis during this period has a significant effect in the University environment.

1.2.1.1- The role of students' revendication within the school milieu

University students in the 90s played an active role in the political liberation process. The students manifestations in support of the social democratic Front (SDF) was termed manipulative and intoxicative¹⁷⁹ thus illegal. This role to some extent did not only unite the students, but also paved way for their division along ethnic regional lines. It also led to the intensification of tension in the University. The principal point to note here is the brain behind all these. From the political diamention of mobilisation, Tilly and others each focus on

¹⁷⁹ Cameroon Tribune of 27 and 28 May 1990.

their own aspect but Obershall explains from the point of its constitution. While the notion of collective action of the group is principally based on the idea of interest of Tilly¹⁸⁰, Paven, and Cloward who on their part talk on the importance of the ideology of the group exposing the negative role of the mobilisation¹⁸¹. According to Koning, the Beti students were noted for their « autochthonous » character while the Anglophones and the Bamileke (Anglo-Bami) were referred to as outsiders « strangers »¹⁸². This has therefore compounded the zeal of analysing same.

1.2.1.2- Beti group of students in the University in the past

Geographically, the Beti ethnic group is within the center region which is hosting the University of Yaounde I. They had the ancestral obligation for protection. This struggle was viewed by others as an act of jeopardising the smooth running of University. The Beti group of students in the Federal University was made up of Francophone students of the Beti land and those of other areas around Yaounde. They considered themselves as land lords on two counts. The first claim was that the University is found on their land so it belongs to them thus they claimed control of students' politics in their territory. For that reason, they decided to combat any student organisation on campus. Secondly, they supported the ruling party for political reasons on grounds that it was their turn for a Beti son to rule the country. They therefore saw every need to do all in their capacity as students to support that no one tries to perturbate the arena of the University. This led to the emergence of a Beti militias on campus involved in various forms of ethnic exclusions. Unlike students' rebellions in other parts of west and central Africa, students' unrest and violence in the University of Yaounde campus lasted for almost six years uninterrupted from 1990 to 1996¹⁸³. This did not only lead to insecurity within and around the campus but also led to disruption of classes over a long period of time.

¹⁸⁰ Mobilisation model, inspired by Tilly, onlinelibrary.wiley.com > doi >pdf .j.1.

¹⁸¹ Mobilisation to Revolution, methods.sagepub.com > book > the-sage.

¹⁸² KONINGS, P., "University students' revolt, ethnic militia, and violence during political liberalisation in Cameroon" *African study review: journal of the African studies Association*, Vol. 45. issue. 2, P.179-204

¹⁸³ KONINGS, P., *idem*.P. 2.

1.2.1.3- The Anglophone-Bamileke students

As history holds, one of the effects of the First World War is the partition of Africa in general and Cameroon in particular between Britain and France in the ratio of (4:1)¹⁸⁴. As an effect, Cameroon is blessed with two official languages and a people who speak both or either of the languages termed bilingual, or Anglophone and Francophones. As the lone University in 1962, its corridors were crowded by English and French speaking Cameroonians in a bid to acquire knowledge. The Anglophone population which makes up two out of the ten regions then known as provinces constitutes a numerical minority (2 out of 10). On the other hand, it is astonishing that the Bamileke who make up one of the eight French speaking regions were associated to anglophone students as ‘Anglo-Bami ». They were grouped and considered as outsiders. They were more inclined to supporting the major opposition party then Social Democratic Front (SDF).

“Many factors accounted for the drastic change of behaviour at the beginning of the 1990s which manifested in favour of strike actions”¹⁸⁵. The students’ population increased from thirty-five (35) in 1961, to ten thousand (10,000) in 1982 and to forty-one thousand (41,000) in 1992¹⁸⁶. This increase did not match with available infrastructure. Lecture rooms, libraries¹⁸⁷, laboratories and office space of lecturers were inadequate as well as lacked necessary equipments. Given the inadequate infrastructure, the quality of degree offered by the University continued to fall as a result of persistent perturbation of classes. This led to a large-scale fraud during examination and sexual harassments¹⁸⁸. Failure rate were extremely high. Poor educational standards further lower graduate employment chances. In the institution, there appeared to be no clear cut between politics and academics. According to NYAMNJOH, loyalty to the regime at that time appeared to have more importance than intellectual merit for a University career. The administration of the University appeared to be geared predominantly towards political control¹⁸⁹.

¹⁸⁴ Julius V.N., *History of Cameroon since 1800*, books.google.com > books > about > His.

¹⁸⁵ According to BETECK A., a student of the University of Buea, interview on how political socialization obtained in the past, in the university.

¹⁸⁶ MEHLER, A., *Kamerun in the Era of BIYA*: Hambeurg Institut for Afrika, 1993, P. 82.

¹⁸⁷ FONLON, B., *idem*, P. 24-25.

¹⁸⁸ MVOGO, D., *idem*, 123-140.

¹⁸⁹ NYAMNJOH, F. B., Cameroon: “A country united by ethnic Ambitions and Difference” *African Affairs* 98(390): 101-118.

The University was administered in authoritarian manner with little dialogue between the University authorities, the academic staff and students. No students' union in Cameroon was allowed to represent and defend the interest of the students. The delegates and students' representatives at that time were not elected by students but instead appointed by the administration. In return for their accreditation, they were responsible for imposing the decisions of the University authorities upon students while they took note of those who complained (DEBUSSI¹⁹⁰ and MBU¹⁹¹). Also, they became informants and pointed out subversive behaviour of students to the administration in times of crisis. Lack of participation in dialogue in University affairs created the impression among students that revolt was the only avenue to change. Lessons were learnt both by the students and the government. The latter saw the eager need to create other State Universities in a bid to reduce the tension and decongest the students' population that was regularly augmenting in Yaounde University. By this, the government applied the method of divide and rule. The deconcentrated students' population influenced and dwindled tension in Universities. From this period, the government saw the need of rendering Universities apolitical. These upheavals were also precipitated by the economic crisis and its deteriorating effects on students in particular in the following way;

1.2.1.4 - Economic crisis and the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP)

The concept of economic crisis represents a situation in which the economy of a country passes through a sudden decrease of its force. Decrease usually brought about by a stagflation, recession, or of an economic depression¹⁹². The economic crisis that hit the world in general and Cameroon in particular in mid 1980s and the subsequent implementation of SAP in 1988 aggravated students' predicaments¹⁹³. There were no funds available for improving the University infrastructure. There was regular delay in the payment of scholarships, an introduction of tuition fee¹⁹⁴, as well as almost a total stop in the recruitment of students into white collar jobs. Students tend to attribute the economic ills and the concomitant process of institutional liberalism to the Acting regime. The political liberalisation process that started in the 1990s was therefore a decisive factor in students'

¹⁹⁰DIBUSSI, T., "What University Students Really Want", *Cameroon Life* 1(9): 16-17.

¹⁹¹ MBU, A. N. T., *Civil Disobedience in Cameroon*, Douala: Imprimaerie Georges Freres, 1993, P. 107.

¹⁹² CAZAN ZAFIU, Doinita, << The economic crisis – meaning and signification, causes and solutions, in the annals of Dunarea University>> *Economics and Applied informatics*, 2013, retrived on 30/03/2022.

¹⁹³ KONNINGS, P., *idem*. P. 2-4.

¹⁹⁴ MVOGO, D., *ibid*. P. 65.

rebellion. It created space for students to organise in defence for their interest while on the other hand it tended to divide them along regional line. The introduction of multy party system and the regionalisation of political competition split students along ethnic - regional lines. This also encouraged an obsession of autochthonous landlords' consideration amongst students leading to violence form of exclusion among strangers those students out of the centre region. The question to pose here is how is it that the Bamileke students were associated to the Anglophones and called strangers? To fully understand the cleavage and the violence that accompanied the struggle between the two groups of students during political liberalisation, it is necessary to point out that animosity between the Beti and the Anglo- Bamileke has a long historical background not only at the University of Yaoundé but also in the Yaoundé and the Beti territoy as a whole. This can be traced during the era of French colonial rule.

During this period, there was a large scale migration from the grassfield regions of the Francophone Bamileke that is from the west region and the Anglophone ethnic related people of the present North West region to Yaoundé and other Beti towns. The Bamileke known in Cameroon for their entrepreneurial ethos, migrated in large number to Yaoundé acquiring land for settlement. They expanded their activities in diverse domains and were fruitful, almost dominating the city's commercial sector. After independence in the 1960, the local population of Beti began to express their fear of becoming invaded by the Bamileke in their own area this evoked tension between them and some times, violent clashes.

Tension between these two groups further intensified with the advent of coming to power of the current regime in 1982. Before then, his predecessor had constantly emphasized the need for ethnic balance this therefore made the Bamileke like the Fulbe ethnic group to enjoy the privilege position regarding capital accumulation during his reign. It is believed that they owned this privilege AHIDJO's eagerness to obtain the necessary support of the Bamileke elites in his determined efforts to pacify the Bamileke territory that was untill 1970, one of the major areas of « Union des Population du Cameroun » (UPC) rebellion against the regime. Therefore, the Beti people saw the transfer of power from AHIDJO to BIYA as an opportunity to sieze power from the Fulbe and the Bamileke and advance their own economic and political interest. Initially, encountering great difficulty to consolidate power preceeded in ethnic pressure.

In protest to the increasing Beti monopoly on economic and political power therefore, Bamileke business men and women withdrew their savings from banks and transferred them to informal circuits called tontines¹⁹⁵. This provoked shortage of liquidity problem and to the economic crisis. This shortage further influenced government expenditure in school negatively. Students were now charged to pay fees, the privileges they enjoyed were streamlined thus aggravating pressure and tension which were later exploited by political powers to instrumentalise students. This therefore led to great tension and gave rise to students' revolts.

1.2.2- Impact of students Revendication on the external environment

As earlier stated, Revendication are goal orienting this most often has outstanding implication on the society either directly or indirectly. Apart from the perturbation caused within the University, students protest movement during this era caused a lot of damage and destabilisation of national peace and security which has a significant impact on students. Under this sub section, we have viewed students' revendication, on the internal and external environment.

1.2.2.1- Impact on the internal environment

The internal environment of school (University) is a microcosm of society (external environment) as such its activities are influenced and guided by it. Here, the role of students Revendication within the school milieu, and its impact¹⁹⁶ on the internal environment was great. As earlier noted, the above condition perpetrated much tension on campus. This further aggravated in to split along regional line as far as the students' population was concerned. There were massive destruction of properties as well as loss of lives. A consequence that almost brought the University to a stand still was the close down for over a year. When the tension was successfully managed, the following resolutions and innovations were made. The formation of a students' union in the University was authorised as a body in the midst of University management. There was the deconcentration effect that gave rise to new

¹⁹⁵Henry, A., TCHENTE, Guy. H., GUILLERME- DIEUMEGARD, P., *Tontines et Banques au Cameroun: les principes de la société des amis*, Paris, Karthala, 1991, P.5.

¹⁹⁶ SODEI, < impact of crisis on the internal school environment > the Anglophone region of Cameroon has since late 2016 witnessed a socio-political crisis which has deteriorated over time and affected schooling these regions by inflicting much violence on institutions, teachers, pupils and students, 8 February 2021, retrieved 25 of February 2022.

Universities. The task of the University became narrowed to the social mission. It became considered as a closed and apolitical milieu till date. The appreciation of this situation in the University today is negative in the sense that many students cannot make a distinction between civic obligation and politics. According to ETAPE, many students divert their attention from exercising their civic responsibility on grounds that schools are apolitical and close, whereas latently, their participation is sought for in terms of groups or associations both publicly as well as in private¹⁹⁷. They are most often exploited by political barons or elites to swell the population as well as create an impression of an act which benefits them latently.

1.2.2.2- Impact on the external environment

During the period of political liberalisation, University students played a major role. The role students played did not only impact the internal life of the University but the impact was also felt on the external environment. The very first significant effect was the disturbance of peace and security not only around the major roads of the city but as well in the neighbourhood. This crisis did not limit itself in Yaounde but extended to other areas like Bamenda. The frequent 'ghost towns' did not only render movement difficult but impossible for some. Furthermore, there was mass destruction of properties and lives. As a result of the attempts launched which were meant to stop the crisis by the security men and students' persistence struggle to continue, many properties as well as lives were lost. The University institution was closed down over a long period before things returned to normal. University students were forced to go back to their respective homes until the situation was put under control. Even after things became normal, not all the students who left the University during the period returned. Some died in the course. Equally knowing what obtained during this period, some families refused or denied to further send their children back to University. Also, some students who witnessed what happened, lost hope of continuing education and even later, deter their younger generation consequently, school dropout with its related consequence on society.

Moreover, the said crisis helped to tangle the country's image. The situation discouraged foreign students to attend school in Cameroon due to its educational instability. Apart from the above which played negatively not only on the students but as well on the entire society, there were also some positive effects of the crisis.

¹⁹⁷ Interview conducted off campus with a student from the University of Buea, June, 2021.

After the crisis, over population which was one of the major problems of Yaounde University was resolved with the birth of new University centres. The creation of other Universities centres to deconcentrate the population in the Federal University of Cameroon. Buea University was created to reflect the Anglosaxon system, Ngaoundere the French while that of Dschang the bilingual nature. Also, through this same reform, there was the creation of a students' union responsible for handling students' affairs and relating to the administration as well as conveying administrative orders to students. This students' body of representatives is put in place by the general students' population through elections at different levels. Moreover, the Federal University was then known as the University of Yaounde. This University also saw the light of some infrastural reforms as a result of this crisis. With the creation of some new Universities centres, more students became enrolled in these higher institutions of learning. Students no longer needed to travel several kilometres from one region to another to crowd the city of Yaounde. The students who helped to swell up the general population in this area decreased thus reducing not only the rate of crime wave but also high cost of living in general. Today, political socialisation of students has a different connotation.

SECTION 1.2: OPERATIONALISATION OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION IN THE UNIVERSITY TODAY

The question of political socialisation in general and that of youths and students in particular did not begin of recent. It has been of core interest to many authors, conferences and articles, each tackling it from their own perspective or angle. Political socialisation refers to the process of learning political life style and the different means by which political culture maintains or changes¹⁹⁸. It is a process through which individuals develop a relationship with the political world, and obtain knowledge, opinions, values and behaviours that leads to shaping of their civic identity¹⁹⁹. Through this process, individuals obtain a sense of belonging in a society and driven to the internalisation of their national political culture. Their socialisation as well as their principles and actions help to become assimilated in the political system thus leading to the creation of active citizenship. The University as a social

¹⁹⁸ ALETUM, M., *Sociologie politique*, 3^e edition, Graphisme, Yaounde, 2008, P. 103.

¹⁹⁹ PAPAIOIKONOMOU, A., "The Impact of Political Socialisation on Students Behaviour": Emperical Research in Schools of central Macidonia in Greece, *International Journal of Educational Review*, 2017. Available online 07/2018.

institution is not found in a vacuum but in a society as such, it is structured to reproduce and shape people according to the demands of society²⁰⁰.

The focus in this section is to understand and show the role the University and its actors play in generating political socialisation. In the past, scholars in the field of political science as well as psychology made efforts to open the « black box »²⁰¹ of education and scrutinize the mechanisms and conditions by which schooling especially Higher Education (University) effects political culture in Cameroon. To this effect, two key postulates emerge from this literature. The first is based on the fact that despite being excluded from political activities in some important way (close and apolitical nature of school)²⁰², such as not paying taxes, not permitted to vote, they still hold observable and even stable political opinions, not the least in the area of political trust. During the teaching and learning process in the classroom, some students acquire norms and skills some of which are explicitly democratic in nature. By demonstrating that, students develop a sense of political consciousness. It is therefore important to examine the role that the school that is University and educational programmes play in generating this consciousness. The question lingering our mind thus is the place of political socialisation in the University?

Responding to this question focuses on the different aspects of the University (school) environment. To this effect, two perspectives are evoked. The first relates to how actors view school in the provision of students with particular experiences of authority and social relations (1). The second is based in viewing the level of political knowledge that curriculum programs offer to students (2).

1.2.1- The dual view on political socialisation of students

DURKHEIM looks at political socialisation as a methodological and authoritarian education of the young generation in view of implanting and reinforcing social solidarity²⁰³. According to this author, both the mechanisms for learning as well as the society in general, have a role to play in the process of inculcating socio-political and cultural norms²⁰⁴. As far as the present research is concern, Durkheim is inspiring for haven evoked the fact that

²⁰⁰ TOURAINÉ, A., *idem*. P. 346-347.

²⁰¹ EASTON, D., *idem*. P. 60.

²⁰² MVOGO, D., *idem*. P. 80.

²⁰³ DURKHEIM, E., *les règles de la méthode sociologique*, Paris, PUF, P. 5.

²⁰⁴ DURKHEIM, E., *les Règles de la méthode Sociologique*, Paris, PUF, Page 5.

education in general and schooling in particular aids in the transmission of values as well as poses constraints. It is a question therefore to understand how the school does this and how this helps the students. It is on this note that the present research is focused in the University and also to narrow the study institutionally to two Universities namely Yaoundé I and Buea. It is therefore a question of the present research to see how the University transmits political culture in students.

1.2.1.1- University a closed and apolitical environment in principle

Mirroring the wounds of the past in view of massive destruction, that took place during students' revendications the government had to derive a means to curb such perpetrations one of the active and assuring approach was to render schools (University) apolitical. Although this has a negative impact on the aspect of political socialisation of students, it atleast permits the security of school infrasture and the continuity of learning with slim interruptions on the part of students. It has also maintained relative calmness within the University milieu. Infact the act of political socialisation has a dual dimension; content socialisation and practical socialisation. The latter is undoubtly that students acquire skills through the curriculum. Te said content is put in place by the government. Consquently, the aspect of the University being an apolitical environment does not hold with content political socialisation. The problem is on practical political socialisation. Knowing its ramnification that at times obstruct studies for long following the massive destruction, it is normal that the government hold to prohibit any movement in the name of politics in the University, hence, apolitical milieu.

Political learning connotes initiation. As earlier stated, schools are closed and apolitical milieus. As such, they are out of any political activities that may help to distabilise the system as well as pertubate the peace and tranquillity of the State. At the same time, as a mirror of the society, the schools are imbedded with the social task of implanting political knowledge to students on; events, institutions, figures, cultural values, the exercise of civic rights and obligations. This makes political socialization eminent in our schools. Unfortunately, today, it is discovered that many of our scholarised youth manifest ignorance in respect to civic awareness and lack of a sense of responsibility towards such.

The University reforms of January 1993 have defined this institution as a close and apolitical milieu²⁰⁵. According to Mvogo, the declaration did not fall from heaven but is as a result of the politisation and tribalisation of the school community²⁰⁶ by its students over a number of greivences with the institution. An act that was exploited by politicians in the 1990s. The view in this section, constitutes a double examination of the closed nature of the University from political activities (i) and at the same time, breaching the gap between the University and political learning by examining those aspects of the political culture that it exposes its students (ii), through the process of political socialisation.

1.2.1.1.1- Legal framework for secularism and the independence of the University from politics

Although the 1993 University reforms have declared the secular and independent nature of Universities from politics, it should be noted that these do not exist in a vacuum but forms part and parcel of the society. As such, Universities are micro societies whose activities should reflect those of the global society. In this regard, the learning content and other related activities reflect the political nature of the country. They are introduced in the educational system. Andelson is of opinion that the learning content of the University does not reflect the political culture of Cameroon enough²⁰⁷. The 1990s marked an era of reforms and innovations in the educaional system in general and those of the University in particular. Be it in the plan of their stucture, objectives or programs, teaching strategies and methods or in their relationship with the environment. In seeking an explanation or an evaluation of the performance of school on the acquisition of political culture, many have the tendency to concentrate more exclusively on the internal factors of school forgetting about external as if the school is found in a sector distant from the society.

It is important that the events in the internal society as well as those external of school be taken into consideration when doing such analyses. The factors related to the envoronment are also important as they condition and influence occurance in and arround the school. Although schools are apolitical and closed environment, which significes that schooling and politics are unrelated. It should be noted that politics is not limited to practice. In itself,

²⁰⁵ Decree No. 93/035/of 19 January 1993, bearing common dispositions of Higher Education in Cameroon, declaring the secular and independent nature of universities from politics.

²⁰⁶ MVOGO, D., *idem*.P. 92.

²⁰⁷ ANDELSON, P., interview conducted on campus on the 13 april 2021.

politics has no meaning but political culture makes it meaningful²⁰⁸. Therefore the political system exerts certain functions on the structure and functioning of school. At the same time, Universities are not situated outside the arena of politics. Be it appointment of heads of these institutions or designing the curriculum, politics cannot be separated from academic institutions. Moreover, students cannot be extracted from the socio-political context that exists around them. It is worth noting that politics governs the seemingly autonomous space that Universities occupy. They are required to understand the political life of the country such as events, figures, symbols as well as show their civic responsibility towards them. The question to ponder on here is that of understanding if the curriculum does reflect these? It is worth noting that the idea of political socialisation is not limited to elections. Apart from this, students also group themselves academically in units, departments, faculty and then the entire University. This benefits them not only academically but also socially. It serves as a base for ideas to be exchanged which are not exempted from politics, yet may face constraints emanating from the structural layout or its apolitical nature.

1.2.1.1.2- Structural layout and the apolitical character of the University

As far as the structural layout is concerned, the University community is divided into faculties, departments and disciplines respectively. Each discipline has its angle of attack but with the need of an inter-disciplinarity. There is need for coordination of the diverse fields. Each of these forms a sub field or community well-structured and managed. Each sub community is responsible to relay information about its functioning to internal hierarchy in a bit to ensure and facilitate the smooth functioning of the whole system. Although interrelated, each sub community (faculty, department, units and specialty) has its subjects and content. These, orient the students in their different disciplines accordingly pertaining to its goals and objectives. Some of these divisions from the perspective of names give a vivid picture of what its content for learning entails. Departments like political science and other units like political sociology expose students to political content. In political science, some courses which expose students to political content are; the Analysis of Cameroon political System which focuses on the layout o the 1996, Sociology of Mobilisation²⁰⁹, Geo-Politique et Geo-

²⁰⁸ COT J. P., et MOUNIER, J. P., *pour une sociologie politique*, Tom 2 , edition du seuil, Paris, P.66-69.

²⁰⁹ Sociology of mobilization a course in political science which studies the origin, concept o mobilization and the ethical management as well as state's strategies applied in the course of collective movement to resolve same. Field work 20 november 2021.

Strategoque, which exposes the interaction between Geography and politics²¹⁰. It is therefore a milieu for political socialisation because it situates students to political learning. Apart from the layout, exposition is also viewed in the activities that the University carries out via the structural layout.

Also, the leadership pattern in these institutions clearly reflects political culture that is the culture of leadership. Its bureaucratic style of leadership classified from top to bottom be it at the level of personnel management or the student's government, depicts this. The point of interest here is not to present how the student body of the University functions though it forms part but to expose some of those activities carried out whether openly (directly, manifest function) or indirectly (latent). Whether consciously or not, the University exposes students to political knowledge, activities or manifestations which go a long way to influence political socialisation. The act of conducting students' elections begins from the most basic level of the University which is the unit, then the department followed by faculty as well as the entire University. As earlier mentioned, the University brings together students from the different social, cultural, political and economic backgrounds. While there, they share ideas and experiences. These greatly influence their behaviour be it in favour or against political socialisation. Worthy to note is the fact that in the University, elections are conducted. The student government like that of the country is obtained from electoral campaigns. The different contestants have those campaigning for them. They equally have campaign speeches and slogans. All these activities depict what goes on out of school thus political socialisation. Apart from the layout of the University, political socialisation is also depicted in other areas.

The controversial link related to the University being a closed and apolitical environment lies in a number of political routine activities that the University and its population are involved in. These activities are based on political culture and reflect political character of the country. They vary from the bureaucratic form of administration, in terms of its execution and management as well as respect for democratic principles for good governance.

²¹⁰ *Geographie politique et Geographie strategique* this is another course which studies the relation between geographie and politics, it studies conflict between tribes or states. Field work 20 November 2021.

1.2.1.1.2.1- Governance in the University

University governance is made up of personnel and student. In order to transfer and promote democratic values²¹¹ to students, the University permits the internal practical socialisation practices which help to buttress the functioning of its activities. To this study, such democratic political socialisation is termed soft political socialisation. It is soft because it is not in respect of norms laid out by the electoral code. It is also soft because the said government disappears with the completion of students' studies or it can be dissolved by the head of the institution. GALAXIE stipulates that those who occupy leadership positions benefit a certain level of prestige, status, honour, financial profit, power and self esteem among others²¹². The administration of Universities in reality have pragmatic attitude which seek best strategies to assure stability and continuity of the political order in force. In Cameroon, University institutions are integrated in the midst of political systems owing to their vassal status of structures and positions in the society. In the management of structures confined on them, the administrative authorities give the impression of owing a certain allegiance to the political powers that be. In this effect, the management of the structure is at times instrumentalised to pay tributes to the confidence accorded them by the central power. More precisely, it entails the authorities of the Universities to send positive signals which contribute to maintain the stability of the regime. According to ADJEBA, the first of such signals is the maintenance of order²¹³ ensured partly through the putting in place of a supervisory student's body both at the faculties and general school.

1.2.1.1.2.2- Faculty government

Order in school governance entails the management of students, teachers and property in the school environment without perturbation. Ensuring much calmness and tranquility in the campus. This orientation of the University has a legal binding authorizing students' government to assist in the mission. Every faculty in the University in general and those of Yaounde I and Buea Universities in particular are made up of groups of departments. These departments each serve as a micro society and has the way it functions. In terms of

²¹¹ KOM, A., « la démocratie est une culture posséder, la culture démocratique procède d'une éducation » idem. P.27.

²¹² GALAXIE, D., *la démocratie représentative*, Paris, Montchrestien, 1993, P. 93.

²¹³ ADJEBA, L. P. « Université et politisation au Cameroun: contribution à l'analyse de la politisation des mouvements étudiants à l'Université de Yaounde I » Mémoire présentée en vue de l'obtention du Master en Sociologie, 2010, P, 105.

institutional administration, each department is guided or controlled by a departmental head. In terms of students' government, they are departmental students' delegates. They coordinate and control the activities of students in their respective departments. They equally serve as a bridge between the department and the students. These delegates are elected by students of the departments to represent the faculties. The point of interest here is not to present how the student body of the University functions though it forms part but to expose some of those activities carried out whether openly (directly, manifest function) or indirectly (latent). Whether consciously or not, the University exposes students to political activities or manifestations these go a long way to influence political conscience. The act of conducting students' elections, beginning from the most basic level of the University which is the unit, then the department and then the faculty as well as the entire University is imperative.

1.2.1.1.2.3- Students' school government

A critical look at the University organigram is not void of students. Students have a place in the authority of the school. This representation is possible through students' government. They are selected from among the different faculty heads of the University. The head of the student's delegate is charged with controlling all the other delegates of the University. He and his team are answerable to the authority of the University. They are charged with intermediary duties between the administration and the students. They relay information from the administration to students and as well transmit students' worries, difficulties to the administration. It is also worth noting that though this group of people represents the student body, some times, they turn to work against them by acting as spies to monitor their plans and activities in order to relay them to the authority²¹⁴. They are incited at times to play this role against their fellow students. This is common in the general sense that even in active life, those we select to represent us in Yaounde are more loyal to the system²¹⁵. They portray little or no commitment to those who elected them to their prestigious posts. This may be similar in the Universities. 'Those elected students to represent the faculties identify themselves closer to the administration rather than with their mates This because, most at times they sit and win with the administration. Also, they do this in order to win confidence of the administration and to have them maintained at their high positions²¹⁶'.

²¹⁴ Anonymous source source from interview conducted on 20 November 2021.

²¹⁵ Interview with student on campus on the role of the students' government 20 November 2021 .

²¹⁶ Interview with students in the University of Buea on campus, June 2021.

Their adherence to the prescriptions of the administration goes further to ensure harmony and tranquility in the University milieu²¹⁷. Contrarily to this, it may provoke other students to go on rampage to the detriment of the University, the students themselves and the entire society. Apart from these, content also constitutes an important vector for influencing political conscience viewed in policies and ideologies.

1.2.1.2- The place of political socialisation in educational policies, ideologies, methods and technics

LAGROYE sees political socialisation by the school as a means of acceptance of legitimate political order. Each community puts in place processes of inculcation relative to the government in power. Political socialisation is within the framework of the dynamic acceptance of political order²¹⁸. Done through the mechanisms of learning, interview of thoughts and attitudes common to all members of the same society, it creates possibility for comparison between diverse political communities. For this author and his group, it is necessary to understand what political culture is as it is the existence of a common origin, belief, attitude, and sentiments shared by all members of a political system or society. This is reached and postulated by tenants of the systematic analysis who say that “political culture assures the cohesion and permanence of systems imposing to all and effects the drives of individuals in their political role and their response to the law²¹⁹”.

Moreover, according to this author, political culture can be seen in two dimensions namely cognitive and affective. Political culture in the affective domain, analyses the experience of relationship between groups and between members in family life, school, enterprise just to name but these. Culture in the cognitive domain, refers to the appreciation of actions of governance, their aptitudes and organisation of specialists to satisfy individual demands. To be socialised politically consists of adopting attitudes and sharing thoughts of all common groups, parties or cultures which encloses other aspects of social life. In the affective view, political culture refers to interest, love attached to participation in actions of political life of the society. From the inspiration of the above cited author, we are motivated

²¹⁷ Decree No. 93/036/ of 29 January 1993, bearing administrative and academic organization of the University of Yaounde I, article 8.

²¹⁸ LAGROYE, J., et al, *Sociologie politique*, 5^e édition, Paris, Dalloz, 2006, p. 28.

²¹⁹ LAGROYER, J., et al, *sociologie politique*, Belgique, 200, P. 409.

to research on the mechanisms used by the university to transmit political learning and how this influences their attitude.

Every educational system is guided by policies and ideologies which stipulate and guard its functioning. They play a capital role in the transmission of models of personality. As a microcosm of the society, the school in general and the University in particular reflect the policies, ideologies and practices of the society. In looking at the performance of the French educational system, Ferry frowns at the fact that the systems in Africa since 1990 have failed to progress. To further substantiate this view, he alludes to Forestier²²⁰, one of the most knowledgeable persons in the world of education amongs others saying « *L'école est en panne, (meaning education has a break down* »²²¹ meaning it has failed to yield the fruits expected of it. In the context of the present study, the brake down here can be attributed to the domain of political culture. Here, we have viewed the nature of socialisation offered to students today through policies and ideologies. To better do this we also examined curriculum and co-curriculum content in relation to political knowledge as well as the role teaching methods and techniques play in this process in its formulation, methods, policies, ideologies and technics to better students' situations.

1.2.1.2.1- Formulation of educational policies, ideologies, methods and techniques

The formulation of educational policies, ideologies, methods and technics occupy a core position in educational planning. In viewing how, schooling in general and the learning process in particular is democratized, Merle distinguishes it in two phases. The first consists in diffusion of political instruction across the history of schooling. For this author, the phenominon of difussion of instruction cannot be disassociated or separated from the great political periods that fashion the ideologies of scholarization²²². Analytically, in Cameroon the context of education in general and Higher Education (Universities) in particular, the ideology of democracy and its associated values like freedom, tolerance, fraternity,

²²⁰ FORESTIER, C., one of the best knowledgeable persons, in the world of education amongs others and founder of Education link Ltd saying "*L'école est en panne*". He used this link to offer consultancy services to those interested in Hng Kong and East Asia education, with the commitment to contribute to the positive development of education and education opportunities for the region. [Fr.linkedin.com/in/Katherine-forestier-49aa2614](https://fr.linkedin.com/in/Katherine-forestier-49aa2614).

²²¹ Luc Ferry, *Avec le conseil d'analyse de la societe : Combratire L'illitrisme*, Paris, Odile Jacob, 2009, P. 10.

²²² MERLE, P., *La Democratization de l'Enseignement "une synthese pertinent et accessible de derniers acquis de l'histoire, et de la Sociologie de l'education"* 3^{eme} edition, la Decouverte, Paris, 2017, P. 4.

accountability just to name but these are the few amongs many that needs to be adequately reflected on programs as well as their execution reinforced.

The second perspective of democratic values, deals with equality. Equality here can be exercised in terms of chances of schooling, sitting for an examination, chances of passing same examination just to name but these. Equality opts for values such as meritocracy, transparency, freedom of choice and expression. In its hidden sense equality is to works hand in glove with fraternity that is the spirit of oneness, love and warmth. These principles and values need to be hammered and re-iterated in school. From an objective view, the gap between educational policies, projects to be implemented in schools and the objective reality of the system of learning in Cameroon needs reinforcement. To this effect, it is difficult to understand that the gap is susceptible or certain of being contrary to social hope placed in school as well as contrary in influencing an analysis of useful transformation in the learners²²³. Democratisation in this second perspective tries to breach the gap of « reproduction »²²⁴ and « inequality of chances »²²⁵ with regards to socio economic status as a dominant source of power.

This analysis is not only made on the system of learning alone for there is no system of education entirely independent of the social system. School is an element of the social system. It is at times the product of the social system as well as a modality for it's reproduction. The school in general and the University in particular as a microcosm of the social system which works in accordance to the parenting of the social system is described by Philippe as domesticating and emancipating²²⁶. The double role of the school as a domesticator and at the same time emancipator, shows the extent to which the government exercises control over the educational system and wants it to remain dormant in certain aspects over others. On this note, Aristocratic terms like hierachy, authority are very eminent in school practical in things like; award of diplomas, invention of marks and ranking. These leads to division of the society into classes and gives rise to the dominant class thus impacting on policies.

²²³ MERLE, P., idid, P. 4.

²²⁴ BOURDIEU, P., et PASSERON, J.C., *la Reproduction* cited by ANSERT, P., *Les Sociologies Contmporaines*, edition du seuil, L'Harmattann, 1993, P. 30.

²²⁵ BOURDON, R., et Jean J., ROUSSEAU, *Discour sur l'origin et fondements de l'inegalites des chances parmi les Hommes*, Paris, librairie Generale Francaise, 1996, P.107-145.

²²⁶ MEIRIEU, P., idem, P.23-27.

1.2.1.2.2- Impact of educational policies and ideologies on students' political socialisation

The vision of a nation depends on educational policies and ideologies put in place by that country. Educational policies and ideologies condition school learning. According to Chris,

'until there is a new type of education in our school, Africa will continue to produce a new set of wrong people. There is an urgent need for the reconstruction of educational system that has a destination. Content is the problem we need to understand the destination of our educational content what it is suppose to produce''²²⁷

As dwelled by this author, the issue of content is of focal interest as far as students' political socialisation in the University is concern. This greatly depends on ideologies and policies. Curriculum policy has been defined as a set of rules and guidelines that are established in a school system to control curriculum development activities. In Cameroon, the policies that impinch on curriculum decision making are; harmonisation in terms of structure and programmes, bilingualism, integration, ruralisation among others.

The Educational system in general and Higher Education in particular is bound by democratic principles which are fashioned and reflected in curriculum in its restraint acceptance imposed by educational and political ideology. The stipulation of the University being a closed and apolitical milieu has restrained the activities of students. This has shaped participation in school with a very limited frame. This Semantic remark has led to the problem of content being less reflective of political culture as well as students having a look warm attitude towards it. Without doubts, the inevitable specialisation of the school as a closed milieu from politics partly explains why content at this level is shallow.

Through policies, school directs and restricts students' aspirations. The government has put in place at all levels, programmes which reflect policies of the country²²⁸. Although much room is not given for actual practice in school, some routine practices which reflect political participation in one way or the other, are carried out. But the question that bits our

²²⁷ OYAKHILOME, C., worried about the end of curriculum content of most African countries suggests a review that will suit the content. The present study abides to this author's view in the perspective of political culture exposed in the university, Wikipedia

²²⁸ NJEUMA, L.D., ENDELEY, H., and others, reforming a national system of higher education: the case of Cameroon, a report of the ADEA working group on higher education, 1999, P4-16.

imagination is to understand the effectiveness of political learning in the University. That is how it instigates political learning for continuity in and after school? Looking at the role the University plays in this perspective demands us to talk about the contributions of actors beginning with students. Learners of the same age manifest great differences at an adult age. This is either as a result of their conditioning or the education they have received as well as the environment in which they live. For this reason, it is not only the responsibility of parents, teachers and peers but also that of the community as a whole to offer learners the reference that will permit them become what is worth instead of handicapping them by our projections, hopes and subjective exigencies.

1.2.1.2.3- Impact of teaching methods and techniques on political socialisation of students

Teaching methods and technics, impact learning. A method is a procedure or way of doing something. The process of teaching and learning is not done at random but through the use of methods. In a general sense, method refers to a group of pedagogic conception link to the realisation of educational goals. Methods occupy a central position and are the only means through which teaching and learning is successful. Although varied in types, particular teaching methods are suitable for tackling particular levels as well as disposing particular contents. These methods further attract techniques required for content disposition. Technique is another important prerequisite for teaching and learning to be successful²²⁹. As far as dispatching content on political knowledge is concerned, some students, frown at the fact that they are not given the opportunity to fully express them selves as well as clarify their doubts. In their words;

to the best of my knowledge I know learning is an interactive process between the instructor and the learners. Though in the University the instructor's role may shift from teachers to students, like in the case of expose (academic discuss), it has been persistently recorded by students that in dispatching political content in some topics termed "sensitive" feedback between the instructor and the students is limited. This restriction is partly as a result of security of job. This act negatively affects acquisition of political culture and political socialisation of students in general²³⁰.

²²⁹ LEKE, T., *principles and methods of teaching*, second edition, Yaounde, Cameroon, 2012, p. 119.

²³⁰ Interview conducted with some students of FALSH, on campus June 2021.

From this statement, it can be deduced that students are underinstructed as far as acquisition of political knowledge is concerned. If the objective of the teaching and learning process is for students to be able to manifest particular behavioural outcome at the end of the lesson, how effective can this be when students are not allowed to clarify their doubts or when content is partially taught. The diagram below exposes the didactic focus a teacher should have in mind when planning a lesson as this goes a long way to affect interest in a lesson and assimilation of content.

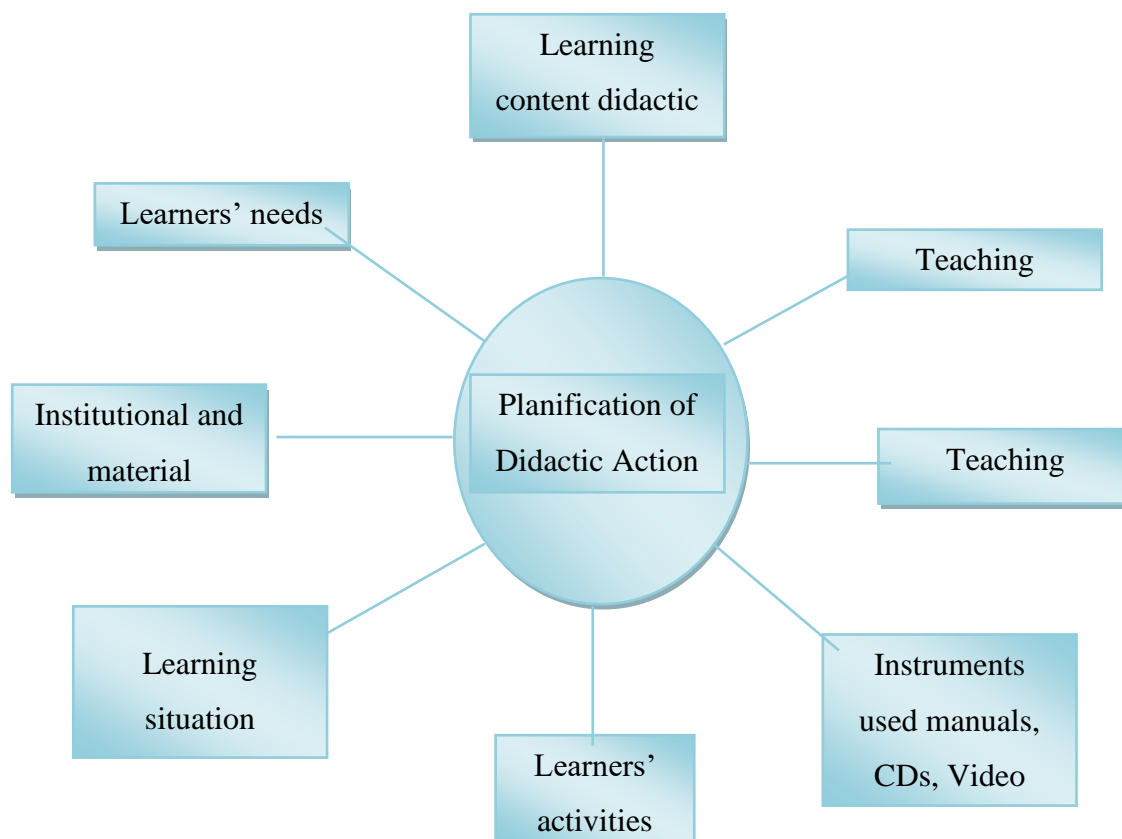


Figure 2: Conception of pedagogic action

Source: field work, researcher's initiative.

The result of the teaching and learning process depends on how well content is mastered. The personality of every student, his or her motivation is a determinant factor to intellectual activities. The way students understand, reason, use information to resolve problems is translated to cognitive structure as a result of social learning. In order to develop this therefore the process of learning in general and political learning in particular should be well planned and delivered.

1.2.2- University: a milieu for exposition of political learning.

Formal education provides adolescents and youth with particular skills and commitments which accompany them through out life. Inorder words, political skills and commitments are primarily acquired through pre and or early adult stage. Conditions which approve the school as a milieu for the exposition of political culture are their programmes and routine rituals evident in content. Teaching and learning is based on content. This sub section looks on political socialisation reflected in curriculum content as well as co-curriculum activities.

1.2.2.1- The place of political socialisation in curriculum and co-curriculum activities

The word curriculum entails subjects comprising a course of study in a school or college. Other words related to it are syllabus, programmes of study, Educational programmes, subjects, models, timetable and scheduling. Teaching and learning in school is organised in a formal way. It differs from that in an informal setting, in that, it is based on a set plan called the curriculum. According to TAMBO, three considerations make up the definition of the curriculum these are explicit, implicit and extra-curricula considerations²³¹. The explicit curriculum is content that is found in textbooks, curriculum guides, syllabuses and other formal education experiences²³². The implicit consideration goes beyond the content or specific subjects that make up the curriculum. To him, there is a hidden curriculum or an informal one which includes teaching and learning that is not formally stated. Such teaching and learning is not planned but emerges as a result of the interaction between the teachers and the learners as well as the learning environment²³³.

As a social institution, the University is quided by policies and ideologies which are reflected in Higher Education programmes and which in effect shape curriculum and co-curriculum contents. The educational system plays a capital role in the transmission of models of personality²³⁴. Education is a proxy for pre adult political socialisation processes that occur largely outside of the educational environment. Schooling contributes largely towards its initiation. The process of educating youths in general and University students in

²³¹ LEKE, T., *Principles and methods of teaching*, second edition, Yaounde, Cameroon, 2012, P. 116-118.

²³² Vallence, E., *The Public Curriculum of orderly images: Educational researcher*, 24, 4-13.

²³³ LEKE, T. I., *ibid.* P. 117.

²³⁴ MENDRAS, H., *idem.* P. 20.

particular, in political learning has received increasing attention by political scientists, sociologists and educational researchers. Although it is clear from educational goals and pronouncements of educational actors alike that schooling should influence political knowledge, attitude, values and skills of students, it is not at all clear to what extent or in what way this should take place. In order to understand these phenomena and to help shape schooling policies and practices, we need to know much more about what schooling factors contribute to which political outcome in students. In order to achieve this, this section of work is consecrated in viewing the University curriculum, the orientations and approaches of textbooks as well as information level, attitudes, perceptions and the behaviour of students during and after the learning and co-learning activities.

1.2.2.1.1- Curriculum content and political socialisation

The approach to expose or identify the mechanisms by which University affects political learning is through the curriculum. It focusses on different types of contents in the University that purposefully expose students to political information and provides space for debates and reflections on political and civic issues. In this light, the curriculum is viewed in two perspectives as a mechanism for political socialisation. The first view is at the individual level of engagement in civic education. The second deals with how the students' courses of study in these institutions affect their level of political consciousness. Today, students in general and those of the University in particular are exposed to a range of stimuli inside and outside of classrooms and lecture halls. This has the potential to boost or dampen political awareness and trust. To note, some of these stimuli are curriculum choices that is learning content in terms of courses and topics which expose content on political culture, pedagogic techniques, leadership style and institutional organisation.

In the present context, it can be said that they are deliberately put in place because of their purported political effects, including their ability to produce and transmit certain types of political norms and values. The trust generating agent of political socialisation is also based on individual students or groups of students, the teachers and the administrators. In other instances, the University as an agent may institute different types of structures and processes that characterise the context or environment of the school.

NZEKA in his idea of a balance curriculum capitalises on five aspects of a learner's personality that need to be adequately developed namely the moral or spiritual, the physical,

mental, the social and the emotional aspects. A curriculum which caters for all these five aspects of a learner's personality is said to be a balance curriculum²³⁵. To this effect, the sixth aspect is added by this research which is the political aspects. In this section, focus has been in examining two things the first is based in understanding how the idea of political learning is projected in the curriculum of the University and the second to examine how this influence perceptions, attitudes, skills and manifestations of the population in the institution. We have viewed the effects of the opened and the hidden curricular to see how they impact political socialisation of students either directly or indirectly. The school in general and the University in particular is one of the environment in which learners have contact with the outside world other than members of the family. The school is successful in its mission of impacting knowledge thanks to the curriculum. The curriculum is the outlay of concepts to be taught in a given course or subject. It refers to an interactive system of instructions and learning with specific goals, contents, strategies, measures and resources. The purpose of having a curriculum is to provide teachers with outlines of what should be taught in classrooms²³⁶. There are three forms of curricula namely the explicit²³⁷, the hidden and the null.

There is a direct link between what is exposed to students as content and the behavioural pattern they put on in the course and there after. In Cameroon, the educational system in general and that of Higher Education in particular, exposes students to the political culture of the country. The curriculum content which the University exposes to its students is not reflexive enough of the political culture of the country. Even in some departments like Political Sciences, Geography and History where some topics warrant the exposition of the learners to these contents. At times, the teachers are not very willing to fully expose or discuss certain aspects on grounds that they are protecting their images and jobs or because they were not trained on the domain.

Just as a human baby is stimulated to obtain a particular objective or goal through excitation, the acquisition of political culture by University students can be excited by stimulating the University curriculum in the domain of political learning. Each learner has

²³⁵ NZEKA P. N., *legislation and school administration, second edition*, the Ngem Publishing Enterprise, Bamenda, Cameroon, 1989, P. 126

²³⁶ The purpose of a curriculum according to the United States Department of Education, [http:// www. ed. Gov/k – 12 reforms/standard](http://www.ed.gov/k-12/reforms/standard).

²³⁷Ibid, P. 117.

inborn potentials that are peculiar of him or her thus cannot be transferred from one learner to another but needs to be developed²³⁸. The school in general and the University in particular is just the right environment for this to be done. The school is a perfect environment because it has a well-structured curriculum which guides actors in teaching and learning. The school is the second agent of socialisation of learners after the home. As such, its activities reflect the allround formation and development of the learners with respect to domains. All school systems attempt to inculcate certain basic values and attitudes including those of political culture as the feeling of affection or support for the country, governmental apparatus, the head of state, the police, the parliament, the national anthem as well as democratic values like peace, equality, freedom, and important historical events of the country.

In Cameroon, the curriculum of the school in general and that of the University in particular needs to be fully democratised²³⁹. From primary to University, our educational system needs reconstruction²⁴⁰. For Aldo, the corrective measures taken this period of 20 years after post colonisation in Africa have failed to bring any tangible measures thus needs to be restructured. To support the need for reconstruction or restructuralisation of the educational system, ALDO alludes to the British and the American systems of education respectively²⁴¹. In Britain, entry age into school is six. Nursery in other places is judged indispensable as far as sensory motor activities are concern. While with the American system of education, children specialise from the onset. The advantage with specialisation is that it gives them the advantage to be long initiated and stay in their trend of specialty from the onset and be taught in that light. Not waiting until when they get to the University before specialising to be experts.

In the same light, the present research inclines to this view of early initiation of learners be it in political life of the country. The preparation of learners as well as their initiation into a particular culture needs to be reinforced from the very onset of schooling. Students do not need to wait until they complete the University before taking part in political activities. When will they inculcate the habit of this? Which other environment will better prepare them towards this endeavour other than the school.

²³⁸ ALDO, N., *Eduquer ses enfants, l'urgence Aujourd'hui*, Paris, Odile Jacob, 2008, P. 113.

²³⁹ BOUDET, M., *la Democratization de l'Education Nationale, Condition de sa Refondation*, P.237, cite' par Florence, S.L., et Martine, B., *Le Systeme Educatif a l'heure de la Societe de a connaissance*, presse Universitaire du Mirail, 2014, P.237-240.

²⁴⁰ ALDO, Naouri, *idem*, P. 14-18.

²⁴¹ ALDO, N., *idem*

The quality of political knowledge delivered to students should be determined. It should be that which will develop students in all domains political not exempted. Just as EVA, it has been discovered that the structural layout as well as level of political knowledge offered in the University has no significant effect on students' political attitude in the University²⁴². Discussions on political issues are not very much opened or encouraged. Even in department like political science, such discussions are much often moderated. Therefore, the formal curriculum has no significant impact on the political attitude of students in Cameroon. It is more to make them depoliticise rather than politicise beings. The hidden curriculum is often presented as a counter productive element in education²⁴³. For this reason, many argue that it should be eliminated by being made explicit. The transition from teacher centre to learner centre education, has still not resolved the problem of the hidden curriculum. The student's centered model that takes the student's experience as the starting point of learning has still not got much influence on the students' attitude and specifically political attitude in school.

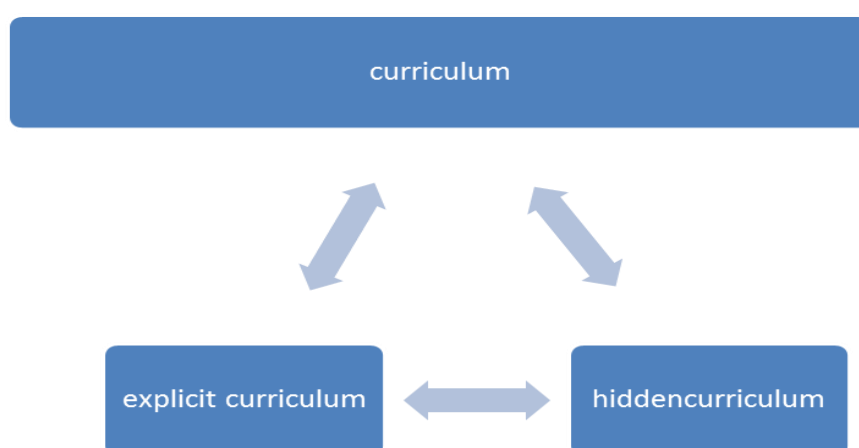


Figure 3: Curriculum types and their influence on political socialisation

Source: Field work 2021, researcher's initiative.

There is a popular adage in pedagogy which states that learners learn more unconsciously. This expresses the fact that not only what is planned as content constitute learning. But also, there is a great link between planned content and its intended outcome and non intended outcome. The above illustration shows the active and retro-active relationship between curriculum content and its various types. The explicit curriculum in general and that

²⁴²EVA, T., idem.

²⁴³ LEKE, T., idem.

of political socialisation in particular is that learning content which the teacher plans to teach or expose to students. But worthy of note is the fact that learning does not only depend on this. The manner in which content is exposed is also taken into consideration. All the necessary methods and strategies also pass across a great message. These methods and procedures need to be taken into serious consideration when planning to dispatch content. The retroactions of the hidden curriculum can have negative consequences on the explicit and the curriculum in general. This is peculiar today in the lack of interest manifested by students.

Political content in the University appears less visible this makes political learning insufficient and poorly known thus under socialised. Most students say;

“teachers are not very explicit when teaching certain topics in political learning. They term them « sensitive topics » and limit themselves in their exposition. This makes us wonder why the school which is a milieu for acquisition of scientific knowledge in order to seek new solutions can be this restricted”²⁴⁴.

From the above declaration, political learning has a programmatic and practical interest. The representation of it on policies and curriculum content of the Universities is considered a stake not sufficiently tasteful to attract interest in learning. Apart from experiences acquired in the classroom out door activities also influence political socialisation.

1.2.2.1.2- Co-curriculum practice and political socialisation in the University

Co-curriculum constitutes another domain that supports learning in the university. According to Marcel Mauss²⁴⁵, the analysis of co-curriculum (play) integrates at the same time psychological data “play actions, fatigue, body technic” and social data “games, gesture force” most often collective which expresses prestige to the camp that is victorious as being the most powerful, the champion”. This remark has not lost its pertinence today, seeking to understand the significance of games to the process of socialisation of students in general and political socialisation in particular. The exposition of political culture in school and University in particular is exposed in the routine practices.

²⁴⁴ Interview with some respondents in the Universities.

²⁴⁵ MARCEL MAUSS was a French actor and mime artist. He was most famous for his stage persona, “Bip the clown”. He referred to mime as the “art of silence”. He studied dramatic arts and mime in Paris. Source; en.m.wikipedia.org

The University is involved in a number of frequent activities term co-curricula which help to mold students into their civic obligations and create a sense of commitment. Civic activities vary from; flag hosting, singing of the national anthem, respect for authority, and the love for one another and game. The co-curriculum complements study in the classroom or better still amphitheatre. As the popular adage goes that learning without playing makes jack a dull boy. The University has as tradition that co-habits class work with games. Each academic year is made up of a period for studies and that for relaxation. This period for relaxation is for both students and teachers serves as a follow up of learning. It is the period for putting in practice some of the theoretical skill acquired in the close or outdoor classrooms especially in the domain of sports and physical education as well as theatre Arts. In the context of this study, the suggestions made to keep the co-curriculum reflection of political culture are further buttressed.

In looking at the contribution co-curriculum activities make to the process of political socialisation of students, it is wise to first reflect on the meaning of the word. Co-curricular or extra curricular is a combination of the Latin prefix *co* « on the outside » and *curriculum* meaning « a running course of study or career »²⁴⁶. Something that is extra curricular is outside of a course or career. When we get involve in an extral curricular activity, we are going outside of what is expected but worth noting is the fact that these activities help suppliment the work done in the classroom. These refer to those activities that are a continuation of learning but which are opposed to indoor activities. They are carried out of the classroom. They are following up activities which complement learing in the classroom. Impressive co-curricula activities vary from; Student government, academic and social clubs, sport teams just to name but these. All these complement work in the classroom. Some scholars are of the opinion that the study of political science affects civic attitudes while studying law or communication does not²⁴⁷. The school in general and the University in particular is seen as a cause and a proxy of political socialisation of students. In the same light, there is a causal relationship between co-curricula activities in the University and political socialisation thus identifying school as a key site for socialisation.

²⁴⁶ LEKE, T.I., *idem*, P. 117-122.

²⁴⁷ ESAIOSSON, P., and PERSSON, J.C., “does studying political science affect civic attitudes? a panel comparism of students of politics, Law and Mass Communication” *journal of political science Education*, 10 (4), 375-385.

The importance accorded to extra or co-curricular activities is glaring in the argument that both education and its suggested outcome are by products of pre- adult socialisation which largely occurs outside of the school environment²⁴⁸. As a proxy, schooling considers not only the formal but other agents of socialisation besides the school, as well as co-curricular activities. These help students to generate knowledge in general and political consciousness in particular, thus interest. To say that co-curricula activities of school precisely those of the University and political socialisation are linked has an added value with respect to political socialisation. Specifically, it has been noted that those who obtain higher level of schooling, act and think differently from those who do not because of their formal schooling. For this reason, higher education should be seen as a proxy for a series of pre-adult experiences and predispositions which are characteristics which precondition political interest such as cognitive ability, games, family background, peer influence, values and personality²⁴⁹. These are better acquired when learners go out of school or classrooms.

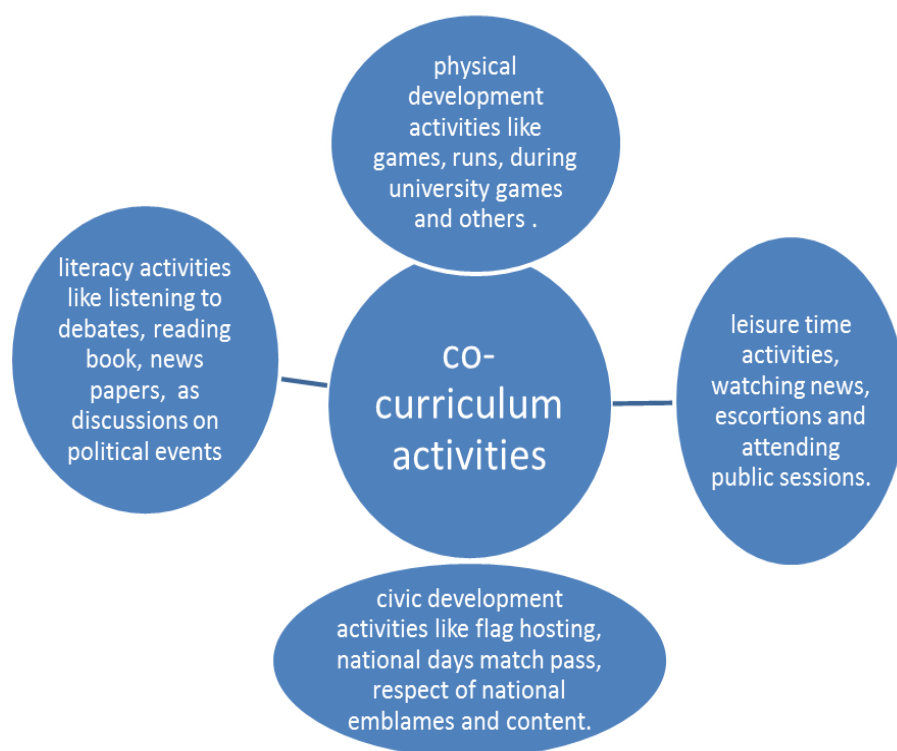


Figure 4: Cu-curriculum activities impact on political socialisation

Source: Field work 2021, researcher's initiative.

²⁴⁸ KAM, C.D., and PALMER, C.L. "Reconsidering the effects of Education on political participation" journal of politics, 70(3), 612 – 631, www.journal.uchicago.edu > doi> full.

²⁴⁹Ibid, P. 614.

Co-curriculum or e-curriculum supports learning carried out in the classroom. These avenues serve as outdoor classrooms where University students doctrine their peers. In the context of political socialisation, and the above diagram, co-curricular activities vary from leisure like site seeing, literacy, physical like sporting and civic development activities. In France, the dynamism of sports in the mist of rapid urbanisation and progress development of leisure was legitimised for convergent preoccupations. In the 1880, medical school of thoughts showed that sport is favourable for health and longevity. Particularly, the practice of sports helps to drive away illnesses and alcoholism. In other words, Pierre de Coubertin²⁵⁰, sporting activities constitute a factor of moral education of youths thus schools should promote its practice. It is in line of the author that its practice is today seen both as a co-curriculum yet a curriculum practice. Today, sport is taught as a course not only lessens. Many sporting academies are opened to teach and implant skills in young learners. In the course of doing this, they also socialize as they meet and create new friends, share talents and make names for their respective teams, institutions and countries. Sports and games are and remains a principal means of dignity and recognition nationally and internationally. It enables a country seek and gain international recognition and serves as a principal source of wealth. It also helps to sustain and promote patriotic sentiments and complement military service.

On his part, Nobert Elias²⁵¹ classifies the development of sport generally in relation to modern societies as the progressive canalisation of expressive violence. For instance, talking about boxing, he observed it requires lifting of very heavy weight to make one a giant by so doing, one develops muscles of the upper body, then the lower one. This in effect helps to deform a person, from the original physical body thus conflict of the body. Also, the fact that sports helps to trim down weight and make a fat person look slim is another source of conflict of the body according to this author. Van Gestel²⁵² approaches these theoretical concepts and ideas by systematising the views of the iconic scholar and offering new insight into his central theory of humans, basing on Universal rather than relative to a case study.

²⁵⁰ BARON PIERRE de Coubertin, the founder of modern olympic games. He founded the international Olympic committee (IOC) to help build a peaceful and better world by educating young people through sports as well as keep fit. Olympics. Com.> ioc >who-was-pierre-de.

²⁵¹ Elias, N., the analysis of history and sports. Here, he explains te course of history and how the role that leisure and sports have occupied in it should be investigated. His figurational standpoint offers a unique.

²⁵² VAN GESTEL, his analysis on sports as a source of conflict is more universal. He offers more insight into the centre of humans' theory in sports as a source of violence basing n universal rather than relative to a case study.

Apart from the psychological and moral wellbeing of students, these activities of different forms create room for students to meet at their convenience and carry out exchanges in terms of discussions covering a broad platform. In these discussions students especially those of the University do exchange ideas amongst which are political. In this perspective Brain says, 'We exchange views and worries amongst which are those of political events, system as well as their learning problems'.²⁵³ All these expressions help to influence choices of some students in favour or against political learning. It is also a great source of recreation. When students come together from different Universities, like during the period of University games, they put in exhibition their civic know how. This creates an occasion for their patriotic spirit to grow and for the younger ones to emulate same. In general, the sociology of sports principally retains two distinctions. The first constitutes the class of division of social space. The second capitalizes on the manner of doing sports. In the first ideal type, sport is presented essentially as an activity which helps to maintain the body in its physical and mental form. It refers to sports in a much subtle form, without looking at performance or competition. In the second type, regour is put on training oriented towards competition. This conception supposes a judicious training and practice.

While in the University, students learn leadership rules and acquire skills. They obtain first hand experience of bureaucratic rules and procedures aimed at rewarding good and punishing bad behaviour. The types of rules which the University upholds as well as the processes and values which guide their application provide students with valuable information about the functioning of political institutions beyond the school yard. As a result, students who perceive their school to be performing well, extrapolates from these experiences and are more likely to express trust in the structure of their country's political institutions. Apart from the duty exercised on institutions, they have that of respecting authorities in their social functions of the institution.

1.2.2.2- Bi- functional nature of some actors of the Universities

The school in general and the University in particular is a social institution as such it has a mode of functioning. Every institution functions thanks to management. The teaching and learning process cannot be successful without management of both the students and personnel. The process of management on its part entails interaction. As a web of

²⁵³ ETUGE Brain, in an interview on peer influence to political socialisation.

relationship, its' personnel and activities are directed and moderated by the administration. Worthy of note is the fact that some actors of the administration play a double function as administrators in the University and the central government²⁵⁴. Others openly wear the coat of administrators and hide the phase of politicians at the same time the closed and apolitical nature of the University notwithstanding. The process of interaction sometimes might lead to miss understanding. The University is involved in a number of activities which portray the exposition of political culture thus political socialisation. The activities vary from; learning about elections, conducting them in school, leadership style and political events which at times entail practice.

1.2.2.2.1- From theory to practice: new expressive form of political socialisation in Universities

Today, though the school is closed and apolitical²⁵⁵, the University environment is not free from political practices. It is difficult to talk about school without relating it to its political environment²⁵⁶ if we have to talk about its function of integration and continuity of the system. Along with the family, friends, the surrounding environment and mass media, Universities are major influence on young people as they develop a political awareness. They are therefore a fundamental vector for the diffusion of values of a political system. This subsection views the manifest and latent role of the University in the transmission of political culture as an empirical function. According to Berther,

civic learning and initiation of students need great consideration as student's moral towards this, is in a deterioration state each day. Mean while there is increasing need of moral booster, thus the policy of governance on the part of political education for students should be re-examined²⁵⁷.

This should reflect equitable partition of learning resources as far as the formative and educative action is concerned. In terms of content, it should influence the quality of teaching-learning with the goal of constructing a just and harmonious civic learning. There should be provision for some theoretical knowledge acquired in the University, to be put to practise during this period. In the domain of acquisition of political knowledge, policy makers should

²⁵⁴ KOM, A., idem.P. 122.

²⁵⁵ Decree bearing general disposition of Universities, idem.

²⁵⁶ Robert MENTHONG, M. k., *La Revolution Passive au Cameroun: Etat, societe, et Changement*, 1999, P. 9-13.

²⁵⁷ Interview conducted with a student of the University of Buea, Berther Antoinette, on why students manifest this behavioural pattern as well as what needs to be done.

fine-tune procedures to enable a competitive atmosphere in this regard. When this is put in place, the idea of competition will enable many in these schools to develop interest in learning and practising by so doing, just as the play way method where a child assumes a role, he or she develops stimulus that provokes particular reaction²⁵⁸, these reactions if followed up can end up making that personality. Students will end up understanding, keeping and practicing these skills. Today, if asked which of the Cameroonian stars' students emulate to become in football, it is eminent that many will want to model after Eto'O fils. Therefore, this great accomplishment comes with hard work as well as an enabling environment. Therefore, the University should adequately create such enabling space for students to exercise their knowledge.

Political learning should be spread across various faculties and departments in the University. It should be made as common course in every department. Today, most students consider it a taboo if we have to talk about political socialisation. For these students politics is forbidden in school. Nothing as such should be mentioned there. This probably justifies the reason why very few faculties and departments relate to the exposition of political content. These are faculty of law and political science, departments like sociology precisely Political Sociology unit, History and Geography. Here certain topics relate to the exposition of political content. According to EBENYEH, "even though some of these topics future, teachers do not really welcome feedback from students"²⁵⁹. Apart from spreading content, the acquisition of political knowledge does not entail education limited to theory but as well that of practice. There is a need of a blend between theory and practice. On the note of importance attached to practice in a learning process, RUSESELL states;

*"la théorie sans action produit desrévolutionnaire en fauteuil roulant. L'action sans réflexion, elle, produit un militantisme inefficace ou contre productif. C'est touts l'intérêt de la praxis: cycle de théorie d'action et de réflexion qui nous aide a analyser tout ce que l'on entreprend en vue de perfectionner nos idées"*²⁶⁰.

In pedagogy, there is a popular adage that what we see, we forget, we hear we forget, but what we see, hear and feel, is easily remembered. This adage emphasizes a blend of all the domains in learning that is; cognitive, affective and psycho-motor. From the above

²⁵⁸ MEAD, G.H., *Play and Game*, in Mendras, H., idem, P. 139.

²⁵⁹Interview with EBENYEH Roseline a student in the university on the relationship of political content with teaching and learning process. The idea of feedback is at time restricted. Most often, students are not allowed to voice their views or clarify their doubts.

²⁶⁰ Joshua Russell, a strategic coordinator of actions, facilitator and formator for the Ruskus society (USA).

statements, the practical need of an adequate blend of theory to practice in the domain of political learning, acquisition of political culture by the students, would enable them acquire practical skills, remember and valorise them in a suitable environment where they are needed during and after University studies;

political education should be fashioned more to reflect community life. When this is done, it will give the youths in general and students in particular the possibility of studying codes, symbols and practices enrooted in their daily routine thus giving a guarantee for each student from one generation to another to learn and practice them²⁶¹.

Being more of a long term and gradual process, the strategies for students' integration should be planned quite ahead of time to achieve a blend of theory to practice progressively. It is thus a call for concern for policy makers to understand that political learning needs to be spread in a number of courses. When political learning is spread on a broad spectrum, it will give learners the opportunity of meeting these in many courses. Also, its appearance in a number of courses will in it self serves as a reminder that it is important. This is also a means for re-iteration for emphasis in its manifest and latent functions.

1.2.2.2.1.1- Empirical function of University as a manifest of political socialisation (school, elections, learning content, hosting of the flag etc)

Socialisation can be termed manifest when it is voluntary and systematic. Manifest socialisation of learners consists in organising a methodological learning of a certain number of attitudes and behaviour cherished by the adult community. These vary from; Civic Education, hygiene and sanitation, obedience, politeness, rules and regulations. As earlier stated, socialisation defines processes through which individuals appropriate norms values and ascribe roles which directs the functioning of society. In this light, socialisation has two essential functions; to maintain the degree of cohesion among members and favour their adaptation. In the context of this study, it constitutes secondary socialisation which according to Etienne et al, intervene at the end of childhood and permits individuals (whose personalities have to a greater extend been in construction) to integrate in particular groups²⁶² like the school. The integration of students in these sub groups supposes acquisition of specific norms and values and the learning of special roles which are directly or indirectly

²⁶¹ Interview with AMAMBU Delphine, a student in the University on the way political socialisation of students can be ameliorated.

²⁶² Etienne, J., Bloess, F., et al, ictionnaire de sociologie, (socialisation), Paris, Hatier, 2004.

linked. This new adaptation goes to upgrade the already existing primary roles acquired. This permits relativisation of values acquired in the course of primary socialisation seen as the repetition of cherished behaviour. This has a bearing with secondary socialisation since it can lead to restructuralisation of personality as well as sometimes smoothen it. A social activity plays the role of manifest function, when it appears as an objective and voluntary consequence of the envisage goals. The role of schooling in outlining political behaviour has been universally accepted²⁶³. By implication the role of the family in shaping children during primary socialisation as far as acquisition of civic knowledge and skill are concerned, needs to be reinforced in school. This will help strengthen personality in civic domain as well as others in their manifest and latent forms.

The school in general and the University in particular is noted for its performance of political rites such as flag hosting, singing of the national anthem, though occasionally for some, it is a type of political learning that exposes students to political content and civic practices²⁶⁴. It is observed that the more extensive an individual's education on this, the more likely he is to be aware of the impact of government to follow politics, to have more political information, to possess a wide range of information on political matters, to engage in political discussions with a wider range of people. Mohamed looking at the role the school plays in socialising students says « it is ambivalent, at the same time, the school unifies and divides »²⁶⁵.

The institution school in general and the University in particular is a source of selection. As an organised moral milieu, the University fashions the identities of students. This is done in two ways; the first constitutes a collective and indistinctive way of inculcating common values, norms, ideas and behaviour. The second tries to seek the radical transformation of the individual and his or her categories of thinking such that his or her point of view changes radically through out his or her life. To socialise means to transmit content as well as to inculcate structures. The concept of human nature on which this representation (radical transformation) of socialisation is a pessimistic portrait of the role of school which often than not, is controlled by the role of educational policy or ideology to limit content, conscientisation and the creation of awareness in students. This is considered as disorder

²⁶³ UNESCO prescribed that civic knowledge about the anction of institutions within and without, be inshrined and taught in schools.

²⁶⁴ Results from the interview conducted in the university of yaounde I Campus February 2020.

²⁶⁵ CHERKAOUI, M., *sociologie de l'education : que sais je ?* 5^e edition, Paris, PUF, 1999, P. 9

(dyfunctional), for one of the functions of school is to create order. On this note, it works with other institutions to put them in place. Mohamed examines two concepts namely « harmony and centrality »²⁶⁶. The school is central that is, it scientifically and ideologically forms future generations. Secondly, the school in general and the University in particular, has to be in harmony with other institutions in the society.

In the light of this study the University is said to play both the manifest and latent functions with the aid of its various actors. Beginning with the teachers, their role of dispatching content to students has principally a single objective which is that of transmitting knowledge. But in the course of doing so, other secondary factors may interplay causing secondary consequences. These although not intended can also influence the learning process they are termed latent effects. Before looking at this, let us first talk about manifest role of the school (University).

The manifest role or function of the University is portrayed by authors like Durand and Weils who uphold that no politics can continue if the young generation in one way or the other does not learn the rule of the political play²⁶⁷. In this light, the learning of the rules of the political play is therefore referred to as the learning of political culture through political socialisation. Political socialisation thus seeks to understand the mechanisms and processes that the University as a school uses to inculcate socio-political values and to transform or shape the civic attitudes of students to ensure its continuity. The idea of schooling is further seen by Mvesso in three different perspectives to wit; the functionalist, the conflict and the socialist views²⁶⁸. On the functionalist view school and University more specifically is considered as a totality for the maintenance of equilibrium and harmony (supportive of the system) in the society.

Contrary to the functionalist view, the conflict perspective sees it as an effective instrument for the reproduction of dominant class. The socialists serve as a hybrid between the functionalists and the conflict. They consider school as an institution for the transformation (reproduction) of individuals into social being (system critical). Through the exercise of control, the school teaches students, various skills and values essential for future

²⁶⁶ Ibid, P. 10.

²⁶⁷ DURAND, P. J., et WEILS, R., *Sociologie Contemporaine*, edition Vigot, France, Paris, 1994, P. 422-423.

²⁶⁸ MVESSO, A., *l'Ecole Malgré Tout: les conditions d'une contribution de l'école à l'essor Africain*, Presse Universitaire de Yaounde, 1998, P. 10-42.

positions in the labour market. The University is seen as a system, and the various faculties, departments, units, levels and courses as well as its population constitute its parts. These parts need to function together to ensure equilibrium in the institution.

It is noted that students who make up majority of the University population come from different socio-cultural, political and economic backgrounds. As they make a transition from home to school or from one level to another²⁶⁹, they need to adapt to the new environment. In the University, students learn subject knowledge like, Political Science, International Relations just to name but these which expose them to both national and international political culture though in it's limited frame. Another manifest function of the University is the cultural transmission of values, normes, principles, customs and traditions considered worthy of inculcation. This is possible through the exposition of content of the curriculum as well as through the co-curriculum activities. Through the process of knowledge acquisition, the University also bestows status although many believe this function of the school is not equitable due to its' numerous selective measures surrounding latent functions of political socialisation.

1.2.2.2.1.2- Latent function of political socialisation in the University

Latent functions are those that emanate out of the official objectives. Mead tries to split the processes of socialisation which enable the learner to interiorise norms and values of the society²⁷⁰. With this the learners enter into a stage of complementary role and react in the role of others. The school in general and the University in particular perform a number of latent functions. A latent function is that which from the start is hidden that is, it is not the expressed preoccupation for carrying out an action. It does not come to mind straight away as the benefits of the action but its' result may be instrumental or disastrous as far as learning in general and political learning in particular is concerned. In context of this study, it is at the stage of significant others, the students are easily influenced. They are convinced by their peers in favour or against their proper stand. It is therefore through this form of "ascribed role" that essential socialisation is effected. The students for example may develop lack of

²⁶⁹ FONLON, B., *idem*.

²⁷⁰ MEAD, G. H., the latent processes of socialisation: for him, the latent processes of socialisation which enable the learners to interiorize norms of a given society, is split. At the beginning, the learner is contented in imitating the immediate behaviour of adults. Later, he or she plays the role of those around him or her, this is what Mead calls "significant others" meaning he learns to put his or her self in place of others and perceive things in function of others.

interest in learning as well as other negative behavioural patterns by modeling from teachers and peers. Students may result to revolt tendency, to protest the unpedagogic practices of teachers not initially because they learn to protest.

Another latent function of the school in general and the University in particular is that it plays the role of putting learners of diverse backgrounds, different ages and levels together. Although principally to acquire knowledge, some of them end up finding romantic partners and mates. Also, the University plays a latent role of transmitting and integrating culture, promoting social and political integration, maintaining social control, reproducing social classes in the society thus inequality as well as serves as an agent of transformation and change. Some parents send their children to more expensive and prestigious Universities for the quest for excellence. While those who cannot afford this send to others. It is believed that the learners' future social positions are determined by their current position in the society which the school in general and the University in particular tries to preserve termed social placement. These values are elaborated in the transmission of culture.

1.2.2.2.1.2.1- Transmission of culture

A University is a meeting point where people from diverse background converge with principal aim of study in the course of which not only political values are transmitted to students, but other values stemming their social integration. Some have short acute term effects while others have long term impact. As a social institution, the University plays a conservative role of transmitting the dominant culture. Schooling exposes each generation of young people to the existing beliefs, norms, and values of their culture. In our society we learn respect for social control and reverence for established institutions like the presidency, family and religion, government, events, systems. These values are transmitted into the programmes and taught in schools. According to Schaefer, civic education in schools, has its' origin from juvenile crimes. The growth in juvenile crimes, led the government to introduce a new civic education programme²⁷¹. This programme emphasizes honesty and discipline which is aimed at curbing crimes and promote love, spirit of being together among students themselves, between them and teachers among teachers and the administration as well as their nation for a better social and political integration.

²⁷¹ SCHAEFER, R. T., *Sociology: A Bief Introduction*, 6th edition, McGraw-Hill, 2006, P. 343.

1.2.2.2.1.2.2- The promotion of social and political integration

As earlier noted, Cameroon is a country that is rich in diversities this cuts across school. Be it in the context of the bi-cultural nature or ethnicities, the University population in terms of students and teachers, the administrative and the support staff are bound to work together. Those who constitute these institutions come from different areas within and out of the country. Transforming a society, whose members come from a diverse socio-cultural, political and economic origin into a society whose members share to a certain extent, as a common identity. Schooling serves the purpose of promoting social and political integration. This group of diverse people, who gather under the umbrella of the University in the name of students and teachers, are bound to express different behavioural patterns in terms of likes and dislikes. On this note, the school sets goals and objectives which must be followed and attained. To ensure this, the Universities in particular put in place internal rules and regulations which bind the members together. It has also put in place penalties for defaulters. The teaching and learning process which is the purpose for school cannot succeed without communication. The process of communication, verbal or non verbal warrant signs and symbols which promote learning.

In the past, the integrative function of the school in general and the University in particular, was most common in its emphasis on promoting common languages that is English and French. English and French which are a symbol of colonial legacy were favoured as oppose to our ethnic languages. Learners were expected to learn either or both languages. In some instance, they were forbidden from speaking their native languages on school grounds. But today, not only other foreign languages like Chinese, Spanish, Italian, German just to name but these are encouraged and taught in the University, but also mother tongue better still, ethnic languages and cultures are greatly integrated into the school system. As a bi- cultural state inherited from colonialism, bilingualism has been defended both for its educational value and as a means of encouraging cultural integration. However, critics argue that bilingualism undermines social and political integration that education has traditionally promoted. Apart from this, the University plays a latent role of social control.

1.2.2.2.1.2.3- A maintenance of social control

The University directly and or indirectly prepares students to lead a productive and orderly life by introducing them to the norms, values and sanctions of a wider society.

Through the exercise of social control, the University exposes students to various accums and values essential for future positions. In the labour market, they learn punctuality, discipline, schedulling and responsible work habits. The University reflects the interest of the family and the economy. The University reflects the economy in that it is structured according to the demands of the society. The varoius faculties, departments, units or fields directly or indirectly expose students to content that will enable them fit indirectly through competition in competitive examination into the economy. The Uuniversity reflects the interest of the family in that it serves as a source of investment for the family²⁷². Families provide their children with necessary needs as well as sponsor them through school so that in the nearest future when the students must have completed studies, and integrated into the economy, they will take the responsibility of taking care of them. Therefore, the success of the student is the success of his or her family and vice versa. No wonder, MBEMBE sees schooling as a source of investment for the family²⁷³. It also trains them to suit directly into the entrepreneural fields like Agriculture and petit business while other fields and levels warrant competition.

Furthermore, its' function of social control, the school in general and the University in particular, plays the role of limitation. It directs and restricts students' aspirations. Through the putting in place of educational policies and ideologies, the Uuniversity through some of its principal actors like the teachers do not only limite content but also the manner of presenting it, reflects social values and prejudices, thus change.

1.2.2.2.1.2.4- An agent of inovation

Inovation here does not entail renewal rather it means modernisation in terms of reflections in relation to all domains. The principal goal of the school and that of the University in particular is the acquisition of knowledge. Knowledge permits the learner to develop intelligent. The development of a high intelligence quotient permits them to make adiquate decisions to solve life problems. Through transmission of knowledge for a total transformation of the learner from a less social and knowledgeable being to a more social one. For this to occure, there must be a permanent positive change in the behaviour of the learners. The change in behaviour of the learner may be conservative and or transformative.

²⁷² MBEMBE, A., *idem*. P, 12-14.

²⁷³ I MBEMBE, A., *bid*. P. 14.

Apart from the conservative latent function of school and others, it stimulates or brings about desired or undesired social changes. Just as University is today considered closed and apolitical, due to its distabilising effects on the institutions principally and the society in general due to the past.

Moreover, in secondary school, sex education classes were introduced in public schools in response to the soaring pregnancy rate among teenagers and the impact became felt in the society. It is noted that there is a direct relationship between the society in which the school is found and the school which forms part of it. Through schooling expecially at the University, learners' intellectual capacity turns to widen. They develop critical thinking, their access to factual information and analysis increases. Also, hold diverse opinions and abilities to make subtle distinctions in analysis. Formal education stresses on both the ability and importance to make quality statements instead of broad generalisation. It feeds students, expecially those of such departments as political science, History and international relations with the ability and need to question rather than simply accept established practices and ideas. It can be said that the scientific method which relies on inquiry and testing of hypotheses reflects the questioning spirit that characterises schooling and the quest for truth.

1.2.2.2.1.2.5- The University an arena for symbolic interaction

Modern pedagogic strategies for teaching require constant interaction between students themselves as well as teacher and students. The teaching and learning process is an interactive one²⁷⁴. As oppose to the past when learners were considered as empty vessels and teachers the centre of learning, today learning is learner centred²⁷⁵. This approach places students at the centre of their own learning. As such, the role of the teacher is limited to a guide, a facilitator to aid the students to discover hidden tallents, knowledge and to spring. This is only possible through interaction at varried levels. The process of collaboration in learning both in and out of the classroom (amphithertre) is termed interaction. Concerned with the micro aspects of social life, symbolic interaction focuses attention on the individuals who make up society. As earlier noted, students and teachers who make up the school

²⁷⁴LEKE, T., idem, P. 218.

²⁷⁵ The teacher center approach to learning is a traditional one that laid emphasis on the teacher and not the learner. This approach considered the learner as an empty vessel tat needs to be filled by the teacher. As time went on, the center for attraction in learning today is the learner. Considered not as a tabular razer (blanc sheet), but one imbedded with knowledge. Thus the teaching an learning process should be more of a discussion as learners have contributions to make as well as doubts to clarify

population, come from different socio-economic, political and cultural backgrounds. They leave their homes each as individuals (micro) with the goal for knowledge acquisition in distinct fields according to individual aspiration. They converge in the University (macro) where through the process of socialization acquire political skill through subject knowledge, experiences, and through the interrelation of symbols.

Also called behaviourism, symbolic interaction is interested in symbols and behaviour in a social setting. The University is a social institution and the learning process in this institution is possible thanks to symbols (languages like French, English, Spanish and Chinese) which render communication of knowledge possible. Through symbols, learners and teachers of varied backgrounds are able to communicate²⁷⁶ and socialise politically and other wise. They are able to express their minds as well as likes and dislikes, problems and other worries are concerned. In return to their expression, they receive advice from friends, which at times, are helpful or destructive. Mead employs the relationship between the self and society and the socio- psychological nature of the mind²⁷⁷. This theory insists that self is a product of association²⁷⁸ and interaction is the basis for association²⁷⁹. In his work titled *mind, self and society*, the author is able to communicate between self, society and the mind. It is noted that the state of mind condition how we relate with the society. Here socialisation is seen as an equilibrium for the mind (psychological). Socialisation applied to learners is fundamental to genetic sociology. Interactionists use the notion of socialisation to express at least a minimal level of unity and social exchange in social situation where each actor behaves in function of the other. Where students behave in function of their mates, and other colleagues. Social interaction as well as society is possible because people share meaning.

In the University, the process of political socialiation is possible through the interpretation of symbols through interaction. The process of interaction on its' part, is based on understanding, collaboration and social exchange. The meaning they give to things in the environment depends on their understanding. It can be explained here that since the

²⁷⁶ LEKE, T., *ibid.* p. 152.

²⁷⁷ MEAD, M., *idem.*

²⁷⁸ OKONKO, J. C., *Sociological Theory: A Historical Analytical Approach on Man and Society*, Nigeria, Lagos, 2005, P. 153 -154.

²⁷⁹ The expression self is a product of association as employed by MEAD, M., in OKONKO, C.J., is so central in this topic. Teaching and learning process is a synergy. This between the central actors being the teachers and students as well as peripheral actors made up of the parents, government and the surrounding environment. All these parties need to be enabling for a successful teaching and learning in general and political learning in particular.

University does not really expose students to adequate political content, students are not well informed about it therefore they find the learning not important and worthy of interest. Also, due to the political atmosphere of the country today, where some youths including scholarised find pleasure being in the bushes and threatening national peace. Most students have a negative attitude about political activities. The University is a social reality which is constructed and fashioned according to the changing realities of the global society (Cameroon). It fashions the behaviour of students to meet the demands of respect for our fatherland, materials and human properties but their participation in civic duties is not adequately enforced²⁸⁰. These are evidencing in curriculum content as well as other ritualistic activities.

1.2.2.2.1.2.6 - The University an insiter and instealer of talents

The University noted for its duty of impacting knowledge also insteals as well as develops talents in students. In doing this, it incites learners by providing diverse arena for practice. Take for instance in theatre art, students are trained to sing, act, and other co-curricula activities like games. This is most practicable in the domain of sports and theatre where the learners exploit the various equipments put in place as well as personnel to bring out hidden talents. It can be said without the fear of contradiction that in the domain of co-curricula activities, learning in the University is very much associated to practice. This is evident in the continuous practice students get (drilled) especially when the period of games is at hand. The motivational strategies put in place in this domain are worth appreciating and copying especially in the political domain. It is eminent that when students are well prepared for a particular task, if not best the results will be encouraging²⁸¹. On the note of strategy, students need to be motivated so that they can perform well. Easton in his analysis of the political system uses multiple actions and retroactions²⁸² to expose the idea of motivation²⁸³. He exposes the idea of motivation in terms of support to ensure valuable concrete actions in a bit to guarantee the smooth functioning of the system.

In his idea of actions and retroactions he exposes the fact that when actions are prompted, there is bound to be a reaction which is termed retro-action. When inputs are set

²⁸⁰ EBONG, G., Interview on campus, Buea, 2021.

²⁸¹ AMOMBU, D., interview on campus Universit of Yaounde I, July 2020.

²⁸² EASTON, D., cited by BRAUD, P., *Sociologie Politique*, 7^e edition, Paris, Cedex, 2004, P. 175 -179.

²⁸³ LEKE, T., *ibid.* p. 171-174.

into the system, there is feedback which most often leads to the attainment of output. On the part of governmental inputs to higher education and the Universities specifically, much effort has been deployed to to this effect to make sure that youths and University students in particular, study in good conditions and that the quality of knowledge is ensured. The employment of Two Thousand (2000) University Lecturers progressive plan by the Head of Government as assigned by the Head of State has greatly helped to increase the number of lecturers in these institutions. This is solving the problem of shortage of teachers in these government higher institutions. It has also gone a long way to reduce unemployment in the country. On the political plan, the putting in place of the youth parliament which is a representative of the young people, from all the divisions and regions of Cameroon is a clear example of their involvement in the political sphere. In addition, the government today encourages young people to take active part not only in voting activities but also to stand as candidates during election²⁸⁴. This was in appreciation of the contributions youths made at each level of the 2018 presidential election. A striking thing that enkindled the research attention is that the Head of State encourages them to continue in the same light on grounds that Cameroon of tomorrow is with them.

The government has also put in place in schools, at each level, programmes which reflect the policies of the country. In these institutions, students are exposed to political structures, figures and policies of the country although much room is not given for their actual practice in school on grounds that they are closed and apolitical. Other routine activities which reflect political participation in one way or the other are carried out. But the question that beats our imagination is how effective are these to instigate Civic conscience and continuity after school. Apart from the government motivating the students, on their part, they need to develop intrinsic motivation as internal actors. Since the idea of socialisation is not a matter of a single actor, the different agents have to be conscious of what they do to enable a total development of personality of students in general and civic personality in particular.

²⁸⁴His Excellency, President Paul BIYA's speech on the occasion of the 53th edition of Youth Day, over Crtv.

CONCLUSION

Civic education in schools did not begin of recent but the manifestation of lack of consciousness by students. The quest to understand why this behavioural tendency is frequent leads to an examination of political socialisation in its operationalised form in the University. A vivid examination of this brings in limp light what obtained in the past to measure what is at present. The period before and during the 90s was characterised by chaos this was influenced by the 1990 law which brought about the liberty of association. This gave rise to many associations varring from socio-culturel and revendications movements. The economic crisis and its dwindling effects on the economy also compounded the situation. The repercautions of this on the education sector especially Higher Education contributed to revendications. The quest for the re-institution of students' prior benefits, therefore help to set the University environment and its surroundings into tension. This tension spread as many movements were created and their instrumentalisation effect produced unrest. This did not just pertubate national peace but also gave rise to massive distruction. The retro- active effect fell back on the University with the creation of 1993 reforms. This brings about the divorce of the University from politics by rendering school closed and apolitical milieus. This has an influence on educational programmes based on the relationship of policies, ideologies, corruculum and co-curriculum content of the University, as well as teaching methods and strategies, actors and agents. Today, the phenomenon of socialising students politically has taken a new diamension with respect views. As many as the actors in this field, so do opinions on what constitutes political socialisation. These views influence the process in varried ways.

CHAPTER TWO
PERCEPTIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF ACTORS TO STUDENTS
POLITICAL SOCIALISATION IN CAMEROON

This chapter is grouped into two sections. Section I, concentrates on perceptions of internal actors, split also into students and teachers and administration and support staff. Also, external actors constitute this section grouped into governmental-elitico views and youths and civil societies. Section two on its part duels on role of actors to students' political socialisation in the University. Here we examine the role of students in their political socialisation from the role of peers, associations, both at the internal and external levels. Furthermore, teacher contributions, administration and support staff. For external actors, the role of government and elites, politicians, youths and civil societies.

SECTION 2.1: PERCEPTIONS OF ACTORS TO STUDENTS' POLITICAL SOCIALISATION IN THE UNIVERSITIES

The word actor here is far from being a person whose profession is acting on stage in firms or on televisions. It rather entails a participant in an action or process. In University, many actors intervene in the process learning in general and precisely political socialisation of students. The success of teaching and learning is the immediate outcome of contact between actors concerned²⁸⁵. Internal or immediate actors in the University are teachers, students, administration, and support staff. These groups of persons are each peculiar on the way they perceive and contribute to the idea of political socialisation of students in the University. To enable a smooth functioning of this process, they work in synergy, each contributing its own quarter towards its success. For the convenience of this study, this chapter views actors sub classified into two categories namely the administrative and support staff, the teaching staff and the students. This section is divided into two paragraphs. Paragraph one views the perceptions and contributions of students and teachers and two, those of the administrative and support staff.

²⁸⁵ LEKE, T., idem.p.102-109.

2.1.1 Perceptions of internal actors to the process of political socialisation

Students although may be considered last in the process of political socialisation are central. It should be noted that they are core actors, without which, we cannot talk of learning in the University. Therefore, special attention should be given in the course of their political socialisation. As earlier noted, each learner has inborn potentials that are peculiar²⁸⁶ thus cannot be transferred from one to another but can be stimulated to attain an optimal level of developed²⁸⁷. There is need for a political education and socialisation of youths that will help to eliminate the intrigues and violence that trails the political arena of African countries in general and Cameroon in particular²⁸⁸. The school in general and the University in particular is the right environment for this to be done. It is a suitable environment because it has a well-structured curriculum which when adequately guided by actors through teaching and learning will develop learners. These actors, who are at the center of the teaching and learning process, perceive the idea of political socialisation differently.

The process of perception involves various senses of an individual. People do vary in terms of physical appearance so too is the way they view situations and social phenomena. Also, contribution refers to one's role or effort in a particular task. Teachers and learners (students) are of core importance in teaching and learning. In the University, these two groups of actors work together either through physical contact or through E-learning or distance education due to the context of covid 19. Worthy of note is the fact that they are peculiar in the way they view political socialisation as well as in the contributions they make towards this process.

²⁸⁶ What makes us who we are? Is it the gene we were born with or the environment in which we grow up? The traditional clash over the relative importance of biological inheritance and environmental factors in human development- a conflict called the nature versus nurture argument. Today, most social scientists have moved beyond this debate acknowledging instead the interaction of these variables in shaping human development political learning inclusive. (Richard Schaefer, *Sociology a brief introduction*, P. 81.

²⁸⁷ ALDO, N., *idem*, P. 113.

²⁸⁸ MBEMBE, A., *idem*. P. 47.

Table 1: Perception of internal actors on political socialisation

Question	Category	Actors	Group	class	View
What is students' political socialisation?	Internal actors	Students and teachers	Students	Extremists	Political learning and participation of students. Placing students at the centre of learning political issues.
				Perceemists	Political socialisation has nothing to offer for student therefore they should not be socialised politically.
				Activists	It is a type of political learning that exposes political content to students and leaves them with some political awareness.
			Teachers	Extremist	Political socialisation of students is creating awareness in students on what the government does for them.
				Perceemists	Socialising students politically means involving them in political matters. Therefore, students should not since this will create barriers and not bridges.
				Moderates	To conscientise and create political awareness. Students should be guided to scientifically understands and analyze as this may lead to problem solving.

Reference: a summation of feedback through interview in various institutions2021 researcher's initiative.

2.1.1.1 Perceptions of students and teachers

The teaching and the learning process in general and that of political socialisation in particular, cannot be successful without the joint efforts of learners and teachers²⁸⁹. These groups of persons are central as far as perceiving and acquiring political culture is concerned. They each perceive political socialisation from diverse angles. These views fashion their

²⁸⁹ LEKE, T., idem, P. 11-15.

contributions. In examining what the school is BRECHON cites PERCHERON saying that the school does not make adequate provision for political participation²⁹⁰. Just as a child is considered a new being with formidable potentials that need to be exploited to sprawn, so are students in teaching and learning environment. These potentials partly acquired from birth need to fully develop through the process of social learning. If we accord to the term education its etymological meaning which is to drive a non social being into a social one, then it can be said as far as political socialisation is concern that the school in general and the University in particular plays a role in driving non political beings into political beings. Through the influence of the teachers, the University as a social environment reflects the interest of institutions like the family and the economy. Doubtlessly, MBEMBE sees it as a source of investment for the family. Students are trained for what is ahead. School directs and restricts students' aspiration in a manner that reflects societal values and prejudices.

The school in a bid to meet up with the aspirations of youths²⁹¹ (students) encourages conflict²⁹² in the society²⁹³. The idea of conflict has been employed in this research. As earlier mentioned, the process of political socialisation is a synergy of the direct actors within the University and the secondary ones. Even though these actors play a complementary role, it is understood that as humans, there are bound to be differences. These differences create tension and also extends to their perceptive abilities as well as orients their perceptions and contributions. The differences need not be over emphasized for the University population is a hectorogenous one. Students as well as teachers who constitute this community come from diversified socio- cultural and political backgrounds. Although they are bound to work together, they have their percularities which make them distinct from each other. Therefore, they are not expected to think in the same way. Secondly as humans, there are bound to have preferences that also help to condition likes and dislikes. The sense of preference at times pushes them to think and react against the will of others. Therefore, from time to time they are bound to step on each other's toes in one way or the other. This difference needs not be over emphasized. What matters most is the way conflict in the school milieu should be resolved to maintain cordial relationship in this process. The question therefore is how the

²⁹⁰ BRECHON, P., *Copportements et Attitudes Politiques*, France, Presse Universitaire de Grenoble, 2006, P. 20-30.

²⁹¹ MVESSO, A., *l'Ecole magre tout : les conditions d'une contribution de l'ecole a l'essor Africain*, Presse Universitaire de yaounde, 1998, P. 10-42.

²⁹² LEKE, T., P. 96-97.

²⁹³ MBEMBE, A., *idem*, P. 26.

school inculcates political knowledge in the students. Looking at the role University plays in this perspective warrants us see how students and teachers perceive political socialisation.

2.1.1.1.1 Perception of students on political socialisation

Students constitute the core in the teaching and learning process which also does relay on learning content. The implicit thought most students have about political learning even though it governs and shapes civic life is that it should be kept at a distance. At the same time, they are taught on how to cast vote during elections, which obviously would have made them interested in political learning. Whatever way the message about politics is conveyed, the truth remains that it does not impact a sense of engagement and security²⁹⁴ thus distastefulness with regards to political culture. As a result, many intelligent students become passive with respect to political learning as they progress in their lives. That ultimately affects the learning of political culture of our country as it would not draw the best citizens to fill the political field. This process therefore needs remediation

Just as students come from diverse social, cultural, economic and political backgrounds, so too do they have different views as far as socialisation and specifically political socialisation is concerned. Meirieu states that it is categorically imperative for the school to practise democracy. For this reason, schools should teach learners democratic values so that they can take active part in democratic life²⁹⁵. School in a democratic world should permit each citizen including students to understand the world around them and to take part in discussion aimed at deciding on their future. Understanding the world around here covers events of all sorts, as well as political figures. According to an interview conducted with some University students²⁹⁶ the school in general and the University in particular, plays the role of parenisation as far as the learning of political culture is concerned. Students are limited as to what political content is concerned to recitation of events taught some of which are omitted, reflections within the political domain in terms of analysis is limited.²⁹⁷ Some students' frown at this fact saying;

²⁹⁴ Anonymal sources say that the fact that the schools are considered closed and apolitical makes even the learning of basic civic notions distasteful as this creates a sense of insecurity in most students.

²⁹⁵ MEIRIEU, P., *faire l'école, faire la classe*, ESF editor, Paris, 2004, P. 22-25.

²⁹⁶ Interview with some University Students in the University campus.

²⁹⁷ MEIRIEU, P., *ibid*, P. 25

it is very eminent for students to be politically socialized this is evident through political learning. Therefore, their socialization should cut across developing students' power of thinking and analysis of political events. But what we obtain here today is shaped to limit us not only in our comprehension but a shallow grounding in political analysis. Even in classroom context, we are least allowed to express our views. This discourages students and makes them develop a negative mind set to political learning²⁹⁸.

Political socialisation is the way young people gain an understanding of the political world, through their interaction with adults, documents and the media. According the above declaration, the development of a negative mind set in the learning civic culture is detrimental. Therefore, there is an urgent need in the change of attitude. On the note of attitude change, Piccard encourages a change of attitude and direction²⁹⁹. The author, advises a brave of fear and uncertainty to certainty. Therefore, in the school context, teacher as well as other peer should encourage students to brave the fear of uncertainty to certainty. They should have a change of attitude in favour of learning political culture. Knowing fully well that political socialisation is a type of political learning where by people develop attitudes, values, beliefs, opinions and behaviour that are conducive to becoming patriotic citizens it is an added advantage not only on the students who are exposed to it but the entire society. When students are embedded in their political culture, there is an added advantage for that society in terms of peace and harmony, for their behaviour towards others and the society will be positive. This will be a plus for the peace and tranquility in that society.

Again, political socialisation of a society constitutes wearing a political lens of that society that is training the students on the perception of law and government. In this sense the act of exposing students into their political culture needs to know no exceptions. According to some students, “there is need to know the regulations of government so as to have a successful state the learning of these constitute political socialisation³⁰⁰. Therefore, it is imperative for students to develop their political knowledge, ideology and values through political learning termed socialisation³⁰¹. Students need to be politically socialised because it will help them develop political awareness and actively partake in activities involving the

²⁹⁸ Interview conducted with some students of the University of Buea on the perception of student on their political socialization, April, 2021.

²⁹⁹ PICCARD, Bertrand., *changer d'attitude* : quelques solutions pour mieux vivre sa vie, edition stock, France, 2014, P. 71-82. Here, PICCARD uses the metaphor of a pilot who braves the fear of unknown for a flight. He surpasses the direction of the wind thus braving uncertainty to certainty. By so doing he urges a change of attitude and direction in order to better live.

³⁰⁰ Interview with students of political sociology unit, University of Yaound I.

³⁰¹ Ibid, Buea, April, 2021.

exhibition of their political culture as students according to the prescription by law³⁰². For Packo, political socialisation is the way people interact in a political arena. The University on its part is not totally cut off from this but there is a crucial need to educate students on the political wellbeing of their state³⁰³. According to Aristotle, “man is a political animal³⁰⁴” therefore he should be politically socialized. On this note, students should not constitute an exception for political learning constitutes a life long process by which people acquire knowledge about the political atmosphere, political values and events both within and out of school, formally and non-formally³⁰⁵.

As earlier noted, the actors within the University who are directly concern in the teaching and the learning process are the teachers and students. The role students’ play in their political socialisation is deemed vital and presented thus.

2.1.1.1.2 Perceptions of teachers

Some teachers are of perception that political culture is the back bone of every political system³⁰⁶. In the educational setting, the acquisition of political culture is possible through learning. The teaching and learning process cannot be carried out by a single person. We cannot be a student and a teacher playing the two functions at the same time. At a moment, one needs to play the role of the teacher and the other as a student each accomplishing his or her task. It is on grounds of importance of actors working in synergy each contributing their share that Edison once said « si je pouvais résoudre tous les problèmes tout seul, je le ferais »³⁰⁷ this statement is all about cooperation in a social system. It shows the inevitable need for cooperation between the generation of present and those of the future to ensure continuity. The idea of cooperation in a teaching learning process can be paradoxical to egoistic people but the truth is that it warrants mutual confidence. In sum, education in general and schooling in particular is not limited to transmitting knowledge and competences

³⁰² MENDE, T., in an interview on the need to politically socialize students conducted in April 27/2021, on campus in Buea

³⁰³ PACKO, N., in an interview on what political socialization is all about, conducted in the university campus Buea, on the 10 of April 2021.

³⁰⁴ ARISTOTLE, politics book, VII and VIII, Oxford, Oxford University press, 1998. *Man is by nature a political animal*, according to him, humans have an impulse towards partnership with others, because they cannot flourish on their own happiness but requires that they perform partnership with others.

³⁰⁵ Carole Hahn.L., *Becoming political* (Albany: state University of New York Press, 1998).

³⁰⁶ Interview on perceptions of teachers on political socialization of student in the selected Universities.

³⁰⁷ Edison, Thomas., in an interview in response to the question posed on why he as a great inventor had 20 others as employers and an assistant gave the response, exposing the need for cooperation, cited by Mathieu Recard, *ibid*, P. 661.

which permit students to attain limited goals but also consists in broadening the view of learners on the rights and needs of others, society as well. It is therefore an inevitable duty for teachers to make the learners understand that their actions have a universal dimension.

Further more, some teachers as concerns political socialisation say there is need to look for a means of developing students' innate empathy. The development of empathy in students in response will make them develop patriotic sentiments and a sense of responsibility towards others and the society³⁰⁸. The sense of empathy affects affective cognition recognition. It is this sense that pushes people to react in favour or against certain stimuli in the environment. When effectively activated, it will enable students develop concern and interest in their political culture. Today for fear of contradiction as well as others, anonymous sources say some teachers prefer to adopt a morally neutral approach and feel that it is not the work of the teacher or the school especially at the level of the University, to influence the moral preferences of students³⁰⁹. Even though this is said, Mathieu still sees the need of teachers implanting morals in students that can enable them carry out constructive appreciation of values like, honesty, tolerance and patriotism as well as those that implant a sense of belonging and engagement.³¹⁰ In the University, there are lots of activities students engage in to feel involved as well as develop their skills in political engagement. Some of these activities range from seminars, clubs, games debate just to name but these. Moral neutrality is a weakness, whether consciously or not, the students need a system of values. Without the support of educators alerting them, they risks to meet the media which at times exposes violence to its consumers as well as a sense of individualism promogated through their publicities. Apart from teachers having varried views on political socialisation, they also contribute actively towards this process.

2.1.1.2 Perceptions of administrative and support staff of the Universities

The administrative and the support staff complement the work of teachers and students in the classroom. As oppose to teachers and students, they view the idea of political socialisation of students as well as contribute differently towards its success. The administration is the engine that drives the institution to the achievement of its goals. In this context, it accompanies the University in the achievement of its' social mission. It provides

³⁰⁸ Interview conducted in the University campus of Yaounde I on the 15, June 2020.

³⁰⁹ Interview conducted with some lecturers of the University on the 15, June 2020.

³¹⁰ RECARD, M., idem, P. 650.

management and control for the smooth functioning of the institution by providing control. On the note of control, Waller distinguishes personal and institutional power domination and subordination in the school constitutes the dimensions of discipline. In the context of the University, the administrative personnel from the top to bottom is made up of, the vice chancellor to the students' government. There is need for cordiality in the flow of administrative decisions, control and teaching these are regulated through discipline by the administration. The University administration perceives students' political socialisation in a way sub classified into administrative and support staff but before having a look at that, this

Table 2: Internal actors' perception on students' political socialization.

QUESTION	CATEGORY	ACTORS	GROUP	STRATUM	VIEW
In your opinion what is political socialisation of student?	Internal actors	Administrative and support staff	Administration	Percimists	The expression of political views. Students should not be given room to express their political opinions in school.
			Support staff.	Extremists	School are closed and apolitical thus Nothing on politics in the University.
				Moderates	Teaching students political event especially what is not right. This will enable them to have an insight on how these can be avoided.
				Activists	Political socialisation is a process by which people live following the norms of the society students should earn an understanding of the norms.

Source: Field work 2021, Researcher's initiative.

2.1.2.1- Perceptions of the administrative staff

Political socialisation is viewed as that which keeps students aware of the happenings to be more precise, political happenings in and around their environment. According to BAKWO,

students need to be aware of what the government does for them. As far as its contributions for their education is concern in terms of social justice and schooling opportunities. Therefore, keeping students aware of the events and occurrence around them is called political socialization³¹¹.

Just like the teaching staff, this group of personnel has the way they perceive political socialization. To better perceive their view on this, they are sub grouped into two namely the extremists and the moderates. The former holds that political socialization is the exposition of political culture to students. They feel that the socialization of students by the University is not very much effective. That the level of political knowledge offered to students in the University is weak enough to awaken political conscience in the learners thus should be a matter for concern³¹². For this group of persons, this limitation in terms of political content is good enough to keep the students ignorant and under informed as far as awakening political awareness in them is concern. Whereas for them, it is at this level that intellectual capacities of the learners (future generation to be) would have been groomed to optimum intellectually, practically and why not culturally. Their view is opposing to that of the moderates.

The moderates on their part are a group of personnel who maintain governmental stand point on the socialisation of students politically. To this group, the school as a close and apolitical environment is clear of all activities having a political conotation³¹³. The University has been swept off the dust of politics which characterised it in the early 1990s. Under all circumstances, what students are exposed to today under the umbrella of school in general and the University in particular has no other appraisal than civic learning. Talking about its content, it is worth noting that the school and the University specifically is not the only agent where this knowledge is acquired. Other agents like the media interplay³¹⁴ therefore its

³¹¹ Interview with BAKWO, C., PhD student, Research Officer, Institute of Medical Research and medicinal plants studies, University of Yaounde I, on campus on the 7 of July 2020.

³¹² According to the interview conducted with some personnel of the university on how they perceive political socialisation of students in the university

³¹³ BAKWO, C., *ibid*, on the July 7/2020.

³¹⁴ From the press to internet, mass communication was born with the arrival of press with the first publication in France by name la Gazette directed by T. RENAUDOT in 1636, Jean Etienne et al, *idem*. Media.

limited exposition is not a call for concern. It can therefore be said without the fear of contradiction that what the University provides to students is a good base for their continuity after school when they join the entire society. The perceptions of these groups also orientes administrative contributions.

2.1.2.2- Perceptions of support staff on students' political socialisation

As opposed to teaching and administrative staff of the University, the support staff is directly under the management of the University. It is directly recruited by the University and aimed at complementing the work in the University. At times, some teachers in the University are classified under support staff that is those who are not recruited by the government. But for the purpose of this study, the support staff is limited to, guards³¹⁵, cleaners, bus conductors and secretaries. The support staffs of the Universities perceive and contribute to students' political socialisation. This category of persons is not left out as far as the idea of political socialisation of students is concerned. Their perception about this socialisation is in line with students' civic engagement. As well, they are contrary to any activities or groupings that may lead to distabilisation of peace in the institutions. According to interview conducted with some of this category of internal actors;

as the Highest Institute of Learning, we think it is an error for Universities to be closed and apolitical. At the same time, this is a means by political powers to orient civic behaviour for this is the right place for this knowledge to be conceived by youths³¹⁶.

According to others, the social mission of the University is the acquisition of scientific knowledge for the development of society. As such they state;

no society can develop without youths, therefore students as a scholarized category of youths and citizens of the country have a great role to play in the development of the society to guarantee its continuity.

The diffusion of democratic values across the society equally extends to the sphere of Higher Education. Therefore, literary by law, these institutions are considered as instruments for the promotion as well as an experimental frame for democracy. The law of orientations of

³¹⁵ Decree N0. 93/036 of January 29, 1993, bearing Administrative and Academic organisation of University of Yaounde I, Article 8 on internal security of the University.

³¹⁶ Interview conducted on the 18 of November 2020.

Higher education in this effect disposes as objective among others “the promotion of democracy and the development of a democratic culture [...]”³¹⁷

In its article 2, the decree bearing common dispositions of Universities holds that the Universities must respect the following directive principles;

- *Equality of access for all Cameroonians*
- *Autonomy*
- *Participation in learning between students, teachers and non-teaching staff in decisions concerning them.*
- *Complementarity and pluridisciplinarity and above all,*
- *Openness to the national, regional and international cooperation.*³¹⁸

The legislative and regulatory dispositions portray the need of students’ full engagement in political learning thus political socialisation.

2.1.3- Perceptions of external actors to students’ political socialisation

Perepheral actors also form part and parcel of the school system. External actors view and participart actively whether direct or indirectly to students poltical socialisation. The principle of individual difference makes it clear that no two persons are the same not even the most identical twins. In relation to perception of actors on political socialisation of students in University, views and contributions of perepherial actors are examined. These actors although not physically present in the internal affairs of the institution, impact these through their actions from a distance both directly and or indirectly. Their views and contributions greatly condition the functioning of the University in particular and the educational system in general. Perepheral actors in this chapter constitute government, politicians, youths and civil societies. As earlier stated, the process of schooling in general and learning in particular is a synergy with internal and external actors. These groups of persons have divergent views on the notion of exposing students to the learning of their political culture. They impact the school system through laws, policies their constructive criticisms, suggestions, donations as well as decisions.

³¹⁷ Law no. 005 off 16 Aprail 2001, bearing orientation of Higher Education in Cameron in its article 6.

³¹⁸ Decree n0 93/027 of 19 January 19993, bearing common dispositions to Universities, modified and completed by decree n0 2005/342 o 10 September 2005 (2).

2.1.4- Government - elitico standpoints

The state or government is a moral person as such it is not identified by a single person. In the educational sector the government is in control of all public and private institutions in Cameroon. The University as part is directly under its supervisory control. This control although term supervisory is rigid. The political socialisation of youths in Cameroon in general and University students in particular, is of key importance for the political development of the country. The youthful generation particularly and for the continuity of the political system. Talking about students and political learning of culture in this section constitutes a census of opinions. A vivid view of these, focused on a critical examination of governmental stand points as well as that of politicians.

2.1.4.1- Governmental stand in students' political socialisation

The school does not constitute the sole agent for political socialisation of students neither is the process of politically socialising a burden duty of a single actor. It is complemented by the government and other agents. The government is in direct control of all state's institutions. It also provides supervisory control and subsidies to others amongst which are Universities. Political exchange between the school in general, the University in particular and the political sphere are of core concern and needs apprehension. In Cameroon, the idea of political socialisation of youths in general and students in particular has been a call for controversial concern. Actors share diverse opinions. While some see it *stricto sensu* as a theoretical learning of political culture which worth full implementation thus a matter of urgency. This will help limit the rate of political insecurity manifested by youths, nowadays. Others look at it solely in the perspective of practice thus say it is a matter of stay clear.

*for powers in Africa, the student is one who has to be contented with studies, leaving himself to be trained, to be educated. He or she owes total allegiance to the state and laws, for this reason, he or she should participate in the securising state's institutions by abstaining from all criticisms*³¹⁹.

This definition of who a student is by powers in Africa gives us a true picture of their perception as well as what students are expected to do at each time. Yet others look at it from the perspective of conglomerate. They see the necessity of blending theoretical knowledge

³¹⁹ MBEMBE, A., *idem*, P. 53.

with practice. For them the students should be taught the theoretical part of their culture. Interest in domesticating or parenizing students, at the same time, when the ideology of democratising education,³²⁰ is in its' apex, by the leaders in power. On the note of seeking the view of the government on this phenominon, anonymous source says;

the twist of political events in the 90s in relation to University students in Cameroon remains fresh in the mind of the government as far as students political socialization is concern³²¹. These have shaped and conditioned political life of the university nowourdays. The University reform of 1993 clearly depicts governmental stand on the idea of politisizing students. The University is a closed and apolitical environment. Schools considered closed and apolitical melieus are out of all activities with any political afiliations³²².

By the above statements, it is crystally clear that schools are at a distance from any political affairs. Also, at the time when the government affirms it's vision of an emerging Cameroon by 2035³²³. Our institutions and students continue to manifest lack of concern and hate for their political culture. In a society that is today antagonised by violence, chaos as a result of perturbation of national peace. Capitalised by instrumentalisation of youths, specifically the scholarized. It is a call for concern to examine why the disinterest in students. Therefore, the questions to ponder on here are; should the school (University) stay clear from learning their political culture? What becomes of the learning of political culture of the country in the nearest future? What appellation should be given to this process if the students have to stay away from politics? The functioning of the school itself refers to politics of the school. Attempts to provide answers to these questions sought the opinions of some other members of government on the phenomenon at hand. On the note of government's perception, other sources opin that;

although political socialization of students is out of place because schools are declared closed and apolitical environment, this aspect of the law is on the domain of practice that is political participation not political learning³²⁴.

The above view brings to mind the difference in terminology and a clear-cut distinction between political culture, and political participation. From these responses, it is discovered

³²⁰ Decree n0 93/027 of 19 January 19993, bearing common dispositions to universities, modified and completed by decree n0 2005/342 o 10 September 2005 (2).

³²¹ KONNING, idem.

³²² Interview with a member of government on its perception on the political socialization of students, Yaounde, 18 November 2020.

³²³ Idem. Milinium Goals by 2o35 of making Cameroon an Emerged State.

³²⁴ Interview, with a member of Government.

that there is a juxtaposition and limitation on the idea of socialising students politically. Most people limit political socialisation to theory while others to participation. Political socialisation is not limited to conventional but cuts across non-conventional or indirect modes of participation³²⁵. The government is aware that the school theoretically socialises students. But for the smooth running and security of state institutions, and other properties, government has deemed it vital to scrap out the practical part of political manifestations from the University milieu. As a means of acceptance of legitimate political order³²⁶, the act of this political order needs to be learned to guarantee its continuity. The school in general and the University in particular is the place where appropriate rules that prevent students from being derailed in their culture are to be learned and others compounded thus termed political socialisation. Another perception evoked in this study is that of government contributions to the process of educating students. Some people see the need of bringing students to understand the role the government plays in educating them this they term political socialisation. In his words he maintains;

it is also noted that the government consecrates much effort to ensure students donot only study in a condusive environment but also afford to do so with ease³²⁷. On this note I think that political socialization is aimed at creating awareness. that is making students aware of what the government does for them³²⁸.

Limiting this socialisation to government contributions to students depicts a weakness as far as the process is concerned. The idea of political socialisation is not limited to acknowledgement. Niether is it limited to material provision of all sorts. Content has a core role to play in this process. Efforts should be capitalised to revamp civic content in schools. Although Universities are invested with a degree of authonomy³²⁹, the external actors still have influence on them this can be termed the « invissible hand ³³⁰» whether directly or

³²⁵ PAUSCH, M., <<what is political socialisation good for? >> Resistance study magazine, 2012, N0. 1, rsmag. Org.

³²⁶ LAGROYER, J., et al, idem, P.24.

³²⁷ Interview, with a member of government, on his stand point on the idea of politically socialising students.

³²⁸ BAKWO, idem.

³²⁹ 2007 Law relative to authonomy of Universities.

³³⁰ Invisible hand refers to the influence of of external actors precisely the government into the university affairs.in the context of this study, it also duels on all other influence exerted by partners outside the university on the political socialisation of student. Their major role permits students to be aware and conscientised of some practices. Some have practically used students to promote and implement political ambitions.

indirectly, they are pined by governmental checks and other control strategies which do not only limite content but also acquisition³³¹.

Last but not the least, the act of political socialization is considered as involving students in politics. For this reason, they consider it as a game for the matured. On the note of maturity³³², Oliver frawns at the idea of maturity being an obstacle to learning stating;

L'âge est conçu comme un cadre social transcendant les groupes biologiques représentatifs de telle ou telle strate d'âge et s'imposant comme un système normatif- d'autant plus puissant que la société est simple et éventuellement associée à un système de valeurs par lequel la société peut assurer sa continuité et sa reproduction. L'âge est plus une norme construite historiquement, développée socialement et intériorisée psychologiquement qu'une force sociale³³³.

In the African context, age has a role to play. Although not identified by particular numbers, children are initiated into particular tasks and societies when they are deemed matured for these. It is more of individual affair, some show signs of maturity earlier than others and are initiated quite ahead of them. In Cameoon, age is a constructed idea in relation to each society. As per the law, the aspect of maturity is treated with caution in diversified dimensions. Criminally the age of maturity is eighteen years (18)³³⁴, electorally the age is twenty years (20)³³⁵, and civically it is twenty-one (21)³³⁶. However, criminal procedural age seems to be universally recognised. For others, the idea of age in the process of political learning is a means of keeping the youths out of the political sphere. Immaturity is a mecanism that the government and politicians use to have control over the system. At times, students resort to sectorial revendications linked to their living and study conditions to put in question the management of the university as well as the political system in general. Political socialisation of students in the University is therefore seen in this perspective. This category of persons thinks it should not be promoted.

³³¹ Interview, with anonymous source.

³³² Michel Bastit, *que est –ce que l'universite ?* Paris, l'harmattan, 2007, P. 12-20.

³³³ GALLAND, O., *Sociologie de la Jeunesse*, Paris, Armand Collin, 1991, P. 49.

³³⁴ Law N^o: 2016/007 of 12 July 2016 relating to the Penal Code 18 years, not a minor but below a minor, partial exoneration but has special procedures and mutilating circumstances, ten years and below, benefits total exoneration.

³³⁵ Law N^o: 2012/001 of April, Relating to the Electoral Code, part III, Chapter 1, Qualification of electors 20 years.

³³⁶ Section 4 of Cameroon 's 1968 personalitz code as well as section 488 of the French civil code, prescribes citizenship maturity age 21.

2.1.4.2- Perceptions of politicians

Politicians are men and women of the political system. In Cameroon, this group of persons is central in the political domain. They constitute the corps of elites. There are elected and appointed politicians. Although the study of Elites is vast, its theory owes its origin in the works of an Italian sociologist Vilfredo Pareto. This author employs the term in two dimensions. In general, the word elite, covers all those who excel in their different domains of activities. On the other hand, Pareto distinguishes governmental elites who rule non-governmental elites³³⁷. This is based on a central idea that is a minority of individuals governing a majority. Politicians constitute the governing elites. They are those who practise politics. They are key actors in the political domain of the country. In referring to the systemic approach³³⁸ of political reality, it is evident to consider the hypothesis of power struggle and domination in politics. Through their actions, politicians influence the functioning of society in general and the domain of education specifically. Their actions help to shape the functioning of the political system. As core actors in the society, their general opinion is crystal on the immaturity of youths. This puts them under perpetual injunction thus bringing about inter generational problem. This thought of politicians has not ceased to impact learning in general and the teaching and learning process in particular.

Their activities do not only impact the political sector but go along way to impact the functioning of the entire society. In the study of political socialisation, they ideologically consider students as youths and as central actors for generational continuity yet immatured (*cadets soccieux*)³³⁹. A politician interviewed why this view explains;

at the moment, they are termed central because their activities are of keen interest to the government, youths in general and students in particular have to be preserved to get to the stage of maturity. While waiting on time to unfold, they should capitalize on the advantage of schooling provided them, concentrate in knowledge acquisition and stay away from politics which may serve as an entanglement for antagonism at the moment. They should wait for

³³⁷ VILFREDO, P., theory of elites, as cited in Jean Etienne et al, *dictionnaire de sociologie*, (elite), Paris, Hatier, 2004.

³³⁸ Easton, D., systemic approach, import, output feedback effect.

³³⁹ BAYART, J, F., "le politique par le bas en Afrique noire, questions de method" en *politique Africaine*, No 1, Paris, Karthela, 1981, P. 71.

*the appropriate time to get acquainted to the roles of the political game. I think that is what political socialization is all about*³⁴⁰.

The afore cited, triggers attention through the note of preservation and maturity. At the same time maturity in Cameroon is contextualised. Cognisance of this point of view, it would be of importance for the legislator to start pondering to legislate on political age as well. From the above declaration, politicians see no need of involving students but every reason of sidelining till later date in future. According to them, the political life of the school in general should not exist. There should be a clear-cut distinction between politics and school. Better still it should be limited. On the note of limitation, students should be parentized as well as guided in order to gain maturity. The word maturity here is a biological construct and legal distinction that conditions social behaviour and political interaction of students and the environment. The process of maturity does not depend solely on the passage of time but also embodies practice. Politization as a process of individuals or groups learning political culture should be practised by students to gain maturity and develop interest in political culture. This in other words is termed political socialisation. Political socialisation of students is a perfect tool to be implanted for students be rooted into their political culture. To ensure this, three conditions are necessary namely the social group must be interested, there must be the existence of a structure of cultural opportunities and thirdly the intervention of the political powers³⁴¹. Apart from this category of actors, youths and Civil Societies also perceive political socialisation.

2.1.5- Views of Youths and Civil Societies (syndicate) in students' political socialisation

Political culture is the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments which give order and meaning to a political process and which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system. It encompasses both the political ideas and the operating norms of a policy. Youths have the way of perceiving political socialisation. They equally contribute towards this process. Before having a look at these, it is worth defining their bounds. Youths constitute a majority of the population of Cameroon. They occupy the middle age range between childhood and adulthood. This sub section of the population is

³⁴⁰ Interview with a section president of a leading political party, on the view of politicians on the political socialisation of students.

³⁴¹ ONANA, J., *idem*, P. 25- 27.

split into scholarised and unscholarised. The scholarised youths (students) constitute a great proportion of the youthful population. For African powers,

the student is one who should be contented with learning, allow himself to be trained, to be educated. He owes allegiance to the state and the law in effect, he has to participate in the security of state institutions by abstaining from all criticisms³⁴².

Although the principle of individuals differences plays on the behaviour of persons, school develops the intellect of learners and students in particular and influence their way of thinking and acting. This in effect plays on their way of reflecting, should there be involved in decision making. This sub section also dwells on civil societies. The word civil society is a broad array that vary from organisation like; community groups, Non-governmental organisation (NGOs), labour unions and charitable organisations. These societies have the power to influence actions. The nature of civil societies in terms of what there are and what they do, is evolving with technological development and other changes within the society. The term became popular in political and economic discussions in the 1980s when its identification started with non-State movements. The following table concentrates on their views.

Table 3: Perception of external actors on students' political socialisation.

QUESTION	CATEGORY	ACTORS	GROUP	STRATUM	VIEW
In your opinion what is students' political socialization?	External actors	Youths and civil societies	Youths	Scholarised youths (students)	The learning and exposition of political culture in school, just like in every political sphere, it is the decision of majority of students, they elect their representatives. By implication the school milieu is a sphere that also put into practice some political values and practice carried out in the society. Political socialisation is involving students into political activities of the country.
				Unscholarised	Political socialisation is the exposition of students to the ethnics

³⁴² MBEMBE, A., idem, P. 53.

			Civil societies	of politics that is the manner of learning political figures, events etc. Therefore, it is eminent to train students to interiorise this culture.
			Education Community develop	Political socialisation is extension of political knowledge and practices from one generation to another especially the students who are intellectually knowledgeable.

Source: Field work 2021, Researcher's Initiative.

2.1.5.1- Perceptions of youths in political socialisation of students

Youths in general and University students in particular, make up the mid population of Cameroon. While the place of childhood has been clearly defined and its security guaranteed that of youths generally is poorly defined³⁴³. Even though this term is an ascribed statute, it is a biological condition of being young. It is a stage of life between late childhood and young adulthood³⁴⁴. From the cultural perspective, it is a social position that reflects different meanings in different cultures and societies. This is ascribed to individuals between childhood and adulthood. It is a period where identity is constructed. In the legal context, the notion of a youth is accorded different ages in different instances. Electoral age twenty (20) years³⁴⁵, penal eighteen (18)³⁴⁶ and civil age is twenty-one (21) years³⁴⁷. The United Nation Organisation (UNO) defines a youth as a person between the ages of fifteen to twenty-four (15-24) years. The organisation also accepts some state's ranges from eighteen – thirty (18-30) years. According to BOURDIEU, a youth is the frontier between adolescence and old age. At this stage, youths are adults in certain things and yet children in others (*cadets sociaux*)³⁴⁸. For the benefit of studies in this area, some youths and civil societies are of opinion that the poor and lack of a concise definition on the status of a youth, is a means to limit or bounds

³⁴³ African Initiative Group: African Youths "Time Bomb" or Historical opportunities? P. 7.

³⁴⁴ Scott, J., and Gordon M., *Oxford Dictionary of sociology*, 3rd edition, Oxford University Press, 2005, P. 708.

³⁴⁵ Law N^o: 2012/001 of April, Relating to the Electoral Code, part III, Chapter 1, Qualification of electors 20 years.

³⁴⁶ Law N^o: 2016/007 of 12 July 2016 relating to the Penal Code 18 years, not a minor but below a minor, partial exoneration but has special procedures and mutilating circumstances. Ten years and below benefits total exoneration.

³⁴⁷ Initial State Report on the Convention on the Rights of the Child in Cameroon, 2000, Article 48 of the Civil Code (legal capacity, consent, medical counseling without parental consent, sexual consent), minor may however be emancipated as the case may be by law before this time.

³⁴⁸ BAYARD, J. F., the politics of the belly, 1981, P. 20, 74.

them in these activities³⁴⁹. A look on how they view this phenomenon of political socialisation is summarised thus.

Other than the elder generation, youths' perception on the idea of political socialisation of students is different. Youths are directly in contact with changes that take place in the society³⁵⁰. They have access to information and intuition necessary to understand faster than their elders and better preview future shock. In their peers, youths maintain a permanent dialogue as far as political affairs of the country are concerned. A clear example is the Cameroon National Youth Congress and the President BIYA's youth (PRESBY). The Cameroon National Youth Congress that was held in January 27-29 2015, to discuss the challenges and opportunities for young people and the way they can contribute to taking Cameroon towards an emerging economy by 2035. For them, they are sidelined from participation. The programmes put in place to enrich their civic knowledge in the University are weak enough to awaken civic conscience³⁵¹. The immaturity or lack of maturity in youths and programmes make them superficial and artificial³⁵². Most often, content is shallow or omitted³⁵³. It should also be noted that the discussion of content with political orientation is limited³⁵⁴. For the students, all these serve as obstacles on their acquisition of knowledge on political culture thus attract their dislike or lack of concern³⁵⁵. These obstacles notwithstanding, some say, « we still struggle on our own to attract ourselves in political learning and think much needs to be done to reinforce the process and regain youths confidence in learning³⁵⁶. On grounds of what needs to be done, Ariene states that life aspirations do not depend on neither the past nor the future but on what is lived at present³⁵⁷. The view of this author serves an urgent need and a powerful reminder to students on the necessity for them to be grounded into their culture at present and their role *per se* per say.

³⁴⁹ Interview with ATEM, P., on how youths perceive the idea of political socialisation.

³⁵⁰ Schwartzberg, R.-G., *sociologie politique*, quatrième édition, Paris, Montchrestien, 1988, P. 322.

³⁵¹ Interview with some students.

³⁵² *ibid* Schwartzberg, R.-G 322-323.

³⁵³ MELLO, Suzanne., *L'école dans la société*, bordas pédagogie, P. 139.

³⁵⁴ Interview with some youths in the Yaounde locality.

³⁵⁵ AMAMBU, E. interview on the level of political knowledge the University offers to students.

³⁵⁶ Interview with students on their view on political socialization.

³⁵⁷ BUISSET, Ariane et al, *Connaissance de Soi ; perspectives non duelles*, ouvrage collectif, France, Paris, (2004).

2.1.5.2- Perception of civil society

United Nation Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), seeks the valorisation of ethics and culture of education. Valorise education system from the lowest stage to the highest in consideration with the training of teachers at each level. On the note of valorisation, efforts of non-governmental organisations, international cooperations and civil societies³⁵⁸ are sought. The word civil society is a broad array that vary from organizations like, community groups, Non-governmental organization (NGOs), labour unions and charitable organisations. The term became so popular in political and economic discussions in the 1980s when its identification started with non-state movements. These societies later extended their activities in the domain of education. They have the power to influence actions. Their activities have not left out the domain of education particularly schooling. This fraction of the work looks at the way they view political socialisation as well as, their contributions towards the process.

Civil societies have the power to influence actions. The nature of civil society in terms of what it is and does, is involving both technological development and other changes within the society. In Cameroon, the challenges of civil society have been to create awareness in citizens that will encourage them to take responsibility for their individual and collective destinies³⁵⁹. It is also known as new space for communication and discussions over which the state has no control. An interview with some members of AYAH foundation view youths in general and students in particular as a potential economic force. For these persons, as a functional reality, youths are supposed to be actively present and intergrated into all sphere of life without distinction. Therefore, political socialisation of students is towards this step which according to AYUK;

*socialisation is still not sufficient enough to achieve this objective more programs should be put in place not only for youths in schools but for the unschoolarised to help train them in the political domain*³⁶⁰

³⁵⁸ Saint – Luc, F., UNESCO and the seven stages of knowledge necessary for education in future, in le systeme educative : a l'heure de la societe de connaissance par Maartine B., et Florence S.L., France, presses Universitaire du Mirail, 2014, P. 222- 224.

³⁵⁹ MBUAGBO, J.F., Civil Society and Democratisation: The Cameroonian experience, Journal of Social Development in Africa, 18(2), 2003, P. 133-149.

³⁶⁰ AYUK, B, in an interview session on the idea of political socialisation expresses the wish of putting in place programs for the unscholirised to also train them in political culture.

On this ground, Muxel frowns at the fact that contrarily to what is said of the present generation as concerns youths political attitudes and engagement that is profoundly animated, paradoxically, youths are constantly submitted to injunctions³⁶¹. Where as participating in political activities create direct and concrete experience of engagement. This in effect leaves traces of attitude and behaviour for further experience to build on. The above statement shows the need of finetuning measures for not limiting this socialisation to schools but also extending it out of school. Better still he expresses the wish of the government putting up a school where solely the act of politics can be studied in a bid to comprehend and develop the scope of political movements amongst people.

SECTION 2.2: CONTRIBUTIONS OF ACTORS TO STUDENTS' POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

2.2.1- ROLE OF INTERNAL ACTORS IN STUDENTS POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

This is broken down as students and teacher and administration and support staff.

2.2.1.1- Contributions (role) of students in political socialisation

Unlike in pure sciences, the need to conduct experiment in social science to emerge with results equally demands an obligation to make concrete findings. This study uses students as experiment to show the inculcation of political culture through socialisation. To this effect, it is natural that they equally have a role and of course principal, via peer interaction as well as with other actors both in and out of the University milieu. Psychodynamic forces on personality formation of learners have an influence on knowledge acquisition. The genetic formation and the development of an ego is an extremely important process in personality formation of students. If the ego is sufficiently dominant, it performs primarily three functions; releases id energy, making suitable compromises with the super ego and causing personality changes which some times proceed to the point where the individuals feel depersonalised or lacking a self.

³⁶¹ MUXEL, Ann., idem, P. 67.

For interactionist, social reality is constructed in the course of exchange that is, in the course of interaction with other individuals³⁶². The process of learning is possible thanks to interaction³⁶³. In the course of students relating in play, they learn consciously and unconsciously, positively or negatively. The functioning of humans in a given system like the school may necessitate a change. As oppose to the functioning of machines in a system, the human beings are not fixed, they can change or influence others to change at any time in terms of their likes and dislikes. This partly explains the reason why some students are influenced by their friends to develop hate and lack of interest in political learning.

The teaching and learning process strongly depends on the learners' interest³⁶⁴. It's success partly lies in the hands of the learners themselves that is if they are in good physical and mental conditions, if their minds are at equilibrium state all things being equal, if they are adequately motivated³⁶⁵ to study and if they receive the necessary support³⁶⁶ from those around them³⁶⁷. In talking about the role students' play in political socialisation and how effective this is for the development of political consciousness, we have evoked the influence of peer both in and out of the University.

Although in its restrained acceptance, political socialisation of students within the school is shaped in a limited frame. This sementic remark has led to the problem of content. The level of political knowledge exposed to students at the level of University is limited. This is inevitably explained by the specialisation on the school as a closed and apolitical milieu³⁶⁸. For Verman, the content of political knowledge the University as the highest institute of learning exposes to students, needs to be politically stimulating enough in order for the adult students to put this knowledge to practice³⁶⁹. Political socialisation of students needs to be fully institutionalised so as to enable young stars to give valuable contributions to the economy. If fully instored and content practically enabling, the socialisation of students

³⁶² MIMCHE Honore., *theorie d'analyses sociologiques*, MUSOC : 731, p. 15.

³⁶³ Mean, M., idem.

³⁶⁴ LEKE TAMBO., idem, P. 176-179.

³⁶⁵ Motivation is of two types in this context, we are referring to external motivation which brings in mind reinforcement. This explains the different ways that a teacher uses to encourage the learners to behave in desirable way. This is done through the use of reinforcers which also can be grouped into four categories namely; social (use of words), graphic (marks), activity (giving them posts of responsibility) and tangible reinforcers (gifts).

³⁶⁶ Easton, D., idem.

³⁶⁷ Ibid, P. 177-181.

³⁶⁸ NDUTU, R., in an interview in the University of Buea on political content offered by the University, on the 11 of April, 2021, in Campus.

³⁶⁹ VERMAR, M., interview conducted in the University of Buea campus on the 11 of April, 2021, in Campus.

politically will go a long way to boost students' interest particularly, broaden their knowledge on the political platform as well as induce them to make valuable contributions³⁷⁰ among themselves and the development of society their contributions in this is seen in two perspectives thus.

2.2.1.1.1- Role of peer

Peer influence has a great impact on the acquisition of political culture by students these contributions vary from positive to negative. In sum students might be encouraged by their peers to develop interest as well as hate for political learning. Students who always find themselves with peers from highly political informed and inclined homes are more likely to keep their peers informed about these. All things being equal, they may gradually drive them to develop interest. Conversely, those who always associate with peers from less politically inclined backgrounds as well as less informed will always discourage their mates and divert their attention from it. Just as a child is considered a revelator of a problem or a source of a problem, in the same way, the learners in general and University students in particular, are revelators of knowledge or sources of knowledge. They have a potential of producing constructively. As such, they should be given enough room to acquire political knowledge and exploit it³⁷¹ this partly explains why some students as well as teachers are not very collaborative and expressive when it concerns certain topics which they term sensitive³⁷². They become limited in words on grounds that it provides shallow knowledge thus they are restricted or securing their jobs. The non-collaborative spirit creates a sense of awareness of insecurity thus hate or neglect. It also makes students half trained and reduce their ability on political domain. Equally, students' grouping contributes to their socialisation.

Teachers as the second principal actors as far as learner centre teaching is concerned, equally they have the way they view political socialisation of students. Facilitators as they are, they equally contribute towards the success of learning in different ways.

³⁷⁰ Interview conducted with some students of the University of Yaounde I, on campus on the 15 of April 2021.

³⁷¹ Anonymous source from the interview conducted with some University students of the concern universities, on the 18 of June 2020, in Yaounde.

³⁷² Anonymous sources in an interview on peer influence as well as the role of the teacher in political socialisation.

2.2.1.1.2- The role of Associations in students' political socialisation.

The typology of Associations in the mist of the universities, owe their origin from Law relative to liberty of associations³⁷³. In this case, the criterion of legitimacy is not premodial in the choice of Associations mentioned here. These groups vary from those known by the University administration, scientific groupings, clubs and socio-cultural Associations. In this context, all the institutions under the Universities are made up of grouping like Association de etudiants de faculte medicein et science Bio-medicale (AEFMSB) of the University of Yaounde I and Buea University Medical Students' Association (BMSA). Also, we have cultural Associations like Manyu Students' Association, Bakossi Students' Association just to name but these. Other groupings like clubs also form part of fertile grounds where students meet to share ideas as well as promote a common good and the image of the institution see annex 11. The principal focus of viewing students' associations is not to make a list of these groupings but to view how they contribute to the process of political socialisation. This is shown both at the internal and external levels.

2.2.1.1.2.1- At the internal level

Within the University, the students' union serves as a conglomerate or amalgamation for students either as representatives or a body, not only for academic but for diverse reasons. The impact of such gatherings is not only felt within the University but externally as well. Academic groupings have as goal the improvement of students' learning through mentorship and exchanges of facts and ideas within and between faculties and departments as well as units. They also follow up to improve students' learning conditions by organising tutorial classes, conferences in order to share academic and professional experiences to brand the associations images within and out of campuses. They equally serve as monitoring systems between senior and freshmen as well as promote unity and cohesion among them.

2.2.1.1.2.2- At the external level

Apart from the principal objectives of study and amouement, students' Associations also serve as fertile grounds for exploitation by institutions and private individuals. Most often than note, the students' unions are sought by the authorities for representations within

³⁷³ Law no: 90/ 053/ OF 19 December 1990, relative to liberty of Associations.

and out of school. These leaders serve as official bridges for reassembly of student population when need be, both for official and private gain. On a special notice, the population is mobilised for political representation out of school³⁷⁴. Through these ceremonies, although at times not official, students learn and gather experience. They as well gain opportunities to interact with some top-ranking officials.

On the cultural perspective, a sense of belonging, equally condition students' political socialisation³⁷⁵. They converge in the University for acquisition of knowledge. Some ethnic groups are dominant in terms of population hence have both positive and negative consequence on the minority ethnic groups. In other to keep a sense of belonging, students in Universities turn to form ethnic Associations. In this regard, they associate to their common problem that is those related to their presence in the University. In this vein, the older students receive the younger ones. They expose to them to the behavioural pattern of the institution. During which they do not only sympathise of their common goals but equally socialise themselves in the political and cultural climate reigning in the University. That worth outstanding political knowledge, transmit it to the lesser ones.

Beside political exchange in their meetings, they as well discuss problems related to the academic domain. In their struggle, they make programmes and visit or present themselves to their elites found in the locality. Similarly, they equally mobilise at each time a political figure from their ethnic zone is visiting their area. In the course of this interaction, they learn or socialise themselves politically on the practical framework. This comes to complement their theoretical content acquired in class. Today, the sense of belonging has much to contribute in the political atmosphere in Cameroon. Although it is stated that a parliamentarian is for the entire nation, we have keenly observed that this does not hold in practice chiefly for two reasons. Primarily in the course of voting in parliamentary elections, the voters on the electorate are merely the population that registered in this constituency. Therefore, when voted, his action is equally geared towards this zone known as micro projects. From this, we can clearly argue that the parliamentarian is not for the entire nation rather for his zone of constituency.

³⁷⁴ Interview conducted with anonymous source, on the role of students in their political socialisation.

³⁷⁵ KASI Rood S., << The influence of ethnic students' organisations on students' sense of belonging, Master Thesis in Educational Administration, Baylor University, May 2014.

He relates political information and socialisation not only to the electorate but also to the students found in the said area. University students notwithstanding, at times do not only benefit from these micro projects, but some times take appointments to have themselves ascertained in respect of some political worries, perhaps those points that were not well assimilated. This action inspires some to develop interest in political culture as a future career. One of the most desirable things in the history of Education in general and Higher Education in particular, is the diversity of students' enrolment in college campuses³⁷⁶. In an arena of multicultural ideas, it is rather certain that the unified culture remains the pool of attraction. The role of teachers not exempted.

2.2.1.2- Contributions of teachers to the political socialisation of students

Teachers and students are core actors in studies. While the learner centre method places the learner at the heart of learning, the teacher centre on its' part, lays emphasis on the teacher. To be more précised, without these two categories of persons, the teaching and learning process cannot be complete. Teachers and students are the back bone in the teaching and the learning process. Teachers are facilitators of knowledge as such, their role in the process, is very important. These are examined thus;

It goes without saying that this group of actors is a powerful force in learning. Political socialization has both content and practical acquisition of acuments. Teachers are the center or focal point of content guzzeling of this socialisation. Yet they have a limit to practically demonstrate their interest in a bid to transmit knowledge to students. This in line with the adage "what I hear, I forget. What I see, I remember. What I do, I understand"³⁷⁷. Although their role in the process is limited on content dispatching, it undoubtedly has a significant impact on the students. However, teachers remain the central actors in this process as they contribute in varied ways.

Either consciously or unconsciously, teachers contribute enormously to the political socialisation of students. The teaching and learning process is a synergy, we *are intelligent*

³⁷⁶ Kasi rood S., *ibid.* P. 8.

³⁷⁷ In modern pedagogy, this adage is used to make a blend of teaching and learning to move from abstract to concrete and in practical terms. It is a conglomerate of learning theory with practice to make it more concrete and practicable to real life situations. Therefore, students will amply understand political culture with the combination of content practical in the transmission of skills of political learning. In this light, they will be able to relate the content of practice in a struggle not forget what they have from media and other sources of information relating to political socialization.

*only with others*³⁷⁸ that is through the help of others (teachers) that we become knowledgeable. In this context, teaching and learning groups direct participants who are teachers and learners and to an extent the third class of actors who although indirect or external, play a prime role in the process. It is also worth noting that at the level of the University, some students play the double role of students, teachers and parents at the same time to themselves. We therefore need not under look the influence this can have on their learning in general and political socialisation in particular. In the context of this study we are referring to the contributions of teachers within the school milieu.

On the note of teaching, teachers relate and instruct students, their role is central in impacting knowledge. Aristophane notes “*teaching is not to fill a vase*³⁷⁹ *but to enkindle a fire*³⁸⁰ *at the same time, it is learned that it is an art and a science*” The teaching and learning process in general and that of political socialisation in particular is successful thanks to the teacher and based on cooperation between them and students. This is the only voice that gives hope for a better future for humanity³⁸¹ therefore the teachers should be congratulated for their role of making humanity knowledgeable. If we should talk of contribution which results from relating humanity (teachers and students) a relationship without filial bond is of prime importance to the process of political socialisation. The University made up of teachers and students from diverse socio-cultural, political, economic backgrounds converge and function as one, be it in the lecture rooms in particular or around the campus in general through cooperation. The teacher plays the role of relating and instructing students from diverse backgrounds particularly in the acquisition of political knowledge.

The teacher improves the quality of knowledge in general and political knowledge in particular of the learners. The quality of knowledge acquired and the faculties of learners largely depend on the competence and personalities of teachers and the manner in which they exercise their function³⁸². It is also related to the working environment as well as working conditions such as classroom dimension, relationship as well as availability of pedagogic and

³⁷⁸ Einstein, A., *ibid*, P. 680.

³⁷⁹ Learners’ referred here as vase shows that they are not empty but have some level of knowledge which need to be ignored but exploited. Pedagogically, this is referred to as entry behavior. Therefore, in a teaching and learning process, the learner should be given room to make their contributions as well as clear their doubts.

³⁸⁰ RICARD Mathieu *Plaidoyer pour l’Altruisme : la force de bienveillance, deuxième édition, Paris, 2014, P. 680.*

³⁸¹ RECARD, M., *ibid*, P. 661.

³⁸² COOMBS, P. H., *La crise mondiale de l’éducation : pédagogie en développement, problématiques et recherches*, édition universitaire, De Boeck, Paris, 1989, P. 125-126.

didactic materials what TAMBO terms effective teaching³⁸³. The relationship between the teachers and the learners constitute a fundamental vector as far as viewing contributions of the teachers as actors in this process is concerned. The structure of relationship of power in the classroom as well as evaluation exercised by the teachers »³⁸⁴ influence the way learners assimilate content and how well or poorly they master and practise it. The role of the teacher just like that of the learner is central in the teaching and learning process. In its article 37 and 46, the law of orientation³⁸⁵ as a follow up of the 1999 decision of the minister of Higher Education³⁸⁶ to render applicable decree No: 93/035/of 19 January, bearing special status of personnel of Higher Education³⁸⁷ specifies this. With this law, teachers have the obligation to guarantee moral rectitude and the right of students' physical and moral integrity. Contrary to other professions like medicine and lawyer, teaching is not a set of professional principle alone but also deals with improvisation. Talking therefore about the role of the teacher warrants us to look at his or her attitude, behaviour, relationship and interaction with students in and out of the amphitheatre as well as the management and control strategies employed to smoothen it. The role of the teacher in the teaching and learning process in the University can also be examined under ethics, control, mastery of content, the teaching methods and procedures employed as well as his or her relationship with students and colleagues.

On the note of role of ethics to the acquisition of political knowledge, MVOGO invites every teacher to examine his of her relationship with students, the truth and colleagues³⁸⁸. In talking about teachers' relationship with students, he reminds us of the right of physical and moral integrity. Just as the law of orientation warns on physical and moral violence. The link between the teachers and the students must be cordial to ensure a smooth teaching and learning atmosphere and the reverse is true. In a situation where, the teacher seeks for violent acts with the aim of assulting the students, he or she breaches the link that binds them as a scientific community. In the same way, at each time the teacher stays away from classes, does not teach well, or does not evaluate objectively, then he is falling short in his professional

³⁸³ It is important for teachers not only to be good but also effective. Formally, society tended to emphasize on the goodness of the teachers in terms of their moral and social behaviour forgetting their effectiveness in terms of knowledge and skills., *idem*. P. 12.

³⁸⁴ CHERKAOUI, M., *ibid*, P. 4.

³⁸⁵ Law of orientation of April 2001, Article 37 and 46, laying emphasis on the mission of teaching in Higher Education as a reinforcement of ethics and national conscience.

³⁸⁶ 1999 Ordinance, of the Minister of Higher Education to render applicable the 1993 decree on morals.

³⁸⁷ Decree n°: 93/035/ of 19 January 1993 bearing special status of personnel in Higher Education, articles 51 and 53.

³⁸⁸ MVOGO Dominique *Reflexions sur la refondation de l'universite Camerounaise*, edition CLE, Yaounde, 2014, P. 129

deontology. This failure might go a long way to affect the acquisition of political knowledge negatively.

Corruption is another plague that affects the role of teachers in the teaching of political culture in particular and learning in general. Corruption in the school milieu helps to slow down the smooth functioning of the teaching and learning process in that it affects meritocracy and discourages hard work. The teacher should not be the one who decides to complicate the teaching and learning process so as to confuse students. It is commonly said that schooling is not a trap. Anonymous sources say « some teachers decide to complicate the setting of test and examination by giving difficult or untaught materials so that they can open a market for bargain with students who fail.³⁸⁹ The teaching and learning process should not be associated with the buying and selling of marks. When this is transformed into commerce obliging students to pay for the pedagogics services for which the state already pays indemnities such as supervision of memoires, defenses and resites just to name but these. Apart from paying in cash, it is also said that the process of bargain extends to sex. If the teaching and learning process should be transformed from a no merited to sexually transmitted marks, then this is breaching the pact of purpose. On this note, MVOGO alludes to the letter on account of sexually commercialised Degree³⁹⁰. By this letter, the uncontrolled sexual appittide of some teachers, the stakes on meritocracy as well as the extent to which they trap students is exposed. Students who are intrusted to the care of the teachers from the date of inscription for their scientific transformation into knowledgable men and women are exposed. By so doing, they do not only distroy the future of students but also their career as notes Stainer « *les maitres ont detruit leurs deciples ..., brise leurs ardeur, consume leurs expoirs et leurs independence* »³⁹¹. Through this act, they also help to discourage those hard-working students by killing the drive in them. Instead of liberating the students to the truth (objective), some teachers subject (chain) them to seduction and violence. This situation needs handling espcerially in today's Universities where children get in at very tender ages and need more the support of teachers and peers to groom them not only scientifically but morally as well. They should serve as examples for students to copy. To do this, the teachers should be contented to teach and to do so regularly, objectively and happily.

³⁸⁹ Anonymous source got from n interview conducted with some University students on the relationship of the school with it's actors and other agents.

³⁹⁰ A letter to the Minister of Higher Education (MINESUP), 17/03/2005, Cited by MVOGO, P.130.

³⁹¹Stainer, idem.

Teachers play the role of control (discipline) in a teaching and learning process. They assure the police of the class. This control helps to limit or influence students' aspiration in learning their political culture. On the note of control, Waller distinguishes personal and institutional power domination and subordination in the school constitutes the dimension of discipline. The teacher has both direct and indirect control over his or her students. His control is limited within the classroom or better still within the amphitheatre. As an agent of selection, he or she is a judge of aptitude. He manages the composition, classroom climate, as well as has direct or indirect influence on the learners. As a manifest function, Parssons talks on socialisation and the social actor³⁹². The teacher in this sense is a social actor. He performs both the manifest and latent function consciously and unconsciously.

Just as the manifest and latent functions, the direct influence in relation to the learning content and compoctment is termed the manifest role while the effects of his behaviour on the students the latent role. The latent function of the school in general and the teacher in particular is that which is not intended. The students for example may develop lack of interest in learning as well as other negative behavioural patterns by modeling from the teachers. Students may result to revolt tendency to protest the unpedagogic practices of the teachers and not initially because they learn to protest. Also, one of the latent functions of the school in general and the University in particular is that it puts learners of diverse backgrounds, different ages and levels together. This results in students finding romantic partners and mates.

The teacher is an agent of social control. The teaching and learning process owes its origin to the analysis of social interaction in the classroom. This also owes it's origin from Durkheim's work based on the problem of order and authority³⁹³ (classroom dicipline). A classroom is a micro society. In this sense, Durkheim thinks the principle of analysis in a global society should be applied. For him, the essential function of the school is to teach morals. The school ought to transmit rules and regulations as habits and a sense of respect for authority. For regularity, the first cardinal virtue for socialisation as far as initiation of quest or interest and moderation of desire is concern. Failure to which, the learner has no brake as far as their wants are concern. It is on this note therefore that the role of the teacher is

³⁹² Telcot, P., idem.

³⁹³ DURKHEIM Emile, Education Moral as cited by Mohammed, C., (1986), *Sociologie de L'education: Le point des connaissances actuelles, edition actualisee, PUF.*

considered powerful towards this accomplishment as well as discipline. Another point of interest is relation.

Talking about the teacher's relationship with the truth warrants them to be just with his mission of educating. To form, to train, school and to invest intelligence into the learners through studies and research. In order to ensure the smooth teaching and learning process, teachers in general and those of Higher Education in particular need to be knowledgeable. To exert the knowledgeability, he does research be it fundamental or applied. Research leads to the discovery of new knowledge. There is a powerful adage in pedagogy that *the teacher, who stops learning, should stop teaching*. The research of new knowledge will improve not only on the teacher's intelligence but will enable him or her to discover or acquire new ways of dispatching content in general and political content in particular. As a reward, he receives semestrial cumulative indemnity for the modernity of University research from the government. The teacher's relationship lies in intellectual honesty, the spirit and continuous quest for more knowledge and the absence of piracy of the works of others. Moreover, the teacher's relationship with other colleagues needs to be cordial. In relating with friends in the profession, relationship with the truth needs to be applied. Conviviality with the self and others needs to be installed instead of seeking to paint others black or to destroy them. To show the extent to which teachers maintain a non-cordial relationship, this author frowns at the way teachers show their differences in terms of place of study and or their ranks. This cool way between actors of the scientific community hinders not only mutual cordiality but also the smooth functioning of the teaching and learning process in general as well as the atmosphere in and around the campuses and the acquisition of political knowledge in particular. Apart from teachers and students, other internal actors include the support staff and the administration.

2.2.1.3- Role of administration and support staff

Every institution or organisation has an administrative body that ascertains its smooth running. There are two types of administrative staff; those who have posts of responsibilities and those who support them. The administrative and the support staff complement the work of teachers and students in the classroom. As oppose to teachers and students, they view the idea of political socialisation of students as well as contribute differently towards its success. The University administration is from top to bottom. Hierarchically, it is from chancellery, registry, faculty Deans, Heads of departments among other heads. These are the promoters

of governmental decisions and ideologies both those from the external hierarchy as well as those from within the campuses. The students' head not left out.

2.2.1.3.1- Administrative contributions to student's political socialisation

The administration serves the eye of the government vis a vis the management of the Universities. They are the implementers of University policies as defined by the government. The notion of role has been conceptualised in two frames. In the functionalist perspective, role signifies norms and values which aim at assuring conformity of behaviour. For interactionists, role is invented and redefined in the course of an interactive process³⁹⁴. In Cameroon, University institutions like any others are intergrated in the mist of the political system. Characterised by a structure of administrative subordination or loyalty to the regime in place as concerns the structures conferred. Administrative contributions to the process of political socialisation cuts accross management and control. This role is textually grounded in the law of orientation and organisation of the fonctionningg of the University³⁹⁵. The role of the administration is to manage the human and material affaires of the University as well as provide control on personnel, students and materials.

In addition to alleviating the specific pressures which trouble teachers, it is the obligation to the school administration to establish an administrative atmosphere, which will nurture mental health of students especially in the civic domain and wholesome interpersonal relationship. The maintainance of an opened channel of communication consideration for teachers, needs for recognition, acceptance and the sharing of administrative responsibilities described as fundamental components of an atmosphere which contributes to a high level of staff security. A further responsibility of the administration is to understand the factors which may cause friction among teacher and students and put measures in place to prevent them. This may arise from the behaviour and attitude of students and teachers. As ways are found to remove the tension which hamper harmonous relationship of teachers, atudents and parents, the home and the school (University) are brought into an effective working relationship for learners feel more secured³⁹⁶ thanks to the protection in and around the school.

³⁹⁴ Etienne J., et al, *Dictionnaire de sociologie*, Paris, Hatier, 2004. Definition of role,

³⁹⁵ Law of orientation of university, idem.

³⁹⁶ MOSELEY, A., Harris, J., *interactions: A thematic reader*, 3rd edition, New York, Boston, 1997, P. 426.

Also, they are the heart drive of governmental decisions both those from the external hierarchy as well as those from within the campus at their respective levels of command. The students' head not left out. Just like the teaching staff, this group of personnel contributes each at its level, a quarter to the success of political socialisation.

The role of the administration in the process of political socialisation as internal actors is not limited to positive but at times, actors in the school in general and the University in particular, in one way or the other influence the work of the school negatively. FERRY in exposing the negative effects of the administration likens it to the state of a car which has a break down since 1994³⁹⁷. As from this date, school success has been at a regression in terms of quality of knowledge acquired as well as number and quality of diplomas. The number of students who leave school as well as school violence is today alarming. Like the case of the lycee student who stabbed a teacher with a compass to the point of death and the case in Douala where a student killed a peer among others. This is partly due to the respect of Human Right which limits the administration from carrying out corporal punishment as it was the case formally. Conversely with the continuous perpetration of crimes in our school, it can be attested without fear of contradiction that the introduction of Human Right in schools has caused the increase of abuses of Human Rights as a result of the administration failing in its duty.

On the note of violence, NAOURI seeks to understand why this is alarming in our schools through the following view « when our learners derail, we should ask real questions for social conditions donot explain every thing as well as love for the children does not suffice »³⁹⁸. The reason for their malpractice is inadequate reflection on what should constitute their education. For life in the society obliges every one to respect rules and regulations which are principles of education. The administration as well as parents have failed and are failing at a very early stage of life to inculcate moral values in their children as well as discipline them. Partly as they distant themselves from them and as they show excessive and unnecessary love to these learners. It is difficult but most necessary for the administration to reinforce control. They have to understand who the students are, what they really need to become an adult and how they should treat and behave with others to enable them become responsible.

³⁹⁷LUC Ferry., *Combattre l'illitrisme, avec le consiel d'analyse de la societe*, Paris, Odile Jacob, 2009, P. 10-20.

³⁹⁸ ALDO Naori., *Eduquer ses enfants, l'urgence Aujourd'hui*, Paris, Odile Jacob, 2008, P. 14-18.

Finally, but not the least, the University administration is also charged with the duty of reporting on the events of the institution to external hierarchy as well as making valuable suggestions about the institution and recruitment of support staff.

2.2.1.3.2- Contributions of support staff to students political socialisation

Universities of Yaounde I and Buea among others are State institutions with a corresponding autonomy. In order to have all their tasks accomplished, they have the power to employ workers in diverse domains. These workers are termed support staff. Most of them execute petty and unskilled tasks. In the course of their work, they interact with students and administrative staff.

As opposed to the teaching and the administrative staff of the University, the support staff is directly under the management of the University. It is directly recruited by the University and aimed at complementing the work in the University. At times, some teachers in the University are classified under support staff that is those who are not recruited by the government. But for the purpose of this study, the support staff is limited to, guards³⁹⁹, cleaners, bus conductors and secretaries. Although emphasis is placed on teachers' role in influencing mental health of learners, they cannot fulfill this obligation without the assistance of the support staff. Direct attention to personal and professional pressures which affect teachers and administrative might be reduced with the presence of support staff. The mental health hazards to which students and teachers are exposed also. In addition to alleviating specific pressures which trouble them, it is the obligation of school officials to establish an administrative atmosphere which nurtures mental health of students especially in the civic domain and wholesome interpersonal relationship. In this light, the support staff of the University helps to socialise students directly or indirectly. Their role to the process of political socialisation is enormous.

As a category of internal actors, they are responsible in running errands from one office to another, or between the administration and the students. They are also responsible to ensure internal security, hygiene and sanitation in the institutions. It is worth evoking that some of these members are teachers. They actually take part in teaching and learning in

³⁹⁹ Decree N0. 93/036 of January 29, 1993, bearing Administrative and Academic organisation of University of Yaounde I, Article 8 on internal security of the University.

general and political learning in particular. A glaring example worth stating is the security officers. In its article 8, the decree of 29 January 1993 on internal security states that;

the security guards of the university institution and in other institutions are assured by the head of the University institution. They guards are charged with guaranteeing the smooth functioning of the learning activities and reserach in liberty, order, dignity, respect of University deontology and the regulations of the republic⁴⁰⁰.

The campus police are charged with the guarantee of peace and security within the campuses. In all state Universities entrance and outlets, security officers are stationed to check entry and exit ensuring that those involve are within the norms which vary from governmental and internal. This does not only secure them, but the rest of the University population. For instance, the gatepeople in the course of their duty, make sure all students entering the campus do not bear any dressing or mark identifying a political party. Any attempts to demonstrate such, causes they guards to check such students out of campus. During these two years for example, the world is strock by a pandemic disease call Corona virus. According to the politics of the government, this pandemy has called for the observation of strict hygenic measures in homes, private and public institutions. At the level of the Universities, the campus guards are very instrumental. They are charged with the duty of making sure that these measures are respected. They for instance make sure that students and every body entering the University wears face mask in a bid to deter contamination.

Furthermore, the security officers also make sure that they conduct checks at different points in the campus to execute the orders prescribed to them by heirachy. For instance, it is clear that schools are closed and apolitical, as such they are to stay clear from any sort of activities or acts that will depict of any contrary or contradiction to this decision. Such are repported immidiately. By so doing, this group of actors, help remind students of their civic commitment of obedience and repect for norms. A clear example here is the dressing style. The students are not only controled for decent dressing but they also ensure that students do not appear any where around the campus with dressings that will depict party afiliations or the exhibition of a political feeling of any sort nor fliers depicting this. Worth noting is also the fact that in executing this function, the role of the support staff at times is judged otherwise. Their role in this process is not limited to positive but at times, these actors in one

⁴⁰⁰ In its article 8, the decree of 29 January 1993, on internal security bestores on the guards the duty of ensuring internal peace within the institutions in particular.

way or the other influence the work of the University in general and political socialisation in particular negatively.

Other support staff, include part time teachers, secretaries, and cleaners among others. View their work, it is normal to uphold that they play both active and passive role in political socialisation of students. This can be proven by the fact that students who have been headstrong vis a vis the apolitical nature of the University are forced to remain calm for fear of confronting the heavy arms of guards. FERRY in exposing the negative effects of school, likens it to the state of a car with a bad engine saying ‘education has a break down’ since 1994⁴⁰¹. As from this date, school success has been at a regression in terms of quality of knowledge acquired as well as number and quality of diplomas acquired. The number of students who leave school as well as school violence is today alarmic. On the note of violence, NAOURI seeks to understand why this is alarmic in our schools through the following view « when our learners derail, we should ask real questions for social conditions do not explain every thing as well as love for the children does not suffice »⁴⁰². The reason for their malpractice is inadequate reflection on what should constitute the education of our children. Life in the society warrants every one to respect rules and regulations which is a principle of all education. Therefore, parents and administrators are failing at a very early stage of life to inculcate moral values in students partly as they distant themselves from them. They show excessive and unnecessary love to these children. It is a difficult but most necessary task for administrators. They have to understand who students are, what they really need to become adults and how to behave with them.

2.2.2- CONTRIBUTIONS OF EXTERNAL ACTORS TO STUDENTS’ POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

The theme of the 54th youth day celebration “Youths, citizenship in the socio-economic and political life of the country”⁴⁰³ 2020 encourages youths’ participation in political life. This pronouncement envisages an encouragement of youths in the participation in political life. The process of politically socialising students involves other sectorial actors apart from

⁴⁰¹LUC, F., *Combattre l’illittrisme, avec le consiel d’analyse de la societe*, Paris, Odile Jacob, 2009, P. 10-20.

⁴⁰² ALDO, N., *Eduquer ses enfants, l’urgence Aujourd’hui*, Paris, Odile Jacob, 2008, P. 14-18.

⁴⁰³ The opening speech of his Excellency president Paul BIYA, on the eve of the occasion of the 54th Youth Day celebration, over the Cameroon Radio and Television (Crtv).

the government and politicians. This category of actors is composed of youths themselves either as individuals, groups and civil societies.

2.2.2.1- Governmental – elitico contributions to the process of political socialisation

The government plays a double role in political socialisation. It upstreams and downstreams the process. In upstreaming it, it puts in place policies that are applied and taught in the Universities as far as making it free of any political practices. In down stream, it monitors and controls the activities of the Universities. These and those of the custodians of the government are observed below.

2.2.2.1.1- Government contributions to the process of socialisation

Government contributes enormously to the process of political socialisation. The attitude common with some political analysts consists in studying the behaviour of individual in the political field, on the basis of economic rationality. Here, political actions are considered as being determined by material conditions of individuals⁴⁰⁴. Government contributions to the System of Education in general, Higher Education in particular and to be more precised the political socialisation of student covers a wide spectraum. The influence of politics on education is evident on grounds of control by the State. The elaboration of school programmes by appointed or elected commissions by State or professional organisations depicts this. Even though with a certain degree of autonomy exercised by the University authority, we observe the tendency that government policies (closed and apolitical nature of school) orient control and search for solutions in educative problems. In the University, the tendency of this influence not withstanding, as earlier noted, much is deployed by the government to render the process of education and schooling in particular smooth. This cuts across material, financial and human resources. Materially, the government approves the creation of Universities. It also puts in place infrastructure and equipement. It appoints senior personnel and launches recruitment of others. On the financial note, it provides financial assistance to students in the form of “Prime d’excellence” Through the Ministry of Higher Education, the government have also put in place a mechanism of assistance of a certain number of students during the third term, to enable them return to school with ease as well conduct the research. Be it in terms of material, financial or human resources, schooling in

⁴⁰⁴ Political actions being conditioned by the material conditions of the individuals here signify the satisfaction of needs of the population concern. An evaluation pertaining to needs provision.

general and higher education in particular has not ceased to feel the impact of the government.

In the context of its contributions to this process, emphasis is laid on three characteristics to ensure serenity namely; transparency, efficiency and managerial skill⁴⁰⁵. The government has the overall control over its institutions. It has an eye on Universities as Highest institutes of learning. It provides supervisory control to these Universities through the Minister of Higher educations. The control is made possible and available through on the spot and occasional visits to the universities, the use of policies, decrees and or texts. These help to shape not only the process of education but political socialization. It streams and shapes content according to stipulated norms and demands of society. This in effect plays negatively on youths' political conscientization⁴⁰⁶ by putting them in the state of perpetual ignorance and distanciation.

The government is charged with the responsibility of appointing the Vice Chancellors and other top-ranking personnel of the Universities through presidential decrees⁴⁰⁷. By decree, it gives special considerations to University of Buea to suggest the candidate for appointment⁴⁰⁸ to this post from among members of the professional rank of Anglo-saxon training following recommendations of the Senate and Councils⁴⁰⁹, the others by ministerial texts. Through these appointments, the government provides supervisory control to both the personnel, students, content and the whole institution to guarantee its effectiveness and efficiency. In response to this, those appointed must show their loyalty and commitment to the state this thus shapes their behaviour. In the perspective of how the school shapes behaviour, it is said "*it does not suffice to perform well, we also need to understand what we are doing*"⁴¹⁰. This declaration shows the neccessity of blending theory with practice. It also exposes the heavy task of the government and the administration to provide control as well as keep personnel and students informed. Further more, it exposes the important role information plays in the lifes of learners. By this declaration, we are reminded of our duty as citizens each in his or her capacity in general and the administration in particular to keep its

⁴⁰⁵ MVOGO, D., idem, P. 111-119.

⁴⁰⁶ MUXEL, Ann., << les jeunes et la politique : entre heritage et renouvellement >>, Empan 2003/2(n050), P. 62-67.

⁴⁰⁷ Decree n0: 93/ 027 of 19 January 1993, article 30, bearing common disposition of Universities

⁴⁰⁸ Decree n0: 93/034 of 19 January 1993, précisant que le vice chancelier be suggested from among members of the Anglo-saxon training following recommendations of the senate and council.

⁴⁰⁹ MVOGO, D., idem, P. 118.

⁴¹⁰ Interview with students, on the role of school in political socialisation, 2021.

personnel and students informed. The importance of keeping people regularly informed enables them to understand what they should do or not do at each moment in time.

In the University, information is handed down to students either by notice post on boards like results or through the students' government. It is however understood that on rare cases, the students' population of the University is addressed publicly by the authorities in force. This to accentuate the bureaucratic nature with multiple ramifications both on students and the institution. This serves as a motivant because it defines the path not only for students but personnel as well to follow. It is a force for public action. It prevents them from being lost at any given moment. When students understand the importance of carrying out certain activities or the danger involved in doing or not doing so, they will inculcate the habit of fostering or preventing it. Therefore, the government through the administration ensures this. Apart from the government, politicians form part of the external actors as such they have their opinion and contribution to the process of socially politising students.

2.2.2.1.2- The contributions of politicians (elites)

It is undoubtedly clear that politicians contribute to students' political socialisation both directly and indirectly. Indirectly, they criticise governmental actions to this zeal. By so doing, the government is forced to adjust its actions towards political socialisation of students. Directly, they offer support to students, in order to meet up with their academic requirements as illustrated below. According to PARETO, the analysis of governmental elites centre on the political domain and their activities are placed at the summit. For Schumpeter, people do not directly govern themselves. They are obliged to delegate power in the hands of representatives⁴¹¹. These are termed politicians. The impact of politics on the entire system and that of education in particular is enormous. This view of politicians is also shared by some authors. The principal goal of education is to shape the behaviour of individuals and groups to suite or reflect the heritage of the socialising agents according to the demands of society. In this sense, the political behaviour of learners is greatly structured in the culture received in school⁴¹². On this note, NDA thinks one of the causes for weaknesses of political movements in Africa (cognition) should be searched in the type of culture taught in

⁴¹¹ Gaetano Mosca, Schumpeter cite' par Jean Etienne et al, idem.

⁴¹² Muxel Ann, in an interview on whether the young generation is being prepared to take the lead in the nearest future frawns at the fact that the fact that the present generation is failing in its mission of transmitting political culture. For him, the task of transmission is partly the mission of school. He thinks that school would have opened its walls to politics, organizing debates, information and not continually entertaining the strain relation of eviction on the pretext of neutrality. (les jeunes et la politique entre heritage et renouvellement, 2003, p.67.)

schools⁴¹³. This same cause can allude to students' lack of consciousness and interest in learning political culture as a result of political content offered to them on a similar note, states Fabien

*notre école est une école de servitude volontaire et elle est une machine à deciviliser. La plupart de ceux qui en sortent sont désormais inaptes à produire les conditions matérielles, symboliques et spirituelle de la vie humaine digne de ce nom*⁴¹⁴.

This author also criticises the fact that the school is unable to train learners for adequate insertion. The content exposed to students is superficial and limited to enable them become self-reliant in the society particularly in the political domain. Although much emphasis is laid on youths concentrating on their studies and leaving politics for politicians as a game for the matured, some politicians say that they are actively concerned on students' acquisition of general knowledge as far as education of youths in general and students in particular is concerned. For this reason, they contribute enormously towards school success. They give material donation to individual students from poor backgrounds as well as those in their localities. This is in effect to breach the gap between the poor and the rich as well as make education available for all equality. They also provide material support to some schools especially those in the hinterlands as micro project achievement. A parliamentarian interviewed in this perspective averred;

*apart from donations, it is also made known that most of us personalities are parents. As such we help to educate our children as well as other youths in our localities. Our activities as political figures in our areas of jurisdiction serve as boosters and influence youths specifically students consciously or unconsciously about the necessity of being politically informed. Therefore, either directly or indirectly, we play the role of guiding these children both by providing advice and unconsciously they copy and emulate us*⁴¹⁵.

The image portrayed in this speech is that of inclusion which greatly differs with the reality on the ground. The impediments (same time try to prevent them from the political game) notwithstanding, students benefit from the works of these personalities in the society as said directly or indirectly. This is witnessed in their official duty of enacting bills. Others say as parliamentarians, they play the role of enacting bills some of which directs ministries in charge of youths. These bills if promulgated attract government financing which is used to

⁴¹³ NDA'A, P., *lutte de classes idéologie et milieu intellectuel Africain*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1987.

⁴¹⁴ EBOUSSI BOULAGA, F., *Ligne de résistance*, Yaounde, CLE, 1999, p. 27.

⁴¹⁵ A politician interviewed on their contribution to students' political socialisation.

execute programmes for their benefit⁴¹⁶. Other actors have their views and contributions towards students' political socialisation.

2.2.2.2- Role of youths and Civil Societies

2.2.2.2.1- Role of youths in the process of political socialisation

Political culture is the manifestation in aggregate forms of the psychological and subjective dimensions of politics. It is the product of both the collective history of a political system and those of the members of that system. It is rooted equally on public events and private experiences. Political culture is apprehended through the process called political socialisation. This process in the University involves not only theoretical learning of political knowledge but also certain practices which reflect political activities in and out of school environment

Although limited, youths as individuals and or organisations influence socialisation. As a process through which individual perception how power is arranged, shared and learnt is internalised through peers' influence. Youths either individuals or groups have always been and remain a powerful vector for socialisation of their mates. Their contribution in the conscientisation of peer is indisputable. They serve as a powerful source of motivation. This motivation is made possible through reinforcing and punishing behaviour and or interpersonal interaction⁴¹⁷. Motivation has been employed here in its double capacity. In some instance, it favours the acquisition of political culture. In others, it discourages it. In this process, some youths serve as a powerful pull of attraction to others. Their involvement in civic obligations in and out of the University serves as lessons worth emulating by their peers. This consequently pushes their mates to also develop and build interest. There is an English adage which states that familiarity breaks contempt. The intelligence of these is manipulated and contaminated. Therefore because of their constant interaction with their mates, sooner or later they find themselves developing interest for what they never had time for because of the acquaintance.

A clear example of youth programme is called operation clean the streets programme aimed at ensuring hygiene and sanitation in the environment for instance (Universite

⁴¹⁶Interview with MESUMBE, A.M., section president of CPDM, on their view and contributions on students' political socialisation, on the April 2021.

⁴¹⁷ LANGTON, K. P., the American political science review, 61(3), 1967, P. 751-758.

Nationale de la Jeunesse UNJ, 2020). This programme is initiated by youths mostly the students under the supervision of councils in many areas. During the long-term holidays (winter), students team up and work to clean the gullies, clear the grasses along the roads and clean the main streets in different localities including some administrative services. Although an objective of the council to assist students go back to school, it also depicts youths' commitment. The youths in general and students in particular who serve in this program, are not forced to do so. They have the choice of not doing the job⁴¹⁸ if not for their commitment. It is also worth mentioning that some youths are pessimistic about political socialisation. On the note of negativity, some youths help to kill the drive in others. As far as the idea of taking interest and partaking in political activities is concerned. Some youths nurse negative feelings towards civic role in particular and nation building in general. This category of youths do all in their capacity to make sure that they contaminate their peers⁴¹⁹ since peers influence is a force for conversion. To stamp out this plague of negative contamination, youths in general and students in particular should enunciate the spirit of patriotism in and for their father-land. In their respective areas and with the available means, they should be guarantors and protectors of State properties durable and undurable, physical and moral, movable and immovable.

In the process of socialisation, it is also worth noting that some youths take the role of parents as well as advisers. Their mates confide better in them as far as their worries, ignorance, likes and dislikes are concerned. A clear indication is the situation in the two anglophone regions of Cameroon that has disrupted schooling and national peace for quite some time thanks to all measures to put it under control. It is a clear fact that most of the people in the bushes carrying arms are youths. It is also worth noting that some of these youths are educated. In such situations, the educated youths, especially should take the challenge of advising their mates. It is noted that youths better listen to their peers as well as confide best in them. Although considered as « social cardets » the society looks up to them. Notwithstanding the difficulty associated that is the fact that they are limited, they should not fail to play the role of mediators. Of course, their age range in the mid of childhood and

⁴¹⁸Interview with students on their Civic Duties.

⁴¹⁹RACHMAN, S., the fear of contamination: assessment and treatment, (2006), Oxford University Press, published online in September 2015, www.oxfordclinicalpsych.com/view

adulthood is not by chance⁴²⁰ but a powerful indicator that they are mediators and constitute a transition in society.

2.2.2.2.2- Role of Civil Societies in students' political socialisation

Civil Society equally has a giant role in the domain of political socialisation of students. On one hand, they criticise governmental actions towards this direction. By so doing, it prompts the government to be categorical and just in the amelioration of political views towards towards the well being of students. Unlike politicians, they provide assistance of all forms to students in their struggle to acquire knowledge. This goes via individual assistance and collective aids. Civil Society activities helps to conscientise the public. Also, these organisations play diverse roles in the education of youths and students' particularly in their political socialisation. Through the follow up activities on the execution of government laws, principles and activities and communication spirit. They seek to breach and counter act the simultaneous totalisation unleashed by the state⁴²¹. They are an important source of critic and informants for both citizens and government. They monitor government policies and actions and hold government accountable. They engage in advocacy as well as offer alternative policies for government and the private sector. It is the sphere of active citizenship in which individuals take up social issues try to analyse to influence the State or make demands on them.

Collectively, some of the civil societies and Non-Governmental Societies provide books and other documents to Universities meant for students' upbuilding. Some of these books contain political ideas and knowledge which go a long way to modify the standard of students' political socialisation. Individually they target or orient their aids to some students and localities in order to buttress learning in Cameroon. They pursue their collective interests or seek support for a variety of causes. Civil Society also play the role of enhancing transparency and good governance. This is ensured by contributing to increase public debates on issues surrounding formulation and implementation of government budget. It equally greatly supports transparency of public revenue. The role of civil society in societal transformation and nation building in Cameroon is being compromised by political and social structures. Civil societies remain in societal cleavages that find expression in parochial

⁴²⁰ Critical thinking, being in the middle of these two stages of growth and development, partly show the endowment nature has accorded them to do mediation.

⁴²¹ BAYART, J. F., the state in Africa: the politics of the Belly. London, longmann.

tendencies, ranging from ethnicism to regionalism⁴²². As a result, their ability to mobilise all and sundry towards a meaningful democratic culture is limited. In this context, the quest for good governance has remained for the vast majority of Camerounians a platitinous utopia. Only a Civil Society that transcends narrow social and political boundaries and identify with the daily and legitimate struggle of ordinary citizens can serve as a signpost pointing towards meaningful quantitative and qualitative development in Cameroon.

The goal of civil societies and non-governmental organisations cuts across education. An example of a civil society actively present in the domain of education is called Cameroon's Education for all networks (CEFAN). It is a leading and broad umbrella-based network for education civil societies in Cameroon. The goal is to make strong contributions to achieving the goal of Education for all in the comeroonian society. Achieving this goal also signifies educating students in their political culture. Also, we have trade unions. The main education trade unions known by their French acronymes are; National Union of Teacher for Basic Education (Syndicat National de L'enseignement primaire et martene), the Cameroon Federation of Unions of Education (Federation Camerounaise de Syndicat de L'Enseignement), The National Union for Teachers in Cameroon (Syndicat National des Enseignants du Cameroun). Also, some charitable Organisation working in Cameroon includes; Commit 2 Africa, Defence for Children International, Kids Education Concern, Link Up Charity Foundation, United Action for Children's Learning Tools for Self Development and United Action for Children⁴²³. These unions dwell on collective problems solving in thier domains. Others go a long way to provide assistance to learners in diverse forms as well as fight their course. This assistance helps to strengthen the path as well as make clear the process of socialisation, political specifically. Precisely, the propagation of information in general and on political learning in particular and the distributions of resources just to name but these, help to create awareness and most often the authorities review decisions in the favour of citizens.

⁴²² GAM NKWI, Walter sicil society, department of History University of Buea, pobox 63 Buea, Cameroon,

⁴²³ [http://www.commonwealthofnations.org/Common Wealth Network Cameroon](http://www.commonwealthofnations.org/Common_Wealth_Network_Cameroon).

CONCLUSION

Conclusively, the habit of judging school in relation to society in which it is found makes us attempt to accord it the models that society promotes⁴²⁴. The process of schooling in general and political socialisation in particular involves many actors. These actors vary from central namely; students, teachers, administrative and support staff. Apart from the internal, peripheral actors constitutes the government, politicians, youths and civil societies. These groups of persons share diverse views as regards socialising students politically. Their perceptions are positive in relation to initiating and grounding students into their political culture through political learning. The political engagement of students today is inscribed in the context of social insertion, this plays particularly on their political conscientisation and generally on their insertion into job market and society. This has progressively become so difficult despite government efforts. The most vulnerable amongst them are the first victims of criticisms and disorder for the fragilisation of the system of protection. Employment opportunities are obstacles to citizenship engagement of youths. This attracts their lack of interest, students in particular.

The process of political socialisation entails engagement. This warrants the availability of resources. Resources here cut accross intellectual, material and financial. Youths lack the means to fully engage in this process. According to Alemji, “some students hardly, while others barely have enough means, to feed and carry on educational cost”. This reason coupled with others, they concentrate their limited resources on learning rather than seeking to be politically socialized⁴²⁵. On this same note, they express their view saying *« most often, even those who show up in some of these activities do so not because they have interest in them, but because they are attracted by the little motivational benefits attached to them »*⁴²⁶. On the note of limited resources, some politicians take advantage to incite or instrumentalise some of the students for their personal aggrandisement at the detriment of others. They either mobilise them for matches or for motions of support or better still for appreciative purposes. The process of political socialisation of students involves many agents. As many as the agents involved whether directly or indirectly, so are the stakes which condition their actions and equally constraint the process of political.

⁴²⁴ PENA-RUIZ, H., *Qu'est - ce que l'école?*, édition Gallimard, Paris, 2005, P. 93.

⁴²⁵ ALEMJI, M., in an interview on obstacles to the process of political socialization, conducted in Buea campus.

⁴²⁶ Interview, *ibid*.

PART TWO

**ROLE OF OTHER AGENTS, STAKES, CONSTRAINS AND IMPACTS OF
POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF STUDENTS IN CAMEROON**

To apprehend this part, it is logical to give a diagnosis of the concept agent and latter support it with the etymology actor. An agent is a person or thing that takes active role to produce a specified effect on some one, or something. It is equally a person who acts on behalf of another or group⁴²⁷. From this definition, it is crystal that these agents are fully involved in the process of students' political socialisation. By so doing, they act on behalf of the government whose sole responsibility is to ascertain full socialisation of students. From the definition of actors supra, it dawns in us that the former is more involved in the task of socializing students politically while the latter, complements their actions.

The idea of role⁴²⁸ can be distinguished into normative or stipulated role which is at times different from that which is expected or awaited of actors. According to Merton, we should associate a status not to a single role but to a set (role-set), corresponding to the expectations of different persons who occupy complementary roles⁴²⁹. Crozier and Friedberg in their book *l'acteur et le système* use an organisation as a system to examine its function. They looked at how collective action in an organisation works that is with what conditions, under which circumstances and at what cost are collective actions possible or constraint. For these authors, it is not a natural phenomenon, it is a social construct and as such, its existence poses a problem thus warrants an explanation of the conditions of emergence and of maintenance. In the same light, the school which is a sub system in the society is a social construct and system. As such, it has the way it functions. To attain its goals and objectives, the various actors (administrative staff, teaching staff, support staff and students) need to work together "collective action". In the course of these actors working together (teaching and learning process), constraints at times arise. These differences may be either between the administration and the teaching staff, the administration and the support staff, the teaching staff and the students, and or the administration and students.

What ever be the case and level of the differences, they need to be resolved amicably. To attain this, the authors put forth the strategic analysis to see what possible strategies are put in place to attain collective goals as well as manage constraints. Developed in 1977-1992, it is an organisational model which articulates the comprehension of relationship of actors

⁴²⁷ KAGAN Julia, www.investopedia.com, retrieved on 02/4/22.

⁴²⁸ HREBINIAK, L.G., and ALLUTO, J, A., << personal and role related factors in the development of organizational commitment >> , Administrative science Quarterly, vol.17, N0.4(Dec. 1972)., p555-573.

⁴²⁹ MERTON, R.k., in social structure and Anormie, assumes the individual is not just in a structure system of actions, but also that his or her actions may be forced by the demands of society.

who are interdependent. It studies the relationship of power and the effect of strategies of actors in the organisation. The analysis moves from the actor to discover the system whose constraints fashion the behaviour of actors. The goal of this organisational approach is to produce knowledge capable of clarifying the practice. As a social system, the actors are bound to integrate themselves in an interdependent manner through the relationship of power. In the University, the pattern of relationship between actors is not only a third but extends to the fourth party which although in most cases is directly invisible.

The interdependence and inter-relationship of parts in the educative community implies that the educational task be divided between various agents. As a biological organism functions through the interdependence of parts⁴³⁰ whether directly or indirectly, the University is in permanent interaction with other agents, in the process of socializing students. Agents of education are the different institutions, through which learning is achieved. Some writers have tended to recognise only four agencies namely the school, the community, home and the church⁴³¹. Antier in viewing education dwells on what should be changed so that our learners regain interest of learning⁴³². Confronted in the world of crisis, where individualism and centrism are the order of the day, coupled with the neglect of guidance assignment, the love and consideration for others (altruism) is fast losing it. In this process, the role of others is indispensable. Therefore, altruism is but an urgent necessity in living collective life as it gives sense to it⁴³³. Attempts to map out the political developments of learners in the University greatly make the contributions of different agents inevitable and relative. To this effect, the role of parents is of prime importance. The political socialization process operates in terms of various socializing agents. Some of these agents as the family and school tend to be very prominent at the early phases of the socialising process. This makes their interest more closely related to personality characteristics development which are fundamental to political culture. Other socialising agents such as mass media tend to become critical at later stages and thus are primarily involved in influencing the more cognitive aspects of political culture. Learners manifest great differences this is either as a result of their conditioning, education or the environment.

⁴³⁰ OKOKON, J. C., *Sociological theory: A Historical-Analytical Approach to Man and Society*, Nigeria, Calabar, 2005, P. 22-23.

⁴³¹ LEKE, T.I., *idem*, p. 102.

⁴³² ANTIER, E., *Vive l'éducation ; ce qui doit changer pour que nos enfants retrouvent le gout d'apprendre*, edition Roert Laffont, Paris, 2003, P. 184.

⁴³³ RECARD, M., *idem*, P. 1022.

Divided into two chapters, chapter three, views the school precisely the University in interaction with other agents. Since the idea of learning requires a joint effort of agents and actors. The actors in performing their roles have interests in doing so and most often than not, are faced with obstacles. Chapter four, centers on these as well as views impacts of this process on the entire society.

CHAPTER THREE

**SCHOOL: AN INTEGRATING ACTOR WITH OTHER AGENTS IN
STUDENTS' POLITICAL SOCIALISATION**

School cohabites other agents in the process of socialisation. It complements and accommodates the influence of other agents in this process. According to Mathieu, the only hope for a better future for humanity is cooperation and partnership⁴³⁴. The socialisation of learners is not solely the process of formal knowledge acquisition in general but that of civic education as well. This is not also the lone responsibility of school but a burden duty to many agents. Since the collapse of school walls, social problems have penetrated. Cooperation with the external world is eminent⁴³⁵. The idea of cooperation in education greatly relates to functionalism. Adopted in sociological works, this consists in explaining social phenomena in relation to their social functions⁴³⁶. For Durkheim, explaining social phenomenon entails an understanding of its immediate cause as well as its function. The function of a social fact should be searched always in relationship its' ends. The school in general and the University in particular is in permanent interaction with other agents in the process of socialisation.

According to Greenstein, political socialisation is greatly a one-way process, through which learners gain an understanding of the political world through interactions with adults and the media. It is schematically represented as (Subjects) - learn what (political values, beliefs, attitudes, behaviour) – from whom (agents) – (under what circumstances) – content learning (with what effects)⁴³⁷. Agents of socialisation include formal and non-formal with the parents, peers, and mass media respectively as agents among others. They aid to convey orientations to subjects learning. This chapter concentrates on interaction with other agents. It is divided into two sections. Section (I) examines the link between the school and other agents in the process of acquisition of political learning. The process of interaction is not void of differences. Section II on its part examines differences amongst these agents.

⁴³⁴ RICARD, M, *Plaidoyer pour L'altruisme ; la force de la bienveillance*, Paris, 2014, P. 36.

⁴³⁵ Georgette Jean, P..P. idem, 78.

⁴³⁶ DURKHEIM, E., *Les règles de la méthode sociologique*, Paris, PUF. (Durkheim, the explanation of a social phenomenon entails an understanding of its immediate cause as well as its function.

⁴³⁷ GREENSTEIN, F.I., *Children and Politics*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1969, P. 86.

MVESSO writes on the contributions of school on Africans. In his book titled *L'École Malgré tout*, he sees the idea of schooling in three different perspectives, to wit; the functionalists, the conflict and socialists' views⁴³⁸. On the functionalist view, school is considered as the totality of the maintenance of equilibrium and harmony in the society. On this note of the author, only those notions as well as events which are held at high esteem and considered worth inculcating are introduced into the school system. Contrarily to the functionalists, from the perspective of conflict, school is viewed as an effective instrument for the reproduction of the dominant class in the society (BOURDIEU and PASSERON). The students who constitute the University population come from different socio-political, cultural and economic backgrounds this makes them different in terms of upbringing and aspirations. Secondly the biological prints implanted in them through genes transmission from conception also help to distinguish them from others. This partly explains why students are different from each other not only in terms of performance but in terms of likes and dislikes. Socialists serve as a hybrid between the functionalists and conflicts. They consider school as an institution for the transformation (reproduction) of individuals into social beings. On the note of a social bond between agents, we tend to view how these agents complement each other.

SECTION 3.1: COMPLEMENTARITY OF THE UNIVERSITY WITH OTHER AGENTS IN POLITICAL SOCIALISATION OF STUDENTS

Complementarity comes from the word complement which means completing the actions of another. When one talks of complementarity, the first thing that dwells in mind is the involvement of a double or more actions from different sets of persons or things. For a better understanding, complementarity is a relationship or a situation where two or more persons support each other. Interaction forms the base of human integration. Humans are social beings in need of approbation, social recognition and security in this regard, social integration is eminent. In exposing the unavoidable need of agents to work together, Radcliffe – Brown adopts a functionalist perspective different from that of Malinowski. He critically re-examines the function of magical rites during the construction of navigation canon. His approach seeks to logically link structure, process and function. This author makes references to the notion of function in biology (the function of the heart in pumping blood to

⁴³⁸ MVESSO, A., *L'école Malgré Tout : les conditions d'une contribution de l'école à l'essor Africain*, Presse Universitaire de Yaoundé, 1998, P. 10 – 42.

the rest of the body, stating that if the heart ceases to function, the vital process of blood circulation as well ceases as a consequence, life in the human body stops as well. In the same manner, in a coherent society or structure, the function of a social agent and its contribution in functioning of the system is vital in the maintenance and persistence of the structure⁴³⁹.

Many agents complement the school in general and the University in particular in the process of political socialisation. Some of these are informal and non-formal agents. The family and peer constitute informal agent while the church, mass media and others, the non-formal agents. School plays a capital role in the transmission of models of personality. It is supported in this social mission by other agents like the family. The family is the most basic unit of the society. Family complements the school in teaching and learning. The school and home play an important part in ego development. No matter how well parents and teachers do their job, each individual always carries into adulthood, some vestiges of his childhood struggles between gaining satisfaction and conforming to social pressure⁴⁴⁰. Each learner has his peculiar pattern of childhood anxieties left over from his earlier psychological struggles. Sensitivities which he has not been able to outgrow and which flare up from time to time. Growth is a continuous process of struggling with internal psychic forces and trying to bring into harmony with social demands.

In the course of these struggles, the ego finds certain forms of reactions more effective than others in reducing the pressure brought to bear upon it. Each learner develops his or her own behavioural pattern in terms of what makes them feel more comfortable. They use this repeatedly as they become automatic habit systems. Many learners develop habits of resolving their anxieties by seeking situations and companions which booster their self-esteem and avoid situations which make them feel insignificant and unimportant. Other learners try to modify their super ego through various psychological mechanisms which take the sting out of the conscience so that life is more bearable. Still, other learners get so accustomed to indulging the id (bestly nature of humans in personality formation) that they

⁴³⁹ RADCLIFFE-Brown, functionalism theory the function of the heart in pumping blood to the rest of the body, stating that if the heart ceases to function, the vital process of blood circulation as well ceases as a consequence, life in the human body ceases as well. In the same manner, in a coherent society or structure, the function of a social agent and its contribution in functioning of the system is vital in the maintenance and persistence of the structure.

⁴⁴⁰ Moseley, A., Harris, J., *interactions: a thematic reader*, 3rd edition, New York, Boston, P. 1997, 93-96.

find it impossible to exercise much self-control and are unable to conform to social requirements⁴⁴¹.

The motivational strategies as well as punishment are the models of teachers, all help to train the ideal students⁴⁴². The role of schooling in outlining political behaviour is important. The school shapes the intellect of students. It enables understanding and implication of values and beliefs.

The effects of curricula exposure, teachers' view, instructional methods and materials, classroom climate, the authority structure of the school, peer interaction as well as various students' background characteristics are observed⁴⁴³. The role played by other agents in the process of political socialisation is examined in two sections. Firstly, we have looked at the family and peer and lastly, mass media and religious societies. Also, section two is concentrated on conflict.

3.1.1- Complementarity of the Universities, Family and peer in the process of political socialisation of students

The process of political socialisation of students is not a burden duty of the school alone. In the course of complementing, some actors are considered premodial in the process whose actions are at times complemented with the approach of others. The family and peer contribute to this process equally. It is the responsibility of parents, teachers as well as peers to offer students references that will permit them be responsible citizens. Aldo, in looking at the urgent need in educating learners today views the contributions of parents. To better look at their role that is principal to the process of learning. Their proper status and influence in the light of the learners' future is examined. According to Aldo, the word parent is complex⁴⁴⁴ to define. A child's definition vary much from that of the social field, this is bound to be subjective because it concerns relative with a person. It varies from artificial insemination, single parent, adopted parent and other practices, which lead to child bearing and rearing. Parents are those who project in their children whether consciously or not. They

⁴⁴¹ Louis Kaplan, *mental health and human relations in education*, New York, Harper and Row publishers, 1959, P. 68.

⁴⁴² MENDRAS Hanri, idem. P. 20.

⁴⁴³ EVA T, F., "The Role of School in Political Socialization" Swarthmore college, 1970-1979, <https://journals.sagepub.com>.

⁴⁴⁴ SEGALEN, M., *Sociologie de la Famille*, 2^e edition, Paris, Armand Colin, 1984, P.33-35.

may be those having either biological or other relational links with children⁴⁴⁵ thus play on their acquisition of learning in general and political learning in particular.

Every learner comes from a family. The family is the number one agent of socialisation. Made up of parents and other members, it is very prominent most especially at the early phase of socializing process. The influence of the family in socialisation is closely related to personality characteristic formation, fundamental to political culture. Students who constitute the majority of the University population and who are central in the teaching and learning process in the university come from different families. The family has a role to play in the teaching and learning process of school. This role complements school work and influences the learners greatly either positively or negatively. This section views the contributions of the family and peer.

3.1.1.1- Family contributions to political socialisation of students

In order to have a scientific focus in relation to this section, it would be better to have a glance on interaction theory. Based on the idea that human beings as they interact with one another give meaning to themselves, others and the world around them. They use these meanings as a basis for making decisions and taking actions in their every day lives. To this effect, family remains a natural and primary milieu, for students' socialisation. The process is done mostly in an unconscious manner, yet with very positive significant effects on children for their future apprehension of the society at large. Infact, the level of the family affects the political socialisation of their progenitures which is later complemented and improved at the level of other organised settings. The process of schooling involves a distribution of role between the home and the school⁴⁴⁶ among others. The home has always been recognized as the number one agent of informal education. This is so because much of our early and even later education is acquired through interaction with our parents, brothers, sisters, relatives and the home environment⁴⁴⁷ as a whole. This education is acquired in an informal way that is they do not really sit down to draw up programs. The family plays an extremely important role in the formation of ego. A home atmosphere where security, affection and approval are wisely tempered with, respect, control and encouragement is the matrix out of which, strong

⁴⁴⁵ ALDO N., idem, P. 103-155.

⁴⁴⁶ Georgette, P., et ETEVE Jean, P., *La pédagogie : repères pratiques*, Nathan, 2006, P. 130.

⁴⁴⁷ Edwige Antier, *vive l'éducation : ce qui doit changer pour que nos enfants retrouvent le gout d'apprendre*, Robert Laffont, France, Camedan, 2003, P. 84-85.

ego, emerges. Learners must be assured of parental love. To develop an adequate self-concept, they also must be permitted to think for themselves without undue pressure. During the pre-puberty years, the learners manage to establish a rather stable self-concept based on childhood values and relationships. With the onset of puberty these values and relationships change. The young star undergoes major transformations, leaving them with new sensitivities towards their new appearance and physiological functions. This therefore rings a change and re-establishment of self-concept due to new body image thus changes in economic role, social status and personal relationship.

Learners strive to enhance their egos, they seek feelings of personal worth and want to be appreciated and made to feel important. If they are provided with opportunities to experience such feelings in school, ego development will proceed in wholesome and constructive ways. If they are denied these opportunities, there may result to counteract the resulting feeling of inadequacy through a social form of enhancing behaviour. These circumstances are often found to underlie the misconduct problems commonly encountered amongst students.

Worth noting is the fact that in modern society, the home can also function in a way as an agency of non-formal education when parents, become deliberately involved in reinforcing and supplementing the work of the school and the church by organizing regular home tutorial and museum visits as well as moral lessons. Pedagogical classes, field trips, library. Science recognizes that parents are teachers and that not all learnings take place in school⁴⁴⁸. To this effect it has been found that homes can contribute tremendously to the performance of learners in school. The contributions depend on certain factors which includes; the amount of academic guidance that the home provides their children, the language level and style in the home, the way the family uses the neighbourhood and the community for educational purposes, the amount of time parents spend teaching the children, the way learning materials (Books, Magazine, Newspapers) are organised at home. To facilitate learning, the amount and type of verbal interaction on learning in general and political culture specifically by family members and their learners turns to increase learners' awareness and zeal in this domain. The absence of these may also restrain learning to an extent. The study of political socialiation in the University does not exclude its field of interest which is the relationship

⁴⁴⁸ LEKE TAMBO, *idem*, P.108.

between the school and other institutions notably the family as a fundamental economic and political source to this institution.

The educational environment of the learner is conceived as liberal from all forms of attention and pressure coming from adults, as a source of domination or manipulation either consciously or unconsciously. To an extent the education (morals) we give learners at home determine their future wellbeing on the emotional, psychological, intellectual and why not the political plan. LEE in viewing the role of parents affirms that it is the biological as well as social right of the child (learner) to be protected by parents physically, emotionally and mentally⁴⁴⁹. The idea of schooling of children is not a burden duty of teachers alone but a synergy between the school and parents. NAOURI sees the process of teaching and learning of learners as a conglomerate between parents and teachers.⁴⁵⁰ In the present era where friction between (learners and teachers) are very numerous,

it will be a great error to consider adolescence as a period where students are not in need of family link. With the complexity of things like homosexuality, drugs, alcoholism and cultism that render the subject of friendship and sense of belonging complex⁴⁵¹.

The above statements made by a parent, shows an urgent need of parents' full involvement in the process of their children's learning. Not just in the provision of learning material but as well in the domain of control. On the note of a blend in control, Serge notes;

“there is need for social control, which refers to all the necessary means, material and symbol put in place by the school and its actors to assure conformity of its rules and regulations enforced by its members”⁴⁵².

As earlier noted, the process of learning in general and political learning in particular is a synergy. This bonding is not only limited to teaching content but extends to the field of discipline. Such a conglomerate in control efforts by both the school and parents will go a long way to influence positive effects on learning in general and political culture in particular. For the family to be better grounded in the control of education of their children, other factors need to inter play such as the family background.

⁴⁴⁹ LEE LOYOWICK, *Le courage d'éduquer*, France, les edition du relie, 2001, p. 12-16.

⁴⁵⁰ ALDO, N., *ibid.* P. 42.

⁴⁵¹ Interview with a student, in the University of Yaoundé, who is a parent as well, on the role of parents to the socialization of learners.

⁴⁵² PAUGAM, S., *les 100 mots de la sociologie*, France, Paris, P. 55.

3.1.1.1.2- Family background and political socialisation of students

All things being equal, family background is a strong influence to the educational process of learners. This serves as a tool for guidance. Learners strive to enhance their ego, they seek feelings of personal worth and want to be appreciated and made to feel important in the family. If they are provided with opportunities to experience such feelings, ego development proceeds in wholesome and constructive ways.

The background of the family cuts across moral intellectual, economic, social, religious and political.

3.1.1.1.3- The impact of family background on the moral formation of personality

Learners strive to enhance their ego, they seek feelings of personal worth and want to be appreciated and made to feel important. If they are provided with opportunities to experience such feelings in school, ego development proceeds in wholesome and constructive ways. If they are denied these opportunities, they may result to counteract the resulting feelings of inadequacy through a social form of enhancing behaviour. These circumstances are often found to underlie the misconduct problems commonly encountered among students. As mentioned previously, the super ego is compounded out of pressure exerted on the learners to act in desired manner. These pressures are soon forgotten but the habit patterns, feelings and attitudes they engendered remains with them through out life, if care is not taken. The type of super ego the learner develops depends upon how pressure is imposed on him partly by the family. If the control is imposed too rapidly or if it is too severe, the super ego may become so strong, that it may dominate mental life. Sometimes, these neuroses, take the form of specific phobias or obsessions, associated with the lessons which parents over emphasize. Children (learners) with such super egos, turn to become perfectionists, hardworking and severely conscientious individuals or groups of individuals. They cannot tolerate others whose conducts are less severe.

3.1.1.1.4 - The political background of the family

Civil status has a considerable influence on youths' political implication. Parents influence their children's level of political awareness through the political characteristic of the family. Dinas opines that parent-child correspondence in party identification is dependent

on parental politisation even though at a much adult age, children are bound to have different stimuli⁴⁵³. Highly politicised parents may foster positive civic orientations that may stimulate engagement of their children into politics⁴⁵⁴. Some families are deeply involved in the execution of not only their civic responsibilities but in politics. Also, some family preoccupations attract youths into the political life of the country. The idea of political socialisation and the development of political identity of learners is not only a matter of political learning, provided by the school. Parents are and remain the principal engine even though the changing time and its technological impact provide a vast field of knowledge to the learners also. This does not make them ready made. Parents are considered to influence the political life and development of their children positively or negatively in many ways by providing or not, conditions suitable for this. These conditions range from discussions on political issues, provision and availability of news papers, magazines, radio, television with frequent exposure on political content. Interviewed on the impact parents make on the political life of students, he said;

take for instance, there are some parents whose political backgrounds are very rich that is they are very well involved in politics. All things being equal such parents always associate with people of their caliber by so doing, the children in such homes from the onset are aquented to such personalities. They grow up with such images and through their further encouragement and guardance; they develop interest both intrinsically and extrinsically⁴⁵⁵.

Others are of the opinion that genetics has a role to play. Although it is said that political culture is not transmitted through genes, in such situations that the children from birth start experiencing such personalities around and interaction with them, it is eminent that they will be acculturated. The influence of the environment will consequently play on them. The situation is vise versa. This is as oppose to those students who come from backgrounds where the practice of politics is a tarboo. Further more parents may influence their children to involve or not, through their socio-economic status. Socio-economic status can contribute to political involvement due to the direct effect this has on children's social and economic status⁴⁵⁶. Interest in politics requires a minimal of civic understanding, social status as well as

⁴⁵³ DINAS E., Why does the Apple Fall from the tree? Early political socialisation, Prompt parents-child dissimilarities" British journal of political science 44(4): 827-852.

⁴⁵⁴ MUXEL, A., idem, 67.

⁴⁵⁵ Interview with a student on the contribution of political background of the family to student's political socialization, conducted on campus of Yaoundé I.

⁴⁵⁶ Kent, J, M., Laura stoker and Jake Bower, "Politics across Generations: Family Transmission Re-examined", Journal of politics, 71(3): 782-799.

economic. Such parents usually are affraid of further expenditure when basic subsistence it's self is a problem. The means of providing suitable and instructive learning environment in this perspective becomes a problem. Therefore, they will do every thing possible in their capacity to discourage their children from engaging themselves into activities not because they are uncivic but for fear of insecurity.

Moreover, religion is another important factor that hinders political socialisation. Religious backgrounds of some parents influence their secular nature from participating in such activities. Some consider them as a “bloody game”. Apart from parents encouraging their children through their own involvement or discouraging them through their non involvement. Parents’ intellectual background is another source for political encouragement. Parents who are educated can advise their children on career orientation according to the demands of society. Such parents are better placed as oppose to those who are not learned. They can also influence the level of political knowledge and interest thus serving as great motivation. It is worth noting that other parents although not involved, do not discourage but encourage their children to do so if it is their passion. Another contribution made by the family to the process of students’ political socialisation is value provision.

3.1.1.1.5- The provision of basic values

The family is indispensable in the provision of basic values for their children. The family is the first in order of importance in directing learning outcome⁴⁵⁷. It is the most natural and the least formal institution. It constitutes the earliest environment of learners and excercises great formative influence on them. While offering its members a natural and comfortable shelter within the available means, it introduces them very easily to a wider aspect of social life by initiating them to values like; love peace, tolerance and patriotism. This greatly contributes later to the formation of civic life. According to ALDO, the education of the learner especially at the initial level is the sole responsibility of parents⁴⁵⁸. Therefore, there is formation of personality of the child and this is done in and by the family where he or she learns rules and orientations of parents. The family provides the major means of transforming the naked infant organism into adult. Fully clothed in personality and his tendency to think and act politically in a particular way. It is also in the family that a child

⁴⁵⁷ LEKE TAMBO, *idem*, P. 108.

⁴⁵⁸ALDO, N., P. 21.

learns attitude towards others including those in authority. This provides a great base for future relationship with the authority both within the family and in the entire society. He learns to differentiate between himself and others as well as value them. He equally learns to value certain actions and persons than others⁴⁵⁹. It can be said without fear of contradiction that the situation we face today in our society in general and schools in particular is partly as a result of this base, not adequately implanted in learners.

Also, the porous nature of society today with proliferation of variety of media and products is to an extent a negative drive to the learning of civic values and the promotion of social peace in general and political socialisation in particular. These serve as channels for students to learn and copy negative behavioural patterns from the external. The products also serve as opium which helps dampen students' consciousness, love for the elders and father land. This situation is today glaring in the "lycees". The secondary school environment is fast turning into a war field. If care is not taken, education in general and schooling in particular may lose its worth in favour of crimes⁴⁶⁰. This act can highly be attributed to the dream of human rights which ironically today is wiping humans. This is as well affecting Political socialisation negatively. In the family the child learns how to relate with others. He also learns how to negotiate the satisfaction of needs and desires, integrates the respect of norms and accepts constraints⁴⁶¹. This is a clear indication why today, most of the misbehaviour learners manifest are related to their upbringing « badly brought up »⁴⁶². Through the family, the learner learns how to live in a collectivity. He also learns that each society has norms which should be known and respected. In addition, that authority is respected, can be shared as well as it can be revenged or opposed for which sanction are meted. From the home, learners move into a wider society which is the school.

Progressively from basic to higher through secondary, it is a shared responsibility of parents to teach their children. It is worth mentioning that at the level of the University, most of the rules that were learnt at home and in other levels of schooling, are necessary at this

⁴⁵⁹ PASTEUR, S., "Ma Rencontre avec le Veilleur" *Connaissance de soi, perspective non Duelle*, ouvrage collectif, 2^{ème} édition, Paris, Marion Mentel, 2005, P. 5-11.

⁴⁶⁰ As opposed to the past where teachers were held at high esteem, looked upon as demi god by their students, where the school fully enjoyed serenity, teaching and learning in peace and tranquility, today the situation is not the same. The school environment is fast changing into a battle front and learning, losing its worth, there is not much distinction between the teacher and the learner, respect is fast gone, all in the name of modernity.

⁴⁶¹ Pierre Brechon, *Comportements et Attitudes Politiques*, France, presse Universitaire de Grenoble, 2006, P. 19-30.

⁴⁶² Interview with a student on the role of parents in political socialisation.

level in terms of application. As University students, how well we relate, study, make choices related to study, needs and wants, partly depends on the rules we brought from the home. It is important to note that at this level, some students are parents to themselves that is they play a dual (double) function as students and parents at the same time. They make decisions as to what choices of study to take, as well as wants and needs. It is also worthy to note the impact such can bring in the teaching and learning process in general and political culture in particular. There is a direct link between parents and learners as far as the learners' identities are concerned and how the learners' identities affect parents' identities⁴⁶³. The contributions of the family or parents in the whole process of learning of an individual depends among other things on the extent to which the family differentiates itself from others, viewed in a double perspective as follows.

3.1.1.2- A promoter, sustainer of interest and the home teacher

One of the first and most important relationships that human beings establish is with the family. In fact, to a great extent, a person defines him self in terms of the family. Who you become depends on who you were. Your position in the family, your relation with different members of the family and perception about yourself as part of the family are all experiences that are enriching. As humans grow older, they probably establish a new family, but with a reflection of that in which they grew up. Even if they choose consciously and deliberately to change the old patterns, there will still be a force reacting against rather than a pattern to be followed. This sub section includes; portraying how family can help or restrict (hurt) learners from achieving their goals. To achieve this, the following reflections are pertinent. 'Whether the family is a traditional or non-traditional, small or large, wealthy or poor, happy or unhappy, these conditions directly or indirectly influence the growth of succeeding generations. 'The bond between mother and daughter that progress from generation to generation, ultimately make each succeeding generation, like the one prior to it'⁴⁶⁴.

As earlier noted, the process of schooling warrants joint effort. Most often, the family has greater expectations for the young members. These conditions the way they groom the children. These expectations serve as a drive for parents as well as children to strive to excel at times even beyond their abilities and ambitions. To the learners, these challenges are at

⁴⁶³ ALDO, N., *ibid*, P. 30-57.

⁴⁶⁴ Moseley, A., and Jeanette Harris, *interactions: a thematic reader*, third edition, New York, Boston, 1997, P. 63- 65.

times positive and realized. Yet for others, they are negative thus back fire causing learners to rebel thus achieve less than expected. This most at times cause parents to conflict with their children. This effort on the part of parents needs to promote and sustain the interest of the students. The home needs to follow up the activities of school whether directly or indirectly. It should promote and sustain the interest in the learners as well as follow up the work done in school.

3.1.1.2.1- A promoter of identity and sustainer of basic interest

The word identity implies image, conscience which differentiates individuals. It designates the attributes of the group which makes it specific from others. According to DUBAR, identity is modified in the course of social interaction of individuals in a group. He distinguishes two in dissociable dimensions of social identity “the self” which results from inherited and envisaged identity and “the significant others” which enables value of others⁴⁶⁵. The idea of identity formation refers to notions like “the self”, “others”, “sense of belonging” just to name but these. Political socialisation and the development of political identity of students is not just a matter of social learning in the environment⁴⁶⁶but also biological inheritance⁴⁶⁷. Political interest can be learned, interest in it can as well be inherited. As a biological predisposition child inherit the gene of leadership from parents during conception. Through this, after birth, such disposition explore as the child develops in the environment. This tendency richly develops in an environment where such opportunities are provided. As opposed to others, such a student manifests natural love and will to do all in his or her capacity to excel. Inborn talents of leadership skill and love for power drive such an individual into natural love before even getting to know the importance of it. As much, some acquire leadership skills through the process of social learning, those who are born with this, have that internal drive to do so and will put in practice under all courses. The situation is vise versa. Therefore, parents help their children in the formation of their political identity socially and biologically. Be it socially or biologically, a collective effort is required, to develop this. Thus, parents remain the principal engine even though the changing times and their technological impacts provide a vast field of knowledge to the learners also, these do not

⁴⁶⁵ DUBAR Claude, *a crise des identités*, CLLE/ Eddiques Affrontement, 2006.

⁴⁶⁶ BANDURA, A., the social learning theory on observing, modeling and imitating behaviour, attitudes and emotional reactions of others. Albert Bandura.com. retrieved May 27 2021.

⁴⁶⁷ KAYE D., *Principle of individual differences and the uniqueness of every one*. www.sliteshare.net Published in February 12. 2017, retrieved May 27, 2021.

make them « ready-made ». They are considered to influence the political development of their children in many ways.

Other scholars are of opinion that parent child socialisation is not just two ways or two steps process whereby the children create an image and follow automatically where their parents stand politically. Subsequently, they may adopt their own behaviour and thinking from those of their parents⁴⁶⁸. In this perspective some exceptions may exist. Some from sophisticated political background may come out to hate it as well as others from poor non-political backgrounds may develop passion for it. Parents also follow up the work done in school.

3.1.1.2.2- The home teacher

According to Edwige, the school should be opened for parents. The absence of parents discredits their role of educators and renders more difficult their role of exercise of authority⁴⁶⁹. Parents are home teachers even those that do not have the level, they take upon themselves to afford some private classes for their children. In evidencing the co-habitation between the home and the school precisely the University, Moreau evokes the task of where assignments should be done⁴⁷⁰. Parents play a principal role in the provision of materials as well as the mode of employment that they want their children to apply. As earlier noted, some students at this level of studies also serve as parents to themselves. They have the sole responsibility of educating their children beginning from a very tender age. They as other partners, have to make the learning environment stimulative so as to excite the learners to put in practice their hidden talents for even the new born, has formidable potentials⁴⁷¹. These make them perculier⁴⁷² from others. As such, what the society in general and school precisely the University should do, is to make the learning environment as well as content reflective of political ideologies, principles and practice of the political system in place. It is worth having a political knowledge on the events in the country. Of course, it is a microcosm of the general system. Being the highest institution of learning in the country, it ought to fully reflect political culture substantially and serves as suitable environment for practice. Of course, there

⁴⁶⁸ WESTHOLM, A., “the perceptual pathway: tracing the mechanisms of political value transfer across generations”. *Political psychology*, 20(3) :525-551.

⁴⁶⁹, ANTIER, E., *idem*, P. 84.

⁴⁷⁰ MOREAU, J., *la pédagogie*, Paris, Jacques Rencher, P. 1991, 132-133.

⁴⁷¹ ALDO, N., *ibid*, P. 2- 76.

⁴⁷² FANGET, F., *thérapie de la Confiance en Soi*, France, Odile Jacob, 2003, P.7-9.

is a popular adage which states practice makes perfect. If even at this level, students are not given room for substantial learning and practice of political knowledge like it is the case in the University, then when will they have to practice? Is it when they will be expected to manifest their know-how which they never had the opportunity to put that into practice? Is it at this time that they will be expected to learn? Will they be exposed to a situation of learning by doing? How effective would this be if they are put in the same platform with other learners, for the world today has fast turn into a global village?

Parents are responsible for the provision of materials assistance ranging from the payment of fees, rents, buying of textbooks, feeding just to name but these. They also have the responsibility of providing moral support in terms of control and advice ranging from surprise visits, calls and others. Further more, some educated parents say;

*‘they donot limite themselves to the provision of materials and moral support but actively take part in their children’s choices of study in terms of departments, units and subjects for the optional courses’*⁴⁷³.

Their involvement at this level serves as a continuation of orientation and follow up done in school. Neundorf, Niemi and Smets talk on the combination of parental socialisation and civic education. The political environment in the parental home has a strong impact on the political development of the children⁴⁷⁴. On the note of civic education on the mobilisation of political participation, Finkel states:

*“civic education as well mobilises citizens in developing countries democracies, but the impact depends on citizens’ level of resources. Civic Education and other mobilising sources are complementary”*⁴⁷⁵.

This means that civic education alone cannot overcome the unequal distribution of political relevant resources in developing democracies but the relavant influence of multiple agents is necessary⁴⁷⁶ among who are peers.

⁴⁷³ EPIENGOLE, S., in an interview on the contribution of parents to the process of political socialisation of their children, on April 13 2021.

⁴⁷⁴ ANJA, N., Nie, R.G., and Kaat S., “the compensation effect on civic education on political engagement: how civic classes make up for missing parental socialization”, Political behaviour, 2016, 1-29.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid, P. 1-25.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid, P. 28.

3.1.2- Self with friends and mates

Despite the short comings, studying with friends has multiple advantages when rightly done. These advantages are in short and long term. This interaction builds interpersonal skills to better understand involvement. It makes learning more interesting, enjoyable and strengthens friendly relationship. And at each time, every friend is pushed to emulate the icon among the group. By so doing, they minimise failure and develop new skills which help them easily access information via class work, group work and reading of other documents related to the domain of politics as well. Although family relationship may be largely predetermined by biology and environmental factors as well as circumstances, learners reach beyond their families to choose friends and mates. Friends are a major influence in life. At work or in class, learners often define themselves in terms of their friends. They consciously or unconsciously choose friends that match the concept of self in being, or the self they want to develop. Also, they may choose friends with qualities different from theirs. Like friends of different ages, backgrounds, or interest to complement their own qualities. Most often than not, this goes a long way to strengthen family ties between different families. Worthy of note is also the fact that in some instances, the choices learners make most be guided as this may help to perturbate (slow down) or even mare the future of some learners. In this sub section we have examined how learners' group themselves as well as the impact these groupings have on their knowledge acquisition in general and political socialisation in particular.

3.1.2.1- Constituting friends and the choice of adhesion to peers in the school milieu

Before recent, parents have been too concerned with the types of friends their children made. This had even gone a long way to determine couples or marriages. This equally had influenced learning in geneal and political learning in particular. Every human relationship brings together actors either as individuals or groups. The practice of social relationship in humans brings about expectations. Unlike family tie that remain practically the same through out life, friendship changes. Your friend in college may be different from those you had at childhood or those in the University. Also, with the passage of time and circumstances, relationship with particular friends may change as a result of distance, this brings in temporal separation or dead (permanent separation). In putting together their competences and resources at the service of the group with common objectives to be attained throught their available means and competences actors expect to benefit from each other, the redistribution of resources or of gain, they contribute to attain their stated objectives.

One of the most decisive factors that guide the choice of social groups (peer) to be integrated by students is predominantly knowledge about their existence. It is through this that actors enter in interaction with the groups in which they become part. In this light, seeking to understand how peers get to know and select their mates with which they are affiliated, registered the following responses.

the world without friends is an empty one, getting to a new environment like the university without friends to guide you makes it so empty, helpless and boring like a new born baby placed in the centre of the room (vacuum) with the absence of a care giver⁴⁷⁷.

The above statement depicts the importance role of guidance that the peers are estimated to give to each other in their groups. But the question to ask here is how they are constituted. Is it that before they get to these institutions they have them at heart already? Also, what prompts the selection of peers? For Etape

the first day I got in the University, I was so frustrated that I never knew how to go about any thing, to my greatest surprise, I saw a student that was discussing on phone coming my way, so immediately seized the opportunity and greeted him not minding that he was busy. He halted, finished his discussion on phone and then attended to me. He took the pain to take me round the environment and showed me where our classes take place. I was fortunate that he was also a student of the department and same level. His kindness, stroke my attention and from that date, I decided to make him my friend⁴⁷⁸.

For some, it is in the course of moving in the University that they meet friends and developed friendship. With others, they are attracted by the affiliative tie in terms of ethnic, and language to constitute peers. Others are attracted by the academic performance, physical and moral qualities of the peer. Most often very serious learners constitute peer by selecting those who are strong in areas where they are weak so as to benefit from each other. Another category of learners only choose those who are as weak and less interested in studies as themselves. No matter what the case may be, worthy of note is the fact that some times a relationship that started as friends may develop into romantic attachment. Perhaps the most important friend you have is the one you think of as a mate. The decision to share life with particular persons whether carefully (deliberately) or hastily and impulsively tells more about peer and how you perceive your self than almost any other decision you make. It is therefore

⁴⁷⁷ NKENGFACK A., interview on the impact of peer on academic performance in school.

⁴⁷⁸ Interview, Yaoundé I, 2020.

not surprising that most peers spend a great deal of time and energy thinking about planning and selecting their peers.

The above data permits one to understand that, as actors, students' choices of mates are guided by specific needs which are often subjective. They have different ambitions which drive them towards this selection ranging from academic performance, need to feel involved, to be known, power and social life. Generally, from the different proposals of students, it is discovered that students adhere to different types of social groups with the ambition of gaining from them in the most possible way. In a general sense, each actor has the project of forging ahead with life in the most agreeable manner therefore, the need or moral assurance justifies the putting together of their resources and competences for the service of social relation. In this vein, the actor tends to seek for recognition, acceptance and approbation. Also, the search for material wellbeing that each invests in the group. Worth noting is the fact that ideologically, the drive for gain at times pushes some members in peer group to constraint general interest in favour of their egoistic ambitions. This is frequent in most groups where some peers try to divert the goals of the group by mystifying reality and bringing about the relationship of force.

3.1.2.2- Group (peer) influence in students' political socialisation

In sociology, the term group is used to refer to a certain number of persons who are linked together. A group is distinguished by two criteria; the existence of direct or indirect interaction between members and a sense of common belonging⁴⁷⁹. Cooley distinguishes two groups; namely primary and secondary groups. Primary groups are generally those with small number of people. They involve in a face to face or an interpersonal relationship while those of secondary are more in terms of number of persons and superficial⁴⁸⁰. Peer constitutes a primary group and has influence on its members. Like others, peer learning contributes to the process of political socialisation. It is a collective learning which is described as « learning with others, by others, for others and not by self against others »⁴⁸¹. TAMBO describes this

⁴⁷⁹ Merton, Robert have also proposed a definition which puts at the fore front two categories, this permits the distinction of a social group from others like the simple coming gathering of people in a particular area. Individuals need to interact or have social relations which obey rules predefined. They are to recognise themselves and by others as members.

⁴⁸⁰ HORTON COOLEY, C., *Social organisation, a study of the larger mind*, 1909, Taylor and Francis publisher, 2017.

⁴⁸¹ RICARD, M., *idem*, P. 689.

as interactive learning⁴⁸². Whether positively or negatively, peer influence plays a great role in the process of learning in general and political learning in particular. A peer group is constituted by people who are of equal status. Learners' playmates, study-mates can be considered as peer. Peer groups are usually very close and intimate. This closeness and intimacy contribute to making the peer an attractive educational partner. Peer educates their members in many of the things that are not taught in school. For this reason, the values held in the peer groups could be antagonistic to those held in the larger society in general and school in particular. Education in the peer group can range from; sex, culture, nutrition, vocational counselling to dressing, modeling, music, religion and civic learning.

To explain certain behavioural patterns, the notion of group of refers is eminent which first and foremost has comparative function. It serves as a base of comparison of individuals to evaluate themselves and others⁴⁸³. Classroom peer plays a very great role in the context of behavioural formation, engagement and academic performance of students in school. Although students' friendship may have inevitable ups and downs, the spirit of satisfaction and or security that students derive from school is mostly as a result of peer influence. It consists of collective work by learners, in small groups in which they exchange ideas and encourage each other to succeed. When a difficult task is to be accomplished, the effort of each member of the group is necessary for the success of the entire group. Peer discusses important political events or controversies. It is a powerful force towards excitation. They serve as a mobilising force or element of political socialisation. Those around us can encourage or discourage our attitude and behaviour. Learners who lack on going peer involvement may also miss opportunities to build a sense of social self concept. Learners without satisfying friendship may suffer from painful feelings of isolation. The University may be an uncomfortable place for some university students' in this case they might ultimately become truants or dropouts. For the search of belonging therefore the learners may become vulnerable to the influence of delinquency or drug abuse as well as sexual harassment.

Not only are learners mobilised by their peers, just as each child is born with potentials different from others and which cannot be transferred from one learner to another, it is worthy

⁴⁸² LEKE T., *idem*, P. 218.

⁴⁸³ Jean Etienne et al, (groupe), groupe d'appartenance et groupe de référence ; la distinction entre groupe d'appartenance et de référence, *idem*.

to note that a strong force termed peer influence can direct those potentials either positively or negatively depending on the group. In the same manner, University student have diverse potentials which although cannot be transferred from one student to another, can be influenced by peer. In the peer group, students get influence that may reinforce or conflict with earlier stages of their lives in general and political socialisation in particular. The out come of the process reflects the impact upon the individual by his or her peer group. A friendly peer shares similar problem. Pressure within this group as a result of higher education may lead to the development of fewer standards as the case may be⁴⁸⁴. It may be a group which traditionally keeps out of any political activities and thus influence their members to do same. On the other hand, if it is a group with high political aspirations, even if initially he or she was not interested, he will gradually develop interest which includes a level of participation for there is an adage which states that familiarity breaks contempt. While some students are interested in political activities even though the University environment is not very practical in this, others donot see the need to involve in it.

It is worth concluding that even with potentials from birth, an eminent force of infuence do prevail that may alter preferences as well as potentials. This force may influence peer positively through excitation or negatively through brain washing and involvement in vices like drugs, alcoholism and prostitution. This leads to peer relationship problem

Many learners of the same age manifest great differences at adult age. This is either as a result of their conditioning, the education they have acquired or their environment. Peer influence is an important factor to the political socialisation of students. In talking about peer, we have examined the role students' play in their political socialisation as well as how effective this is to the development of political consciousness and interest in students. In its restrained acceptation, imposed by educational policies and political ideology, school a closed and apolitical milieu. This has restrained the activities of students as well as shapes participation within a very limited frame. This sementic remark has led to the problem of content. The level of political knowledge exposed to students at the University is limited. This partly explains why it is limited in theory and not practice. The content of political

⁴⁸⁴ Anastasia, p., student in the university in an interview on the effects o peer states that peer constitutes not only a positive force towards learning but a very negative one as well especially in the social perspective and with youths. For this student, if parents fail in their duty of training children from on set, and especially as adolescence, as well as fail to follow them up at youth thinking they are matured, their peers will help educate them.

knowledge needs to be politically stimulated enough for the students to put their knowledge into practice. Just like a child is considered as a revelator of a problem or a source of a problem. In the same manner, the learners in general and University students in particular, are revelators of knowledge or sources of knowledge. As such, these learners especially those in University should be given room to acquire enough political knowledge as well as exhibit it⁴⁸⁵. This equally explains why some teachers are not very collaborative and expressive when it concerns content of what some term « sensitive topics »⁴⁸⁶. They become limited in words on grounds that they are ‘securing their jobs’ and circumventing their names in mass media.

3.1.3- Complementary role of mass media and religious denominations

In recent times, findings reveal that mass media and religious denominations are channels for political socialisation. MEAD insists more particularly on the importance of interaction in the definition of every role⁴⁸⁷. The issue of complementary role brings in mind the link that exists between the school, mass media and religion in the process of learning. The teaching and learning process is interactive. As earlier evoked schooling is a joint responsibility of actors. The actors vary from central to periphery. They work in synergy to render teaching and learning in general and political socialisation in particular smooth. The actors or agents vary from media of all forms to religious denominations that complement the work of central actors. This sub section examines how mass media and religion, complement University in the process of political socialisation.

3.1.3.1- Co-habitation of mass media and the University in the process of political socialisation

It is noted that most vital information concerning the University are broadcasted over the Radio and or television be it public or private. This act is symbolic in its manifest intension, to ascertain everyone is informed of the situation. A perfect example of this nature

⁴⁸⁵ Anonymous source from the interview conducted with some university students on Yaoundé I campus, on the 18th of June 2020.

⁴⁸⁶ Anonymous sources, an interview with some students on July 2021.

⁴⁸⁷ Mead, G. H., *le soi, l'e sprit et la societe*, (1934), insists more particularly on the importance of interaction in the definition of each role. This shows how socialisation of learners take place a succession of role occupations, by this expression, through which the learner mentally places his or her self in the place of others to discover how they perceive and adjust behaviour to be in conformity with the expectations of others as well as how this can influence the behaviour of others around them. Without forgetting the pre-established normative model, role is constructed in interaction by successive adjustments between partners.

is the sharing of five thousand (5000) Lap tops offered by the President of the Republic to all University students in the past years, to boost research in particular and academic performance in general. Latently, the use of these media is to credit their political activities as incumbent government. This is therefore emulated by students who equally use the same media to extend their words of gratitude to the Head of State for the unprecedented gesture to the students' community.

Press Freedom and other sources of broadcasting have increased political awareness of students in general and University students in particular, who in great majority have attained electoral age⁴⁸⁸. Media turns to diffuse a culture of image an iconic tradition power at the conviction of its users. The symbolic efficiency of images is linked to the social context of reception. The increased in diversity of media and their relationship with the public has profoundly helped to transform what Bourdieu terms the mediatic field. In sociology of media, the object of study is complex. The phenomenon of study deals with fundamental anthropological experiences. The circulation of information in the mist of our society among others is done through a number of artifacts like the press, radio, television, internet and phones of all sorts. The planetary expansion of communication network has influenced access to every individual, to a mass or variety of information from which they acquire knowledge. Designated as an englobing word, it is necessary to take into consideration the extra-ordinary which stems from the mediatic field. The mass media is also an agent of political socialisation. Modern societies cannot exist without a wide range and rapid spread communication. Learners today live in a world composed of media forms that are now part of the total culture⁴⁸⁹.

Social media is becoming an increasingly important source of political news and influence. As opposed to the past when political news was only read on news papers or listened on radio sets. Today, there is a broad variety of arena through which young people search for information in general and political news in particular. This broad perspective ranges from news papers, television, smart phones, internets and chats. The liberalisation of media bears complex effects in economic, political and social perspectives in general and education in particular. The role the media play in educating the public in general and

⁴⁸⁸ ELECAM guidelines, every Cameroonians nationality of either sex, aged 20, is eligible to vote, www.africanews.com > 2018/10/02 > ca.. retrieved on 11/04/2022.

⁴⁸⁹ Gordon Berry, I., and Joy KEIKE, A., Children and Television" Images in a changing socio-cultural World, New Berry Park Sage, Publishing Inc., 1993, P. 5.

students in particular tends to encourage violence and conflict. The study of conflict notably social conflict how and to what extent. In this sense, the groups involved, mobilise to be heard by the public so as to prove a positive image. This process has an effect on the ideas expressed as the ideologies give place to emotions. Their mediatisation has become an obliged passage. Notwithstanding the danger associated to these media, they serve a broad spectrum for the circulation of political news to youths in general and students in particular and influence their mind set as well as behaviour in favour and or disfavour of politics. Even though restrained, the study of political socialisation by the University does not exclude its field of interest which is the relationship between the school and other institutions notably media technologies, manuals, laboratories, films. Focus in this sub section is based on prints and other audios and audio visuals.

3.1.3.1.1- Prints, and audios on political socialisation

From the press to internet, mass communication is born from the press⁴⁹⁰ in 1636 in France and in 1863 the small Journal of Millaud appeared⁴⁹¹. In principle, information and communication technology permit learners to have a variety of information. It equally permits them to choose their trend as well as rhyme to follow. Mass media contributes greatly towards the process of political socialisation of learners⁴⁹². Media impact learners' life in that they come in contact with events as well as other learners in the diasporal. When properly controlled, mass media innovations like news papers and other prints, radio, pictures and tap recorders are important sources that aid the school in the process of political socialisation. The news paper and radio constitute the oldest, most effective and less expensive means of communication. This is so because they cover even the most remote areas without much difficulty. The radio falls within the category of media that are heard but not seen for this reason they are often referred to as hidden medium. Radio is relatively cheap medium and is suitable for providing learning experiences to large number of learners. It is especially adapted for teaching in those areas that are isolated from urban centres that may have other forms of media more readily available. Radio has a big advantage over other audio visual when it comes to presenting learning experiences in the form of music, language history literature and Drama. It relieves the teacher of the burden of talking and providing the

⁴⁹⁰ Renauld T., La Gazette, the first press publication, in France, 1636.

⁴⁹¹ Millaud Moise Polydore, le petit journal, of millaud, at one time the leading journal in France, France, 1863.

⁴⁹²GRABER, D., et al, Mass Media and American Politics, C.O. Press, 2014, P. 42.

students with a blend of presenters. These presenters sometimes talk on school programmes, important events and dates, results just to name a few given by the radio. The presentation of debates programmes over the radio may help to influence students' political attitude in favour or against political socialisation. Another source of hidden media is News paper.

3.1.3.1.2- News papers

A news paper is a publication containing news and advertising information usually printed on paper called newsprint. It may be of general or specific interest and most often published on a daily, weekly or other periodical basis. The most important function of this is to inform the public of significant events. Local news papers inform informal local communities about local businesses and services. National newspapers on their part turn to focus on themes with general or specific interests. The massification of media communication, and public intervention greatly developed across history. The first newspaper in the world was printed in 1605 and its form has strived even in the face of competition from technologies such as radio and television. The press notably in France has until mid 19th century been considered as mass medium. News paper and or magazine is one that is printed and distributed on a daily or weekly base that contains news, articles of opinions, features, and advertisements. It contains report of recent or unknown information. Johann Carolus was the first publisher of a news paper⁴⁹³.

In Cameroon, there are principally two types of news papers namely the Government News Paper (Cameroon tribune) and other private news papers. The private news papers ranges from; Iden, the post, Multation, Expression and Sahel. The former is inclined to promote the politics of the regime while the later is neutral. European religious missions realised their first new paper in the 1900s. Precisely "Mulee-Ngea" by the Evangelical Missionaries in Buea in 1903 and "Mwendi wa Musango", by the Baptists Missionaries in Douala in 1906⁴⁹⁴. It also presents pictures of some important events or persons and scenario. News papers serve an important source of practice for students' political socialisation. They help students develop daily reading habit. This is an important source for the transmission of political knowledge to the general public and the students in particular. As such, it serves as a

⁴⁹³ Johann Carolus, (1575-1634) the publisher of the Relation aller Furnemmen und gedenckwürdigen Historien (collection of all distinguished and memorable News) newspaper history and facts Britanica, www.beitannica.com, retrived on 2 July 2021.

⁴⁹⁴ www.lighteningfield.com retrieved on 2 of July 2021.

channel for dispatch of a variety of political news. News papers and magazines also carry important images. These may be those of important historic events, political figures and or institutions. This familiarises the students as well as the public in terms of cognition. By so doing, students get information on political history and personality even without seeing or meeting them physically.

Recent developments on internet are posing major threats to its business model. However, paid circulation is declining in most countries and advertising revenue which makes up a bulk of the newspaper income is shifted from prints to online. Some commentators however point out that historically, new media such as radio and television did not entirely supplant existence. The internet has challenged the press as an alternative source of information and opinion. This serves as a new platform for Newspaper organisation to reach new audiences. According to the world trend report between 2012 – 2016 print Newspaper continue to fall in almost all regions. The exceptions are Asia and the passific, the dramatic increase sales in a few selected strong Asian markets such as Japan and Republic of Korea. Most notably between 2012 and 2016, Indian print circulation grew by eighty nine percent (89%).

3.1.3.1.3- Magazines and outdoor media

A Magazine is one of the oldest forms of print media⁴⁹⁵. It is a periodic publication containing a variety of articles, generally financed by advertising or purchase by readers. They may be published weekly, bi - weekly, monthly bi-monthly and quarterly. Magazines fall within two broad categories namely consumer and business Magazines. In practice, magazines are a subset of periodicals distinct from those periodicals produced by scientists, artists, academic or special interest publishers which are subscription-only, more expensive than newspapers, narrowly limited in circulation and often with very little or no advertisement. They can also be classified into general and specific interest magazines (women, sports and business) and contain political information worth influencing students' political awareness.

Outdoor media is that which appeals to consumers when they are out of home. These media comprise of billboards, sign placards, placed inside and out of commercial buildings,

⁴⁹⁵ The Media: types of Media sparknotes.com www. sparknotes.com > section 1

object posters and images along the street. These help conscientise and create awareness to audience consciously or unconsciously. These help motivate the political life of students even by listening to Radio news.

3.1.3.1.4- Radio

Different from the press, the radio covers a large public. The 1930s in the industrial countries saw a number of radio posts which increased upto five million (5,000,000). The radio falls within the category of audio media that are heard but not seen for this reason they are referred to as hidden media. In the United States of America (U S A), radio was imposed as a public media. In 1920, the K D K A, station was created in Pittsburgh. In France, the first commercial station called Radiola was created in 1922 and renamed radio Paris in 1924. In the second half of the 19th century, with urbanisation, media experienced mass education in industrial production of information and public opinions. It is an influential source of political news. The first radio station in Cameroon was a government radio station started in the then French Cameroon in the early 1940s. This was located in the main sea port in Douala with just 150 Watts. From 1955, broadcasting was centred on the capital town Yaounde and other provincial towns in the Country. They provided all types of information including political news, thus influencing political socialisation.

Radio significantly influences political socialisation. It is noted for its broadness in terms of coverage. It is also a relatively cheap audio medium and is suitable for providing learning experiences to large number of learners. It is especially adapted for learning in those areas that are isolated from urban centres that may have other forms of media more rapidly available. The radio is noted for its programmes that help to provide a variety of political news through broadcast within and out of the country. This helps to increase students' political knowledge on the occurrences and events in their country and around the world. Radio, has a big advantage over other audio-visual when it comes to providing learning experiences in the form of music, literature, history and drama. It relieves the teacher of the burden of talking and provides the learners with a blend of presenters. These presenters some times talk on school programmes and a variety of topics cutting across political reputed informations or ideas. These programmes if adequately planned provide the students with first class political information. There role of the Radio in the provision of political News is

so central⁴⁹⁶. This has not ceased to have its worth even today in most hinterlands due to the absence of other interdependent factors like electricity. But ironically, it has been observed that less than 15% of students listen to radio⁴⁹⁷. They prefer audio cassettes for music.

3.1.3.1.5- Audio cassettes

The audio cassette tape and digital tape recorders are tapes used in recording and listening music and speeches. Audio cassettes are used in the teaching learning process. In areas where there is no electricity or with frequent seizures of electricity in many towns of the country like kumba, Dschang, Buea etc. They can still be used with battery and solar energy. They assist the teacher to present specific materials. He comes to class with materials on a topic of interest already recorded. This may be a debate on topic of political concern and plays it for learners to listen under his guidance. This kind of material may vary from a speech or an interview among others. This although coming from a secondary channel helps to acquire first class information without much altering. These sources if well planned and exploited helps to boost political consciousness and facilitate learning. Apart from prints and audio media, audio visual is another classification that impact students' political socialisation.

3.1.3.1.6- Influence of audio-visual aids

According to Georgette et Jean, the teacher and the black board are audio visual aids to learning. In effect, the term is only used when the teacher makes resourse to sound sources and projection of images⁴⁹⁸. Video is a means of study and evaluating learning. These aids stem from television, internet, telephones just to name but these. Here, the influence of television as well as internet on learning in general and the acquisition of political culture specifically are examined. For the convenience of the study they are grouped into two beginning with television as seen thus

3.1.3.1.6.1- Television

Mass production of images started with cinema. The first cinema hall was opened in Paris in 1911. From this date, television also fast imposed itself as a medium. Television is

⁴⁹⁶ The Radio consists of one of the legacy media institutions that predate internet. They play a vital role in proving entertainment, News, education in general and political issues in particular.

⁴⁹⁷ interview with Anastasia n the role of media on students' political socialisation.

⁴⁹⁸ Georgette et Jan Pastiau, *La pedagogie : reperes pratiques*, France, Nathan, 2006, P. 142-143.

another medium which saw its first adventure in the 1920-1930s in USA and Europe respectively. The first technical attempt done in the 1923 with the production of a permanent service but it is only after Second World War and the glorious revolution that the television succeeded the radio as the first medium of mass. Media liberation movement encouraged extra-ordinary swelling of mediatic offer. The increase and diversity of offers is followed by massive diffusion of new technologies of information and communication. It is a medium type that helps to facilitate the process of teaching and learning in general and political culture in particular, both in the school and at home. It is a communication medium used in transmitting moving images in monochromes (black and white) or in colour. Electronic television was first successfully demonstrated on the 7 September 1972 in San Francisco. This system was designed by Philo TAYLOR⁴⁹⁹.

Television is a mass medium for advertisement, entertainment, news, debates, sport etc. For LAZAR, among the means of mass communication, the television is principal and preferred medium of children no matter the country. Through the television for example, learners consume sports publicity. In the perspective of formation of citizens who are alert, images and sounds or audio-visuals are an object of learning⁵⁰⁰. It is also an important source of political news not only national but world wide. VAN EVRA says, “although it is difficult to know actually what is fully or partially attended to by children, what is remembered, what impressions are learnt and what images are formed are questions especially important in relation to children’s viewing because they are still in a very active stage of development”¹¹⁶. Even if some of the things children watch through the television are not destined for them, they help socialise pupils by permitting them to be familiar to the adult world. ALAIN is of the opinion that the effect of reading journals and watching television considerably influence political disposition in children. Through these media, children are able to make a distinction between political parties and learn about political parties and as well as political opinions⁵⁰¹. For TAMBO⁵⁰², there are two approaches for using television broadcasts for teaching which are direct and indirect. The life use of a programme over television in the classroom is called direct approach. When it is not possible for the teacher and the pupils to receive broadcast directly from the broadcasting station he can ask children to view the program at home. He

⁴⁹⁹ www.google.com origin of television, retrieved on 2 July 2021.

⁵⁰⁰ GEORGETTE et Jean, *ibid*.

⁵⁰¹ BEITONE, A., *Op.Cit.* p. 118.

⁵⁰² LEKE T., *Op Cite* page 355-356.

can also record the programme, brings it to class and play it during the lesson time.

3.1.3.1.6.2- Mobile phones

Introduced in Japan in 1979, mobile phones became a mass media only in 1998, when the first downloadable ringing tones were introduced in Finland. Soon after, most forms of media content were introduced on mobile phones, tablets and other portable devices. It is recently seen that mobile phones are the most rampant mass medium, used world wide. Infact despite its negative impact, it is attested most of the political learning is via this channel. These eases students' acquisition of political knowledge as they download political information and others.

Today, the total value of media consumed on mobile vastly exceeds that of internet content. This is worth over 31 billion dollar in 2007⁵⁰³. Similar to the internet, mobile is also an interactive media but has far wider reaching spectrum, with 3.3 billion mobile phone users at the end of 2007 as to 1.3 billion internet users. Like email on the internet, the top application on mobile is also a personal messaging service. Text messaging is used by over 2.4 billion people. Practically, all internet services and applications exist and have similar cousins on mobile from search to multi player games. Mobile has several unique benefits which makes it more powerful media than either the television or the internet. To begin with, the mobile is permanently carried and always connected. It also has the best audience accuracy and is the only mass medium with a built – in payment channel available to every user without any credit cards or paypat account.

3.1.3.1.6.3- Internet

Internet has come to shorten the political frontiers between learners and politicians. Most political activities are today posted in internet. It gives ample information to students vis a vis political knowledge needed to groom them to responsible citizens. Understanding the phenomenon of internet warrants a possible approach of gratification perspective by students. Their media use is considered a conscious effort to fulfill either cognitive or affective needs. These vary from information for learning, entertainment, personal identity,

⁵⁰³ Source informa, the mobile media content includes over 8 billion worth of mobile music made up of ringing tones, ringback tones, true tunes, MP3 files, music video, music streaming services, mobile games and various new entertainment and advertising services etc.

parasocial interaction, companionship and escape⁵⁰⁴. From the press to internet, the revolutionary period of 1789, saw a true explosion of the birth of new media. The internet is one of the greatest developments in the world of information communication technologies (ICTs), it is a useful mechanism that has fostered making the world a global village. It has been linked with improvements not only in the field of education but also with academics. It improves access to information, thus it is a useful companion. The availability of internet services has brought about a new age in the educational sector of Cameroon as most institutions of Higher Learning tend to integrate this system in their school curricula. For instructors, the internet increases the possibilities to creatively deliver effective course instructions to students. Universities are investing in wireless internet service and upgrading of ICT system. This is to enable students integrate with ease, fast growing trends of ICT services in learning. The effective use of the internet incorporates positive attitudes of the students towards the use of this communication tools. That is why lecturers can provide teaching materials and other support resources through the internet thus interacting with themselves and other lecturers.

Born through liberty of opinion, internet further serves a good number of channels for public opinion such that by the 19th century it submitted to the law of market capitalism that is division of labour and rationalization of production of information. The journal of Millaud appeared in 1863 in France as the first with low cost. In the developed world, much time is considered watching television. The new mediatic revolution (internet) is inscribed in this move. New medium is imposing and has fast gained grounds. Internet is one of the greatest developments in the world of information communication technology. It is a useful mechanism that has fostered the process of making the world a global village. Internet is used to link with improvement not only in education but also with academics. New medium is imposing and has fast gained grounds, cost not withstanding. Internet improves access to information thus it is a useful companion to students' learning and research⁵⁰⁵. The term internet refers to Inter- Connected-Networks- Computer. It can be defined as a giant computer network that results from a global interconnection of millions of computers and related equipments of different networks. This is based on the transmission control protocol.

⁵⁰⁴ Julius CHE TITA and Victor NGU CHEO, internet use by university students: occasionally utilizing cybercafés to do assignments, *African journal of special education*, Vol, (2), NO. 1, 2014, P. 116-120.

⁵⁰⁵ Julius CHE TITA and Victor NGU CHEO, *internet use by university students: occasionally utilizing cybercafés to do assignments*, *African journal of special education*, Vol. (2), NO. 1, 2014, P. 116-120.

The internet contains vast information quantities that are constantly changing. The origin of the internet can be traced as far back as 1969. When United State's department of defense Advanced Research Projects agency, created a network for sharing information across countries. This was based on the need for a decentralised communication infrasture for the United States Defense Ministry. During tcold war period Internet since its creation in 1969, has grown expodentially and is now used by many individuals, companies, government agencies and schools⁵⁰⁶. Its functions are enormous, these ranges from Tele-conferencing, electronic mail, Chat rooms, advertising, selling, share ideas, dreams and cultures. These forms of media introduce learners to educative learning in general and political culture in particular thus political socialisation. Through the Computer, for example students can be taught receive lectures from another teacher outside their school or even country.

Also, a computer can be used in a teaching learning process to solve mathematical problems with a program called Excel. Tele conferencing is used for distant learning. It brings diverse learners together as if they were in the same place. The calculation of scores as well as document preservation of students has been rendered easy thanks to information and communication technology. Today, students do not need to travel over very long distances in search for schools, textbooks, friends and many others. All these are available at a reduced cost. Thanks to I C T, the world is reduced to a global village. To buttress the vitability of this medium in the process of schooling, the Head of State His Excellency Paul BIYA, provided five hundred thousand (500,000) computers to each state Universityfor onward distribution to students. This gesture greatly applauded not only by University communities but also the external society. Even religious bodies are not exermpted in the process of socialisation.

3.1.4- Contributions made by religious denominations

Religion is another agent of socialisation that impacts education in general and socialisation in particular. Religious denominations constitute an important agent in the process of education in general and schooling in particular. In Cameroon, religion constitutes a vital phenomenon for conversion of individuals and groups. Madison is of view that the religion a person was socialised in has lingering effects on his or her political values. Religious ties greatly influence individual's political attitude and behaviour. It has a

⁵⁰⁶ Isidor FRUH SUH, ICT for teacher Training Coleges, Bamenda, Cameroon, 2012, P. 98-100.

significant role in organising and directing social life. Parental religious participation is the most influential part of religious socialisation. The high rate of religious proliferation has made religious bodies very numerous, common and some of their activities very noticeable. Whether positive or negative, the contributions of religious denominations extend to the domain of education in general and are very prominent in the perspective of political culture acquisition. Before having a look on how these bodies impact political socialisation, it is worth distinguishing them. In Cameroon, Religious denominations vary from the Roman Catholics, Protestants, the Baptists, Full Gospel, Redeem, Apostolic Faith, Islam etc. For the convenience of this study these groups are divided into two. These are the old and new religious movements.

3.1.4.1- Role of old religion

For the convenience of this study the religious denomination classified under old religious movements are the Roman Catholics, Protestants, Baptists and Islam. These groups of religion are actively involved in the education process. Religion as a cultural practice of the family complements school. The religion a student is socialised in has lingering effects on his or her political values. Parents play the most prominent role in the political direction of their children. This is because parents transmit political socialisation values. The church plays a wide and vital role in the process of political socialisation in knowledge acquisition as well as behaviour moderation. Religion moderates personality. It is every day interaction and conversation with the political world as well as broader norms and values. Within the churches individuals and families influence the political attitude and behaviour⁵⁰⁷. Churches are abundant but the main reason for many is to win souls for the Lord that is life eternal. The churches and their religion are involved in behaviour conversion and forming personality. An important point to note is that they serve as a powerful population and a medium through which information of varied degree are channelled and where socialisation takes place. Churches serve as fertile grounds for socialisation as well as political socialisation is concerned. Their messages are those of non-adherence to political participation yet vehiculates political news.

⁵⁰⁷Madison Dayton D., and Quin Monson, Religion's role in parents to child political socialisation, June 25, 2015 by Admin, retrieved on the 2 July 2021.

Despite the castigating nature of religious bodies in respect of political activities, they equally have a great influence in enhancing political knowledge of students. Practical notice has been taken in all churches that at each time a political figure comes to church, he or she is always given a seat at the front. This does not only contrast of the critics they level on politicians in relation to political malpractice, but it also goes a long way to trigger the zeal of ambitious students. In doing this, most of their preachings are centered or focused towards the political atmosphere. They even go much far to pray on God on such political figures. The later at times to show his attachment and soridarity with the church, gives a special offering. All these are information to strengthen the political knowledge of students putting aside their latent effects. This thus makes the church a great milieu for political socialisation. Their contributions cut across spiritual faith and extend to the creation and management of school, provision of hospitals and other humanitarian assistance which help to increase not only living standards of persons but also to boom the economy. Indeed, the church is specialised in the social domain. It can be said without the fear of contradiction that some of these groups of persons own the most prestigious schools in the country with very high fees charged and well equipped and furnished. Examples of such institutions at the Higher level are the Catholic University and the Protestant University and thousands of schools at the secondary and primary levels. They are also actively involved in the opening and running of secondary and primary schools of different types to wit; catholic, Presbyterian, Baptist, Islamic but to name a few. The schools created vary from general, technical and professional. They occupy a wide range of the learning population. According to the law related to the organisation and functioning of private education⁵⁰⁸, the role religion play in the educational sector, in Cameroon, is recognised by the government. It goes to streghthen the government's objective of educating young Cameroonians for future responsibilities. Private education in Cameroon is bestowed with autonomy to organise and manage their activities under government control.

It does so strictly in comformity with the educational regulations inforce in Cameroon. These schools are accountable in terms of inspection and supervision. Private schools are accountable for carring a wide population of students. This serves as fertile grounds, for exchanges of political ideas there by socialising themselves politically even under the auspices of new religious bodies.

⁵⁰⁸ Law N0. 2004/22 of July 2004, fixing Rules and Regulations to Organisation and Functioning of Private Education in Cameoon.

3.1.4.2- New Religion and political socialisation of students

These denominations are primarily involved in preaching to convert and win souls for the kingdom. Political scientists are of opinion that;

“we do not inherit our political behaviour, attitudes, values and knowledge through genes⁵⁰⁹” instead we come to understand our role and fit into our political culture through the political learning process⁵¹⁰.

By so doing their activities influence learning and orientate learners as far as political culture is concerned. Most often, in carrying out sermons, they play the role of agents to pass across some valuable information or announcements from the government to the public. The pieces of information at times vary from vaccination, public notice on political information. Although it is said that the church is secular as far as politics is concerned, these days, it has been frequently noticed that the church is actively involved in this process. It either calls on the government to take its responsibility or advises converts to stay clear. It is noted for its central role in moderation. It has not also ceased playing the humanitarian role in providing assistance especially in the two anglophone regions in crisis without conflictuality with the powers that be.

SECTION 3.2: CONFLICT BETWEEN SCHOOL AND OTHER AGENTS ON THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

One of the oldest relations between man and society is on the framework of conflictuality. Conflict is not only perceived from a negative domain⁵¹¹, but also sets in to improve the situation at hand⁵¹². The interactionist view does not propose that all conflicts are good. Rather some conflicts support the goals of the group and improve its performance these are functional constructive forms of conflict. Additionally, there are nonconflicts that hinder group performance these are dysfunctional⁵¹³ or destructive forms. Of course, it is one thing

⁵⁰⁹ ALMOND, G. A. and COLEMAN, J. S., *The politics of the developing areas* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton university Press) 1960, p. 27.

⁵¹⁰ Cover, P. J., “Political socialisation: where’s the politics? In political science: looking to the future, vol III, Political Behaviour, ed. William Crotty Evanston, IL: North Western University Press, 1999, P. 125-152.

⁵¹¹ Conflict can be valuable for one group and detrimental for another. Whether functional or dysfunctional, the demarcation between these two is neither clear nor precise. No one level of conflict can be adopted as acceptable or unacceptable under all conditions. The type and level of conflict that create healthy and positive involvement towards one group’s goal yet at another time, be regarded as dysfunctional.

⁵¹² Larry, N., << Political socialisation: students’ attitudes and political participation >>, Columbia University, Journal of Developing Areas, vol. 6. No.1 October 1971, p. 63-76.

⁵¹³ Stephen, P.R., Organisational Behaviour, 8th edition, <http://www.prenhall.com/robbinsorgherh.p.436>.

to argue that conflict can be valuable for one group and destructive for another. According to BAJOIT, man is a rebellious being that tries to construct solidarity and liberates himself from social domination struggle which constitutes the engine for functioning and change⁵¹⁴. In every society, the idea of conflict centres on those who are in control and those who subdue as potential actors of social movements. The existence of contrary expectations, permit actors to preserve a certain level of autonomy in the exercise of their role. A party can seize the pressure exerted by another to react in a way while exercising his or her function. The existence may cause further strain in relationship as well as role which varies considerably from one individual to another due to the merge of liberty at their description termed variance of role⁵¹⁵. The idea of conflict today occupies a place different from what obtained in the past during the industrial period with labourers. Dubet, remarks that the long conflict of 1995 goes beyond the simple fact of defending particular interest [...] but was an expression of refusal of social domination and maltreatment⁵¹⁶.

To incarnate the defense of the masses against elites, Touraine evokes the conflict between subjects as individuals who are recognized as actors. Conflict as a social phenomenon is a normal resultant of interaction⁵¹⁷. It refers to the open manifestation of antagonism between two or more individuals and or a collectivity. It is due to momentarily incompatible interest in possession or management of scarce resources. It is a manifestation of tension and opposition. Simmel distinguishes intra and inter group conflicts. Conflict that is, within, between states, religious groups, ethnic and or institutions like the school. He develops another distinction base on intensity according to the number of actors involved. He distinguishes the “dyads and triads” in terms of modes of resolution which most often passes through negotiation with or without the presence of a third party, failure for which durable social relations becomes impossible.

⁵¹⁴ BAJOIT G., *ibid*, P.6.

⁵¹⁵ Parsons Talcott, << the sick role concept: understanding illness behaviour>>, 1951. This is a way of explaining, rights and responsibilities of those ill. Parsons saw the sick role as a form of deviance, or going against societal expectations because ill persons have different patterns of behaviour than the norm. www.jstor.org/stable.

⁵¹⁶ DUBET, F., *Egalite des places, egalite chances*, dans *etudes* 2011/1(Tome 414), p. 31-41.

⁵¹⁷ Simmel G., a German Sociologist (1858-1918), in conflict theory believes that conflict can help integrate and stabilize society. For him, the intensity of conflict varies depending on the emotional involvement of parties, the degree of solidarity within the opposition groups and the clarity and limited nature of the goals. Conflict theory has three assumptions namely; Humans are self interested, societies operate under perpetual scarcity of resources and finally but not the least, conflict is persuasive and unavoidable within and between social groups.

For marxist tradition, conflict is contradictory to social production take for instance conflict of class. In the functionalist perspective, social conflict is normal. It is referred to as a dysfunctioning of the system of regulation which assures consensus on norms which directs actions⁵¹⁸. Therefore, the emergent socio-macro effects should be analysed as those resulting from aggregation individual behaviour in a collectivity. Conflict therefore appears as an instance of social opposition as well as a means of social reproduction. It is necessary to understand the different forms of conflict which have been modified by the role of media which contributes to the emergence of new rules. It is inherent in democracy and renders visible opposition of interest and thus necessitates conditions for resolution as a form of compromise⁵¹⁹.

The socialisation of learners is not solely the process of acquisition of formal knowledge in general but that of civic education as well. This is not also the responsibility of school (University) alone but a burden duty to many agents. Since the walls of the school are broken and social problem have penetrated, cooperation with the external world is eminent⁵²⁰. In a broader sense, the response to the phenomenon of conflict in general and violence in particular has taken the form of policy of partnership between agents. These are non-formal, informal and formal agents. The school in general and University as a formal agent of political socialisation involves several actors. These actors classified into internal and peripheral, conflict in the process of political socialisation of youths particularly students.

The process of interaction attracts conflict. The notion conflict is seen from the human and interactionist perspectives. Human relation view conflict as a natural and inevitable outcome in a group. Interactionists on their part see it not only as a positive force in a group but that which is absolutely necessary for effectively performance⁵²¹. Conflict relates to the process of socialisation in globe and political socialisation in particular. This process at time leads to social crisis⁵²² between the various agents as well as actors within agents. Conflict in the school milieu is termed social⁵²³ this refers to disagreement or discord in opinions and

⁵¹⁸ BOUDON, R., Besnard, P., Cherkaoui M., et Lacuyer, B.-P., *dictionnaire de la sociologie*, Larousse, Paris Cedex, 1997, P. 49.

⁵¹⁹ Jean Etienne et al, conflict as a social form, idem.

⁵²⁰ Georgette et Jean.P., idem, 78.

⁵²¹ Stephen Robbins, idem. P. 435.

⁵²² Collective action and social conflict, K. Marx, conflict as a normal mode for regulation in society. Ralf Dahrendorf and conflict favouring partial change, P. 158-159. Cited in *Les grands themes de la sociologie par les grands sociologies*, Armand Colin, Paris, 1999.

⁵²³ LEWIS COSER, conflits internes et externes, idem, P. 179.

interest of actors. Social conflict concerns value and interest which are not in contradiction with fundamental principles on which the relationship is based. It renders possible the rectification of norms and the relationship of power in the group. The relationship between school and related problems cannot be understood fully in isolation from the social context in which they occur⁵²⁴.

The University does not only aim at providing a means for learners to fit in the society but a means for development, innovations and change. Social problems cannot be transformed by schooling alone yet it contributes to personal growth and change. Accordingly, schooling should not become a naturalistic microcosm of society and cultural renewal. To promote schooling in general and political socialisation in particular in the community, the University pursues strategies such as projects of rights and projects of partiality. It should be noted that it responds to diverse interest of different social groups. It contributes to human development and social change drives them to discord. This drive at times leads to conflict. In this chapter, conflict between the University and other agents is examined. It as well, views the discord between the university, family, peer, mass media and religion.

3.2.1- Conflict between school, peer and family

Conflict in a group, emanates from collective action problems⁵²⁵ when we fail to do that which is expected for the betterment of the collectivity. As producer of social relationship, each group of individuals is portorted to crisis thus conflict. In this regard, no social relation is a bed of rose (free from chaos). It warrants examining why, the satisfaction of these relational expectations is always limited, incomplete and provisuary thus always a source of relative frustration. Life is a sum total of experiences, the quest for emotions and new knowledge brings about success, as well as failure as well strife which most often result to conflict. Conflict is inevitable, it is understood that the process of interaction may at times bring about collision, and disagreement. The conflict of role sometimes rises due to the fact that individuals or groups occupy status whose role expectations are incompactable. In this regard, three cases can be distinguished namely time constraint and availability, which

⁵²⁴ YOO HYEON, O., an Analysis of the relationship between school and society; towards an education for group and community, university of Illinois, Urbana-champaign.

⁵²⁵ Jain MCLean and AlistairMc Millian, oxford precise Dictionary of politics, Oxford University, 2009. p.90.

imposes one to be present at both places at the same time (at work during late hours while being expected at home).

Also, the principle of loyalty as well as value associated to different roles can be at opposition. A medical doctor by his faith may not be allowed to practice abortion. Also, conflict result from different protagonists for a same role due to inconciliabile. From this situation, two situational characteristics can be envisaged as difference in perception and intermediary role. The University environment like any other institution of learning is a multicultural one. The students' population is diverse. As such there are peculiarities which make people distinct. This needs not be ignored. In a teaching and learning process, students relate with teachers, students relate with other students, students relate with parents, teachers with teachers, teachers with the administration, students with the administration, teachers, administration with teachers, students and parents as well. Through the zone of incertitude, the actors are able to manifest a certain margin of liberty which permits them to act contrary or counteract the authority on the system of concrete action thus bringing about negotiation or change.

To minimise failure as well as conflicts, students need to be guided by adults. To achieve this, they need to be equipped with necessary information to help them experience and discover with little risks. On this note, DROGUET poses the following reflection << est-il possible de reussir une education au-jour'hui ? Doit-on Eduquer l'enfant ou le laisser s'auto-eduquer ? Existe-t-il des erreurs a eviter, des pistes a choisir de preference ?>>. This section is sub divided into two, (A) views the differences between the University and family and (B) conflict between the University and peer.

3.2.1.1- Conflict between school and family in the process of students' political socialisation

The family has always been recognized as the number one agency of informal education⁵²⁶. SEGALEN distinguishes two types of families namely << famille en miettes et famille assistee >>⁵²⁷. The system of family (parents) rests on the possibilities of bondage which binds these through marriage. The notion of educative community implies that the task of education is shared between the family and school among others. This makes parents

⁵²⁶ LEKE, T., idem. p.108.

⁵²⁷ Martine, S., Sociologie de la famille, Paris Armand colin, 1984, P. 7.

central partners in the system. Worthy of note is the fact that today some families are in perpetual crises with their members. Most families are ceasing from taking their full responsibilities as institution to associations which end in the privatisation of their relationship. Considered as a fundamental institution of society, marriage has become a simple contract of association term institution. In Durkheimian perspective, an institution is a group of social norms, which determines the status of people and orient role behaviour⁵²⁸. Family dissociation, remarriages, single parenthood as well as strain relations between parents, children and or parents directly or indirectly affect their relationship with the school in general and socialisation in particular.

The division of role between the family and the school also constitute a problem⁵²⁹. In the context of this study, the school refers to the University and the family parents. As earlier evoked, the word family is complex. It's a web of relationship that goes beyond internal but extends to the external bounds. This complexity affects or influences the socialisation process in general and political socialisation in particular⁵³⁰. At the level of the University, some students play a double role of being students and parents at the same time. This double role applies either to others children or themselves. Children in general and students in particular are born in a family. The child is at the centre of the family⁵³¹. There are no standard rules for parents in guiding their children. Each parent works depending on what he or she considers being good for the child. It is noted that in the past, parents were at a distance as concerns what unfolded in the education of their children. The learners were left solely at the mercy of the teachers.

Today, the case is not the same many factors inter play in this process. The law of orientation of 10 July 1989⁵³² on the orientation of school, followed by law, reforms in education of 1998⁵³³, stress that the relationship between the school and parents is fundamental for the development of the educational system in general and success of the

⁵²⁸ Etienne, J., Bloess, F., Noreck J.-P., et Roux, J.-P., (Family) *dictinnaire de la socilogie*, Paris, Hatier, 2004.

⁵²⁹ The difficult school –amily relation explains that education of learners is reserved for the neither family nor instructions in school. Notwithstanding the efforts or collaboration, the strains ae eminent. While the teachers accuse te parents for neglecting their duties of helping learners, parents on their part at time question their pedagogic legitimacy. P. 132-134.

⁵³⁰ Roudinesco, E., *La Famille en deordre, France*, Fayard, 2002, P. 15-57.

⁵³¹ Siaud-Facchin, J., *Aider les enfants en difficulte scolaire*, Paris, Odile Jacob, 2006, P. 240-241.

⁵³² Law of 10 July, 1989, setting aims and objectives of education.

⁵³³ Law NO. 98/004 of 14th April 1998: to lay down guide lines on education in Cameroon.

learners in particular⁵³⁴. Finally, parents are considered as indispensable partners in the process of schooling. But dialogue between these partners is still precarious. The formation of collaboration between the school and the family which depends on teachers, students and the parents is poorly developed⁵³⁵. Though at a higher level the situation may be slightly different from what obtains at the primary and secondary levels, the role of the parents still remains prime whether directly seen or not.

As concerns the acquisition of basic values, teachers accuse parents for not implanting the base in students for school to build on. They also accuse them of putting in question their pedagogical legitimacy. Notwithstanding their efforts, there are still lapses which lead to strain relationship thus conflict. BEITONE et al and DURKHEIM view that the school and not the family is the essential agent of socialisation⁵³⁶. Where as the home or family has always been regarded as the number one agent in formal education TAMBO⁵³⁷. The process of socialisation takes place first in the family. Where the child is impregnated with cultural, religious and moral values through observation and imitation of the older generation Parents, relatives and neighbours. There are all fertile partners of preparing children towards future responsibilities⁵³⁸. The work of parents in implanting this basic knowledge at a much earlier stage of development is relative to what obtains in school at a latter stage.

The home implants values for school to build on. When these are not well implanted, it creates a lophole and renders the work of the school complicated thus strain. This complication contributes to the strain of a chain of relationship in terms of the role each partner plays or should play at a given time. Though at the level of the University many factors other than the home inter play as a result of interaction with the much broader society offering a variety of stimuli as well as the effects of maturity.

Contrary to the school, other authors believe that the process of socialisation in general and political socialisation precisely is the work of the home. BRECHON states the school plays a minimal role in the political socialisation of children as compared to the family

⁵³⁴The 1989 law on educational orientation.

⁵³⁵Georgette, P., et Pastiaux, Jean., *la pedagogie*, France, EMD S.A.S.

⁵³⁶ BEITONE Alain., et al., *Sciences Sociales*, 2^e Edition, Paris, Dalloz, 2000, p. 117.

⁹⁸LEKE T., Op. Cite, page 108.

⁵³⁷LEKE TAMBO., Op. Cite. P. 108.

⁵³⁸ LEDOUX Emmanuel., Op. Cit. p.46.

(home)⁵³⁹. For this author, what a child learns is principally as a result of his or her interactions with the home environment. When most people hear of schooling, they think of buildings, teachers, students, administration and other employees forgetting about the surrounding environment which is the home⁵⁴⁰. The home is a classroom with parents as teachers and children as students. The role of the family is important not just to assure affiliative relations but also serves as a follow up of work done in school. Further more, the home plays a great role in the provision of materials. The family has the heavy load of assuring affiliative ties, the space for growth. As a task that can be definitely dangerous for the physical and psychological integrity of the learners. In executing this function, family contrasts with the school.

The conflict between teachers and parents, parents and students, teachers and students today is due to miscomprehension and suspicion, as a result of hostility or negligence. The school and the learners cannot progress unless communication and collaboration between these parties is re-installed. This contrast awakens the learners from the biological slumber and familial instincts which make them close to themselves⁵⁴¹. In the context of political socialisation, the acquisition of political leaning by students can be affected by the following familial stands.

3.2.1.2- Family Political background

Background of the family is a booster to the process of learning. Political background of the family refers to the type of link that family has with the political sphere. Family or civil status has a considerable influence on youths' political implication. Some family preoccupations distant youths particularly students from political participation. This act is negative in the acquisition of political culture and development of interest in general. To expose the negative impact of parental guidance on children, Aldo alludes to the car in good shape but whose driver does not respect the code of the road⁵⁴². The car in good shape here

⁵³⁹ BRECHONS Pierre., *Comportement et Attitudes politiques*, Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, (2006), Page 32

⁵⁴⁰ SCHAEFER Richard, *Ibid.* p. 353.

⁵⁴¹ Meirieu Philippe., 1998, P. 40

⁵⁴² ALDO NAOURI., *idem.* P. 56-60. Here the author exposes the the idea of poor parental guidance effects on a child. Lkening it to a car in good shape in terms of the engine, the lighting system and brakes but whose driver donot respect the code of the road. Such a car is bound to have or cause an accident. Same with the learners, the teachers and content may be good but if the student is not guided and motivated, he or she will not develop interest.

refers to the learners while the driver refers to both parents and teachers. Therefore, to ensure an over all education of the learners and that of political culture in precision, parents and teachers must drive or conduct students to the respect of fundamental rules and regulations as well as love for preferences (like or dislike) must be controlled. The institution of this control at times results to a crake in relationship between the parents and their children as well as between teachers and the students.

The role parents play in the education of their children is at times conflictual thus negative to the student's intellectual wellbeing in globe and acquisition of political culture in particular. Although it is said that parents are the first educators, some fail to play their role of initiating children in elementary values. They also fail to guide their choices especially in the selection of diciplines in the University. Other parents do influence their choices to their favour due to pride at the detriment of the students who are actually involved in the process. At the end when the students are unable to meet up, the result is redoubling the levels thus strain. When this happens, learners turn to blame parents as well as develop and manifest negative behaviour. In this vain, students' lack of interest in political activities can partly be associated with lack of parental encouragement.

Educational or parents' intellectual level is another cause for disparity. Although schooling is a conglomerate between central and peripheral actors, some actors (parents) are not educated. For this reason, such parents may have very little infuence in making valuable decisions concerning the education of their children. The role of such parents is limited to the provision of material and finanacial assistance and not follow-up nor control. For example, the most frequent cause of school drop out is that learners are left with very minimal wrong choices or no control on ecological culture, environment nor their future prospectives. On the other hand, the parents who are educated as well fail to have influence over their children because of permissive leadership style. Some parents allow children to dictate for them partly because of their look-warm attitude (permissive character)⁵⁴³and partly in the name of Human Rights⁵⁴⁴. The appreciation of human rights in terms of equality, children's rights and their strings has limited the level of control of not only teachers on the students, but parents on their children as well.

⁵⁴³Aldo Naouri., *ibid*, P. 53.

⁵⁴⁴ The United Nation Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004), NO. 3: Convention against torture and other cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, Article 2 and 7, p. 20

Moreover, the fear of intimidation hinders political socialisation of students. Before and after independence of French Cameroon, students went through torture and intimidation. This trauma has remained fresh in the minds of some and serves as a yardstick for them to prospect into the political future. For this reason, some parents are the first to discourage and prevent their children from developing interest in political issues. Not because they are against the system (political regime) in place but because they are protecting their children from the wounds they received in the past which are still eminent today⁵⁴⁵. The respect of parents by their children on this issue contributes to a hinderance in the emergence of active citizenship. An example is the University which is an arena for the development of critical thinking. From an interview conducted with students, it is clear that some parents advise their children not to have anything to do with associations of all sorts. Alice clarifies this view stating;

‘before leaving home that morning, my father advised me saying, you are now going to an environment where you will live for months without seeing us. Stay clear from any gathering in the school environment [...] let God guide and protect you’.

From the above, the words stay clear mean exclusion. From the example of this student as depicted in the watch words of a parent, the students reveal that she is conscious each time she meets with friends even for studies purposes. She does every thing possible to make sure that she does not get herself entangled with such. For her, the picture of what she has of political socialisation is trouble and will do every thing possible to stay away from such gathering until she leaves the University. For them, the authorities that be, excite students and send them to the street to exercise their hidden ambitions. For this reason, the mobilisation of citizens for citizenship participation is at times put to question. Furthermore, it is noted that the structuralisation of the curricular has a lacuna. It is discovered that some important facts which make history are omitted. The educational system in general and that of the French sub system in particular, does not teach students the History of some important heroes and events⁵⁴⁶. In addition, the fact that the schools are de-political and closed environment helps to discourage the voluntary engagement of students. These may equally stem from lack of parental concern.

⁵⁴⁵ KAPCHIE, S., *obstacles a l'engagement citoyen au Cameroun*, Friedrich Stiftung, Yaounde, P. 36.

⁵⁴⁶ POMMEROLLE, M. E., *La Demobilisation Collective au Cameroun*, cite par le Grande Palabre, *Societe Civil et engagement Politique*, 2015, P. 133.

3.2.1.3- Parents' administration contributes to the strain of relationship

Administration refers to the process of managing public affairs or dispensing and applying something. Parental administration refers to parents' administrative impact on education of their children. Parental management can be categorized in three patterns. These are; autocratic, democratic and permissive. It is an undoubtable fact that parents are one of the direct holders of education. Their role in this process cuts across their care and contribution towards raising their children. It also involves actions and activities towards an overall parental achievement over priorily set goals through control⁵⁴⁷. In this regard, the parents in particular and the family in general play the role of direct leaders as well as supportters in the implementation of education of their children. Parental administration is a powerful booster of students' knowledge acquisition in general and political culture in particular. This administration can be classified into a number of patterns each may help to influence acquisition of knowledge and that of political culture in different degrees. Parental system defines rules which guide the relationships of affiliation and alliance within a given society. These rules are extremely different from one society to another as well as from one family to another. Affiliation determines the link between parents and children. When parents involve themselves in the education of their children, the outcome is positive and encouraging. In this regard, they are usually connected and act under their own parental attitudes which are transmitted through the demonstrations of mutual confidentiality regarding the childrens' capabilities and their overall learning capacity which leads them towards succeeding over the learning⁵⁴⁸.

On the contrary, when parents become partial, absent or permissive in terms of their role in childrens learning, they become most often less concerned and more delegative. The outcome most often is negative. At the level of the University, it is worth evoking that some students double as Parents to their children and to themselves. In this regard, they have the double duty of watching over their children's learning and theirs.

According to ZONABEND, two forms of affiliations can be distinguished. The first is unilinear affiliation which unites descendance to a single group of parents. The second is

⁵⁴⁷ ARDITA, C., and RABIJE, M., << the role of parents in the education of children >>journal for education and practice, vol. 7, n0 5, 2016.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

bilinear and unites them with other groups⁵⁴⁹. In the present era, in which frictions between generations are very numerous, it is a great error to consider adolescence as a period⁵⁵⁰ where students are not in need of family links. With the complexity of things, like homosexuality, drugs⁵⁵¹, alcoholism and courtism that renders the subject of friendship and a sense of belonging complex. Parents' extreme permissiveness is at times a cause of strain relation. In certain families, power dynamism is inversed. Children turn control their parents instead of these offering to their guidance through rules and regulations, communication and support or engaging them to develop a sense of responsibility. The permissive administrative style of parents in some homes, permit students, to have the choice of making decisions themselves even at the detriment of family interest. The situation of some delinquent lycee students is used to present a scenario where parents favour their children even when they commit crimes at the detriment of these children in particular and the school at large.

Parents allow their children to dictate on them or make decisions for them an attitude which is considered as nucent and destructive⁵⁵². On the note of deviance, parents greatly contribute to students' negative attitude towards school and the University in particular. On this note, the educational society today is very critical for educational personnel and students as compared to the situation in the past. Never was it heard that parents talked negatively about teachers. But today, teachers are the centre of discussion when all is well with the students, they are respected but on the contrary, they are transformed to an enemy. On this note of advice, parents have to measure the impact of acts that they carry out especially in the presence of children. Even though there is liberty of expresion and openness of mind, parents are not very vigilant. Since they are affraid that their children should not be isolated, they allow them to do what they like. Surveillance is absent in areas where quantities of drugs and alcohol are in circulation at will. Parents should be rigid in their interventions and authority. They should adequately guide children by making a clear-cut distinction between acceptance and refusal. They should equally adequately guide students against the danger that may be hunting them. They should be made to understand the limits of their actions.

⁵⁴⁹ Zonabend, F., << De la famille, regard ethnologique sur la parente et la famille>> en Histoire de la famille, Colin, 1986.

⁵⁵⁰ ASKEVIS, L., BARUCH, C., et Cartron, A., *Precis de Psychologie*, Paris, Nathan, 1998, P. 8-9.

⁵⁵¹ *Drogues et Dependence : le livre d'information*, www.fr, P. 28-106.

⁵⁵² ALI, Newberger, H., *Devenir un home : commend educuer et accompagner son fils jusqu' a l'age adulte*, edition Jean Claude, France, 2000, P. 383-385.

3.2.1.4- Family, religion and economic background a huddle to students' political socialisation

The family is the basic unit of life. Socialisation of learners varies depending on the social milieu as well as class. Empirical studies although at time contest seem to show evidence of differences between learners from families as a result of parental background. Family is an institution present in all human societies but the forms it evokes, the functions it carries and the significance it gives to its members extremely vary in time and space from one society to another. The diversity of forms greatly affects contemporary family from having a single history but a modern invention of radical differences. The family is therefore an essential cultural and religious phenomenon. The Religious background of the family affects political socialisation. Religion is considered as a ritual which is aimed at uniting people. According to ELA, religion is opium which dampens awareness. It is a perpetual sign of dependence of the African people.⁵⁵³ The “world of the night” that religion constitutes a part believe in the presence of a super natural force as against scientific rationality⁵⁵⁴. Seeking distinction of God and belief Boulaga, frowns at the domination of Christianity in Africa which according to him is a sign of domination⁵⁵⁵. Family or civil statuses religion also has a considerable influence on youths' political implication. This makes the role of parents to their children's education conflictual in terms of their relationship with the school. Also, the process of acquisition of knowledge as well as participation in political activities necessitates economic power. The socio-economic and religious affiliation of the family serves as a barrier of students towards this process.

Although it is said that parents are the first educators, some fail to play the role of initiating the learners in elementary values as well as guiding them in making valuable choices as a result of their religion. When this happen, children turn to develop and manifest negative behaviour as they grow and interact in a larger society. In this vain, students' lack of interest in political activities can partly be associated with lack of parental encouragement or influence. Some religions are against political practices. They divert the attention of their followers from even attending political events meant for students. This explains the reason

⁵⁵³ ELA, J.-M., *Le cri de l'homme Africain : questions aux chritiens et aux eglises d'Africain*, Librairie-editions l'Harmattan, L'Harmattan, 1980, P. 9-12.

⁵⁵⁴ ELA, J.-M., *Les culture Africaines dans le champ de la rationalite scientifique*, Livre II, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2007, P. 90-93.

⁵⁵⁵ EBOUSSI B. F., *christianisme sans fetiche : Revelation et domination, Paris, presence Africation, 1981, 1-15.*

why the former Head of State forbidded the practice of Jehoval Witness religion. They have a tendency of diverging the attention of their converts from other activities out of their religion⁵⁵⁶. To succeed in this, they do programming of their activities also on official days to constraint their Christians from attending National Day Events like round table conferences, debates and or match pass.

Also, although it is noted that the idea of schooling for learners is a conglomerate between the home and the school, some actors of the home agent has very little influence in making valuable decisions concerning the education of their children because they are neither viable nor educated. The role of such parents is barely limited to the provision of materials necessary for studies which at times is not even sufficient, not follow up. The insufficiency in material provision at time cause students to plunge themselves into other activities in order to meet up with the lapses in need provision. By so doing, these students develop a divided attention that prevents many from concerntrating in studies. Better still, some families over endow their children financially. The latter therefore have the moral obligation to spend it by even forgoing schooling at the detriment of others. This must often because school drop out as learners are left with very minimal or no ecological control, on the cultural environment nor on their future prospects. While others although educated, donot have influence over their children because they do not have the means to afford their needs. This further affects peer relationship.

3.2.5- Peer relationship problems and political socialisation

Like any other organisations, students' associations from empirical data observe current divergence between members. Be them latent or manifest, crisis in this social entity are generally occasional through two principal antagonisms: power struggle and the defense of personal interest (egoism). People install relationship with others, with the world and develop strategies to maintain such relations⁵⁵⁷. But at times, attempts to maintain such leads to stiff competition more or less rude for acquisition. As well, the conservation of power disruption, in functioning of other persons and institutions causes strain. Adhersion of many social actors is resultat of an important calculation and at time egoistic. It is undertood that an

⁵⁵⁶ Interview conducted on the effects of religion on political socialisation of students on the 8 of November 2020

⁵⁵⁷ Ricard, M., idem, exposing the importance of cooperation quotes KOFI Annan saying it is the only voice that gives hope for a better future. P. 36.

association is an assembly of persons with multiple needs which are at times antagonistic thus leading to conflict. This is possible when there are many people in search for a common goal thus common interest becomes a factor essential for conflict. “Common interest works with common stakes⁵⁵⁸”

Peer is a powerful tool in influencing and developing learning⁵⁵⁹. It also contributes to the process of political socialisation. It is a collective learning which is described as « learning with others, by others, for others and not by self against others⁵⁶⁰ ». In the course of realising the goal of learning in peer, some difficulties result which if not controlled may lead to strain. According to Boudon⁵⁶¹ the strain in the mist of peer is as a result of “perverse effects”. There are some factors responsible for peer relationship problems. They vary from social behaviour, anxiety, fear, family problems. The heterogeneity of behaviour of learners is confronted with the homogeneity of standards that are set in terms of school behaviour which the students need to adhere to as school norms.

Whether positive or negative, peer influence plays a great role in the process of learning⁵⁶² which does not only consist in transmitting knowledge and competences that permit the attainment of limited goals but also in opening the eyes of learners to the rights and needs of others⁵⁶³. Although it is said that peer groups play a great role in the process of learning through their close and intimate relationship, at times, the relationship is not cordial. ALETUM says a peer group is one that exercises physical contact between and exerts impact on its members. They constitute friends, age mates as well as classmates⁵⁶⁴. WINEGAR in analyzing the role social interaction plays in the development of children’s understanding says, « children copy some negative behavioural attitude from friends which affect their performance in school negatively »⁵⁶⁵. The behavioural patterns children are liable to imitate vary from telling lies, stealing, alcoholism, drugs, absentism and prostitution. These negative

⁵⁵⁸ Vanernberghe, F., *La sociologie de George simmel*, Paris, La Decouverte, 2001, P. 63.

⁵⁵⁹ <http://www.Parents.au.reachout.com>.> everyday-issues < peer pressure and teenager- reachout parents >, retrived on 12 Or December 2021.

⁵⁶⁰ RICARD, M., idem, P. 689.

⁵⁶¹ Boudon, R., *La logique du social*, Paris, Hachette, nouvelle edition, 2002.

⁵⁶² http://www.the_teacher_digest.com.> parents < 6 negative effects of peer pressure / teacher digest > (5 August 2014), retrived 9 December 2021.

⁵⁶³ Idem, learners should be brought to understanding that their actions have a universal dimension as such their innate empathy should be developed. They should develop responsible sentiments towards others for it is that which pushes individuals to react, P. 681.

⁵⁶⁴ ALETUM T. M., Op. Cite. P.104.

⁵⁶⁵ WINEGA, L. T., *Social Interaction and the Development of Children’s Understanding*, Norwood, Ablex Publishing Corporation, (1989), P. 42.

tendencies and performance do not only affect the acquisition of political culture but also put students at logger heads with the University, their parents and the community at large. The consumption of psychoactive substances occupies an important place in these strategies.

Today, most students get into University at an age of adolescence⁵⁶⁶. This is the age where all things are possible in terms of experience and meeting. What can be seen at a given moment during this age can still not be of a definite character if care is taken but trial by error. The reverse is true, this tendency if not adequately controlled by parents and teachers can lead to permanence at the detriment of the learning of political culture. In this case, parents are advised to dialogue with their children to adopt appropriate attitude. If not productive, help can be sought from appropriate specialists.

Peer discusses important political events or controversies. It is a powerful force towards excitation⁵⁶⁷. They serve as a mobilising force or element to political socialisation as those around can encourage or discourage their attitude and behaviour. Learners who lack on going peer involvement may also miss opportunities to build a sense of social self concept. Learners without satisfying friendship may suffer from painful feelings of isolation. The University may be an uncomfortable place for some students. In this case, they might ultimately become truants or dropouts. For the search of belonging therefore, the students may become vulnerable to the influence of delinquency or drug abuse as well as sexual harassment. Not only are learners mobilized by their peers, just as each child is born with potentials different from another which cannot be transferred from one learner to another, it is worthy of note that a dominant force termed peer influence can instigate those potentials either positively or negatively depending on the group. In the same manner, university students have diverse potentials which even though cannot be transferred from one student to another, can be persuaded by peer. In the peer group, students get aroused that may reinforce or conflict with earlier stages of their lives in general and political socialisation in particular.

The outcome of the process of political socialisation reflects the impact upon the individual by his or her peer group. A friendly peer group shares similar problems. Pressure

⁵⁶⁶ An intermediary stage between childhood and adulthood, Psychology of childhood and adolescence, idem. P. 16-17.

⁵⁶⁷ Mitchell P. J., Kenneth A. D., < understanding peer influence in children and Adolescents>, (during the development of autonomy, peer become a significant source of social and emotional support which can have both positive and negative effects. Students should be helped to develop confidence as well as social and emotional skills).

within this group as a result of Higher Education may lead to the development of more or fewer standards as the case may be. It may be a group which traditionally keeps out of any civic activities and thus move their members to do same. On the other hand, if it is a group with high civic aspirations, even if initially he or she was not interested, he will gradually develop interest this include a level of participation for there is an adage which states that familiarity breaks contempt. While some students are interested in political activities even though the University environment is not very practical in this, others donot see the need to involve in it. It is worth upholding that even with potentials from birth, a vital force of influence do prevail that may alter preferences as well as potentials. This force may induce peer positively through excitation or negatively through brain washing and involvement in vices like drugs, alcoholism and prostitution. This leads to peer relationship problems. Conflict at this level can also emanate from competitions both in curricula and in co-curricula activities. During competitions, each school comes out as a collective force to defend its identity as against that of other schools. By so doing, schools may step on each other thus leading to misunderstanding. Conflict at this level may also extend to the teachers of these schools. Teachers of particular schools may confront others because of the love and concern they have for their students and institution.

There are some factors responsible for peer relationship problems. They vary from; social behaviour, anxiety, fear and other family problems. As far as social behaviour in establishing a relationship is concerned, some have aggressive or disruptive tendencies. This helps to disrupt or slow down the acquisition of political culture which in effect, affects the process of political socialisation negatively. Peer influence is so strong such that while in these groups the members who seem to adopt a pattern of behaviour other than those common with the group, are rejected by peers. Other learners withdraw from peer interaction and in this way limit their ability to gain acceptance and friendship. Ineffective behavioural pattern in school can stem from many roots. These causes are; lack of knowledge about effective interactive strategies, lack of trust amongst learners' emotional stress at a particular time. Learners who are fearfull about their peer relationship are likely to behave in an ineffective manner. Academic problems can also contribute to ineffective social behaviour. Leaners that cannot engage themselves in classroom work, such as assignments and examinations, often disrupt, distract and irritate their peers causing them to also shy away from studies in general and political learning in particular.

Moreover, peer relationship most often faces crisis from families which also affect the school in general and acquisition of political learning in particular. Family problems can have damaging effects on peer relationship. This in effect can affect negatively the acquisition of political culture. For instance, students may be depressed as a result of lack of parental care. This may go a long way to affect their psychology in terms of balance equilibrium state of mind. They may be psychologically inbalance as a result of family stress. Students with such family problems such as high parental alcoholism, drugs, or prostitution, may grow up like wise and make such efforts to initiate and influence the habits in friends. Parental control is another great difficulty faced by peers. Some parents are so rigid in their control such that it turns to strain family link. The type of parents controls the type of friends their children keep and are willing to dismantle any contrary groups. Children's relationship problems can be resolved when help from adults like parents, teachers are accorded. The most successful helping strategy should be matched with specific needs of them learners involved. Learners whose behaviour leads to social rejection also need to learn new interpersonal skills in such cases. Specific instructions on the way to make productive, peer interaction should be suggested to the them in order to improve this relationship and suppress those considered harmful to the objective of knowledge acquisition in general and political culture in particular. Cawardice behaviour is not welcomed in the school milieu⁵⁶⁸.

Teachers should give learners explicit opportunities to share. Peer related concern should be shown in respect to the learners' unique social needs. Some extrovert learners may have higher expectations that they never fill socially successful. Teachers should create social options for learners without creating pressure. In sum, peer relationship is an important contributor to the quality of both the learners' current lifes and their future socialisation and development. Learners, who have specific difficulty in relating with peers, can be helped. Such interventions will be more effective when they are tailored to fit the specific nature of learner-teacher relationship and parent-student-teacher relationship. This closeness and intimacy contribute to making the peer group an attractive educational parterner. Peer group educates their members in things that are not taught in school, the family and the church. For this reason, the values held in the groups could be antagonistic to those held in the larger society and the University in particular. Education in the peer group can range from; sex, culture, nutrition, vocational counseling, dressing, modeling, music, religion and learning

⁵⁶⁸ FONLON, B., *idem*.

In addition, Peer can be a source of harassment as well as support like the case of Ijime in Japan where bullying in school was a constant fact of life with peers of learners acting together to humiliate, disgrace or torment others. An act which creates a lot of tension or competition and fear, which are unhealthy for learning which results to Peer conflict. In analysing peer conflict it is worth noting that its impact weighs on students behaviour as well as performance directly. In the University some groups of students decide to joint others and teach them some deviant activities like absconding school during school hours, prostitution, alcoholism, playing instead of studying. The behavioural patterns adopted are at times maintained and if care is not taken, students end up modeling via the behaviour of others though negative. Parents at home, teachers and administrators in schools, as the case may be, should work hand in glove and make sure that they moderate and control the above behaviour for a modern society. At times students spend, much time with peers as well as control the behaviour patterns manifested by other groups. The teachers should suppress negative behaviour from learners as well as dismantle some peers or discourage the forming of some through monitoring and punishment.

3.2.2.1- The family an instigator over peer

As earlier noted, the process of socialisation involves conflict. Since this process cannot be handled by single actors but a joint process, as a web of relationship, its intanglement with one actor involves others either directly or indirectly. Conflict results from the fact that every individual is submitted to contradictory influences. Take for instance, the learner (children or peer) at the same time submits to the attraction of the family milieu, school and the peer group. An important source of conflict is born from the contradicting incites of the school and the family. The school in general and the University in particular valorize modes of behaviour which at time contradicts with the cultural tradition of the popular milieu (conflict of values).

The family has much instigation over the education of their children. In this regard, they control the type of relationship their children make with peer. According to Anita⁵⁶⁹, it should be noted that parents remain attached to traditional values where as their children (peer, school mates, classmatest or friends), benefit from a much more liberal education from

⁵⁶⁹ Anita folefac, in an interview on the role of parents in students' political socialisation conducted on campus on the 20 of November 2020.

friends. The learners therefore are in a delima of whether to conform to parental models at the risk of being neglected by friends or to emancipate from guidance of parents at the risk of cutting the link with the family milieu.

3.2.2.2- Group of belonging and reference conflictuality

Conflict in socialisation generally and political socialisation in particular is greatly impacted or influenced by grouping. This results from opposition between group of belonging and group of reference. The group of belonging constitutes that which the learner is a member. The group of reference is one that sets standards that are to be emulated or copied. This type of situation is presented at each time that a learner belonging to a particular social group, adopts as a system of reference values of another group placed in a hierarchical position than the one in which he belongs. This attitude breaches the distance of interest and makes the group of reference to be considered as a model by other members of the group. The anticipated socialiser group (group of reference), can facilitate the adaptation of new functions to the new members. At the same time, it can serve as a high level of relative frustration to the group whose ambitions are not fixed. The same upholds as far as political socialisation of students is concerne. In this regard, Amabu declairs her interest to partake in civic activities in the University, is born from the encouragement of peer in a group of reference. In her words she exposes the persuasive nature of a friend

“it took Anita a lot to convince me in taking active part in match pass during youth and National Day Celebration. I thought it was a thing for the able but I came to realize that it is a source for manifestation of my civic engagement. Today, I see the great need of doing so as a small way of expressing not only my civic obligation but my small appreciation to the nation. I make sure I start thinking and preparing for this even some weeks before the event [...]” It was not easy to remove the first impression I had, nor to separate my conscience from the previous view ⁵⁷⁰.

From the above, it is true that some peer relationship is instructive. They also help conscientise members about positive values as well as positive change of mentality in particular and personality in general towards sidelining conflicts between other actors in the school milieu.

⁵⁷⁰ AMABOU, V., in an interview on the role of students in their political socialization, conducted on campus on the 20 of November 2020.

3.3- Conflict between school, mass media, religion, deviant behavior and political socialisation in the University

The word conflict connotes different situations which vary from the economic, political social and cultural dimensions. As opposed to Weberian view of conflict (manifestation of open antagonism), functionalists view conflict as dysfunction of a system of regulations which assures consensus on norms which directs actions. The sociological analysis of conflict varies with a biopsychological conception based on human nature and whose explanations are clear under social organisation⁵⁷¹. In reality, as a social organisation, what confirms school conflict is the absence of an Educative Pact between the different agents. That is between the school and agents involved in the educative process be it informally or none formally. It is noted that conflict between the school and other agents result from interest. These agents are unable to define the limits of their interest⁵⁷². On the note of interest, Meirieu is of opinion that the difference is as a result of the partners being unable to articulate the difference between particular interest and general interest⁵⁷³. This subsection views conflict between the school, mass media and religion as well as other deviant behaviour and social control.

3.3.1- Conflict between school and mass media

A cultural critic on democratisation of industrial culture associates the birth of new communication technologies (NTCs) to cultural rival. Marx inaugurates the critic of industrialisation of communication with its development on fetishism of goods. In the first place, he reaffirms the subjective power of the image of religion and its instrumentalisation by the dominant class in the form of “opium” that dampens awareness. According to Tchakotine, mass media is used by the powers that be to submit the masses⁵⁷⁴. It is also used by economic powers to trap consumers. These critics lay emphasis on the industrial production of cultures. These cultural enterprises diffuse standardise culture which transforms as passive consumers. According to STIFTUNG, media is considered as the fourth power in modern societies as such, in Cameroon, they are submitted under strict

⁵⁷¹ Etienne, J., et al, *dictionnaire de sociologie*, (conflict), Paris, Hatier, 2004.

⁵⁷² Many students in school, adhere to Associations and political mobilizations against parental awareness.

⁵⁷³ idem, P. 34.

⁵⁷⁴ TCHAKHOTINE, S., developed a theory of political propaganda which he applied in opposing the Bolshevik regime and the rising of fascism in Europe. Artsandculture.google.com.

supervision⁵⁷⁵. A glaring example in secondary education is seen during the heart of 2021/2022 academic year, with corona pandemic in Cameroon. With its' disrupting physical effects on schooling. This gave rise to e-learning and tele-conferencing. As a principle, today digital lessons are oblarged (30%). The pedagogic and cultural revolution brought by new communication technologies (NTCs) has brought about a multiplicity and autonomy in terms of learning classrooms⁵⁷⁶.

Mass media are the various means by which the society as a group acquires certain forms of education. Mass media includes Newspapers, Radios, Television, cinema, telephones, internet and others. They are a very effective means of non-formal education. In Cameroon, governmental agents organise regular classes⁵⁷⁷, lectures, serminars, broadcasts⁵⁷⁸, debates and workshops in fields like Education, agriculture and political events and problems. Mass media exposure and political context are related through these channels. This strongly has an impact on political socialisation. When we talk of Mass media, what immediately comes to mind are the information and communication technological tools (I C T) that is modern techniques through which information can be collected and desiminated. These modem techniques consist of phones of varied types, television, Internet, films, tapes just to name but these which are supportive to the process of knowledge acquisition LEKE⁵⁷⁹. It is a powerful vector or channels for the dispatch of political knowledge within and across the globe. Exposure of campaign information for instance can be transmitted through televisions and news papers and this has great impact on the cognitive ability processes of learners.

Not only are learners mobilised through these channels to discuss socio-political issues but they as well share political culture and develop common or opposing sets of values. For BEITONE et al, mass media are both factors of social integration and sources of trouble⁵⁸⁰. Media today serve as a monotonous socialising agent ever than before. The advancement in technology has provided a variety of tools to young people. These media, socialise them in a variety of ways. Commercialisation of the media has consequences on both the content and

⁵⁷⁵ EBERT STIFTUNG, F., *citoyennete active au Cameroun : enjeux, defies et perspectives*, Yaounde, 2017, P. 33.

⁵⁷⁶ Idem. P. 144.

⁵⁷⁷ Stephen, D., *ICT for you*, Microsoft office users, United Kingdom, Nelson Thornes, 2003.

⁵⁷⁸ FUH, S.I., *ICT for teacher Training Colleges*, Cameroon, Bamenda, 2012.

⁵⁷⁹ LEKE TAMBO, Op. Cite. P. 106.

⁵⁸⁰ Alain BEITONE et al, Op cit. p. 118.

the form of all aspects broadcasting. As a consequence, young people are more likely exposed to entertainment this in turn has led to a growing lack of interest in political culture as well as lowering the interest of political knowledge.

In as much as media have provided a vast field of broadcasting, political information as well as different participation means meet the test of time on media. These expose some student not only to a variety of games of concerned, but also to alot of political events nation wide and various means of reactions. Therefore, through the principle of transfer and contamination⁵⁸¹, some of these riot as well as protest tendencies are posted and can easily be copied at the detriment of those concerned as well as others. Also, the variety of information platforms provided by media may divert students' attention and interest against political participation. It is a factor of social integration in that it provides information from far and near and helps to bring the world into a global village. Through Mass Media, the world is reduced to a global village that is one can communicate far and wide in less than no time.

Although supportive to the process of knowledge acquisition, mass media is a source of trouble in the sense that its effects are numerous. It can be a mechanism which helps to slow down the work of the school that is teaching and learning thus leads to poor academic performance of some learners. Many learners spend time on media doing chats, playing games instead of studies. This does not only divert, capture and sustain their attention, but leads to poor performance as a result of adiction. Media are considered as factors of perturbation in the process of legitimate socialisation assured by the family and the school. Not all what students are exposed to in terms of news or information is creditable and helpful. Some students consume these informations and help to distribute them without a second thought or verification of their authenticity. In this vain, they turn to develop negative feelings as well as behaviour at the detriment of their learning. Mass media and the school are at times in conflict due to the following reasons:

3.3.1.1- Lost of time.

Media of all sorts are sources of learning and recreation but most often, they lead to much loss of time which would have been reserved for studies. Learners precisely University

⁵⁸¹ Edmond Locard, principle of contamination. The principle states that when ever there is contact between two objects, whether living or not, there is a transfer of material between them. www.encyclopedia.com > science.

students spend a greater part of their time in watching films, playing games, chatting. They even go as far as viewing pornographic films in the absence of their parents and drugging⁵⁸². When they concentrate more on these, they have less time left for studies. Some even forget or divert their attention from studies and practice of some actions they view with the help of these channels. Through media, many students model after some fans in terms of attitude and appearance without necessarily taking into consideration the fact that some of them are out to portray the rate of social decadence that characterises the society. Sooner or later, they develop and practices these behavioural patterns that are negative and unaccepted in the school environment DAVIES⁵⁸³. At the level of the University, most students get involved into sects, clubbing, menising, womanising and many other ills. Some end up ruining or loosing their lives and those of others in the process.

3.3.1.2- Adiction / modeling patterns of life

Also, youths most often get overwhelmed in clubbing and keeping late nights by so doing, they go late to bed and consequently awake late and are late to school. Moreover, they may forget to do their assignments or to study due to the fact that they were busy dancing, chatting or doing other programmes. Addiction to media is a crime of itself. Students copy negative behaviour when exposed to uncontrolled media viewing and as such learn bad attitude and languages in the name of mode. Some of these youths carry these behavioural patterns and moral decadence to school contaminates others sooner or latter if care is not taken. To suppress this therefore there is urgent need for both parents and teachers to come in with the necessary pedagogic methods of reinforcement⁵⁸⁴ as the case may be in order to prevent behaviour and performance of students from being affected negatively in the process of socialisation. Apart from this, at times, the school confronts religion in this process of political socialisation of students.

3.3.2- Conflict between school and religion

Schooling in Cameroon as in other areas is greatly influenced by religion. The laicity of the state in education, greatly opened way for schooling, based on individual rights and faith.

⁵⁸² Bernadette Roussille, *Drogue savoir plus risquer moins*, Comite Francais de l'education pour la santé, 2000.

⁵⁸³ DAVIES Marie. M., *Fake, Fact and Fantasy: Children's Interpretation of Television Reality*, Mahwah, Associate Publisher, (1-997), P. 24.

⁵⁸⁴ LEKE TAMBO, I., 2nd edition, idem, P. 178.

Since its creation, religious education has greatly multiplied according to the different denominations. Frowning at the fact that this proliferation has failed in its mission of training devorted citizens and the quest for refoundation of the system. Martine state's ;

<< la formule laïque 1905 fut un progres considerable dans le contexte de regne sana partage du pouvoir clerical sur tout les domaines de la societe. Mais ne pas y ajouter de nouveaux combats ne du nouvelles victoires [...] la date de preemption parait depassee car on n'a produit une laicite dynamique, evolutive, dialectique [...]>>⁵⁸⁵.

One of the fundamental stakes of religion and the church as an institution is that of the legitimate definition of belief and practices. It elaborates and reactivates a group of codes and norms which apply to the internal functioning of beleivers. It equally guides behaviour in ordinary life (feeding, dressing, laisure). In defining norms (what is religiously correct), these institutions are at times exposed as deviance in the context of time. In this sense, they are judged incompactible. This brings in sanction (exclusion, excommunication), at the same time it exposes the spiritual perspective religious institutions manage as well as temporal capital, which contributes to their development and that of the society at large. According to Durkheim, the definition of religion reposes on three principles.

The first is characterised on the distinction between what is holy and profane. This distinction does not always future. Most at times, the principle of mutual contamination obtains between the holy and the profane. The second principle announces the complementarity⁵⁸⁶ between belief and rite. This announces the difficulty of not pleasing the group of belonging (non-conformist). Weber, conflict refers to manifestation of open antagonism between two actors be them individuals or groups⁵⁸⁷. This is due to incompartible interest in the possession or management of scarce resources. Acording to the law relating to organisation and functioning of private education⁵⁸⁸ in Cameroon, the role religion plays in educational sector goes to strengthen the government's objective in educating young Cameroonians for future responsibilities although at times, with conflict of values. As earlier noted, religion as a cultural practice complements the work of the school. Under this

⁵⁸⁵ Martine, B., Eet Florence, S.L., *Le Systeme Educatif a l'heure de la societe de la Connaissance* France Presse Universitaire du Mirail, 1014, p. 238.

⁵⁸⁶ www.encyclopedia.com/science.

⁵⁸⁷ Boudon, B., Besnard, P., Cherkuaoui, M., et Lecuyer, B.P., *dictionnaire de la sociologie*, Larousse, Paris, Cedex, 1997, p. 49.

⁵⁸⁸ Law N0. 2004/22 of July 2004, fixing Rules, Related to Organisation and Functioning of Private Education in Cameroon.

category comes the conflicting role. Talking about strain of relationship between school and religion capitalises on religious doctrine in terms of behavioural moderation.

The church plays a wide and vital role in the process of socialisation in general and acquisition of political culture in particular. This role be it negative affects the acquisition of political culture. Religion moderate's personality. Churches are abounded but the main reason is to win souls for the lord that life eternal. By this conviction, churches via their religion are involved in moderating behaviour and convert persons to devorted citizens. An important point to note here is that the churches serve as a powerful centre for population. They serve as important medium through which political information are channeled in the form of government announcements and other adverts. They equally serve as a fertile ground for isolation or non-adherence to participation in political life.

3.3.3- Non adhesion to some governmental principles

The church is a partner in the educational sector. From Elementary to Higher Education there are actively involved in training sound minds. As many as are the variety of churches, so are the schools. These schools occupy a great portion of the school going population from the basic to the higher levels. In this process, one thing worth noting which at time leads to a strain in the relationship between them and governmental policy on education is the fact that they introduce subjects which lack recognition by the government. A glaring example is religious studies, theology which although help to shape spiritual and moral behaviour of the learners is not nationally recognised. It also helps to promote their doctrines specifically. When students come out from these schools for example like the case of religious study, they are unable to use these subjects to integrate in society because they are not recognised. This leads to some sort of disparity between them and the government and thus brings strain. Although this subject is not recognised, it remains a favourable one for these institutions because it contributes to keep faith in specific doctrines alive.

3.3.4- Non Alliance.

Another area of disparity and a disruption of relationship between the government and religious schools lie on the reality of practice on the ground. It is a common practice to find these mission schools not respecting the datelines set out by the government. They either re-open a few days later and close much earlier than the stipulated time. This act is becoming perpetual and is a matter of concern. For it does not only portray the lapses on the part of

follow-up by the government. It also has psychological impact on other students. This does not only portray the disparity between these institutions but leads to strain in authority and relationship. This as well, slow down political socialisation of students in the sense that some political information concerning the students may not be dished out.

3.3.5- Conflict resolution

As earlier noted, the opening up of the walls of school have led to the involvement of actors in the system. As such, the principle of individuality and peculiarity brings about a variety of difficulties in the system, that needs to be handled. Conflict resolution is conceptualised as the methods and processes involved in facilitating the peaceful ending of conflict and retribution.

Conflict resolution is a vast domain at law, there are various ways of resolving conflict, it may be by way of mediation, negotiation, arbitration and others. Per the research, this is not be examined in its stricto sensu relation with legal framework. The conflict usually results from collaboration, accommodation and competition. Their misunderstandings can be resolved through mediation, arbitration, compromise and law suits⁵⁸⁹. The confrontation of learners to contradictory systems of values attracts different behavioural adaptations which according to Etienne and others⁵⁹⁰ are grouped into four figures namely; total adherence, adaptation to a dual behaviour, the search for compromise and adoption of deviant behaviour.

- a) Total adherence to a group of belonging and devalorisation of the practices of another. Here, the group or members of the group in question adhere to the norms of one and devalorise the other group. Conflict between the school (University) and the family in the process of socialisation can be considered as such and be illustrated as follows. To expose the fact that the learners need guide from adults

<< l'enfant est de la meme nature que l'adulte. Il est comme un arbre qui n'est pas encore achever sa croissance, mais qui se nourrit, grandit et se defend exactement comme arbre adulte [...] qui viennent de sa feiblesse organique, de son ignorance de son inexperience et aussi de son incommensurable potentie de viesouvent dangereusement atteint chez les adultes>>⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁹ Terry, L., << What are the different types of conflict resolutions? >>, Bangkok, Thailand, www.mylanquestions.com accessed on 02/04/2022.

⁵⁹⁰ Jean Etienne, idem.

⁵⁹¹ Celestine, F., Oeuvres Pedagogique 2, Patis, Edition du seuil, 1994, P. 387-391.

The students can reject school culture of peer to preserve that of origin (family).

- b) The adaptation of a dual behaviour. This perspective of conflict resolution exposes a dual role or perspective in terms of parties concerned. Most often when people adopt a dual behaviour, the tendency is that they tend to be confused. Also, learners can adopt this and function in two axes, according to the social situations they find themselves in. For example, they may respect family or traditional values in the presence of their parents and compose an emancipated adolescent role in the mist of peers. Such a clavage of behaviour in function of the sphere of activity is always difficult to support in a long run. Conscient of the profound collective responsibility in building responsive citizenship, we are called upon to renouate our practices and ideas, to bring forth a society based on civic morality and hope⁵⁹².
- c) Seeking compromise in expectations in different sociological milieu. The individual can equally look for a means of establishing compromise in the different sociological milieu. In this context, the students will want to benefit double from situations. In this vain, they adopt intermediary behaviour and try to reduce the level of exigence of each milieu, by making value out of impossibilities he or she finds respond to the incompactability role expectations. An interview on the reason why most students shy away from their civic responsibility as youths proves that since they are less involved and concerned in the system, they adopt the behavioural pattern of neglect⁵⁹³. Others say they seek compromise in expectation. An anonymous source reveals that “most students who take active part in national occasions as students do so not because they are committed but because they want to make ends meet”⁵⁹⁴. When questioned further, it was understood that they adopt intermediary behaviour to make value out of impossibilities to respond to incompactable role expectations. They revealed that they are attracted to the little motivational strategies the Universities offer them and not as an obligation. This act can as well be labeled as a sign of corruption and deviance on the part of administration for latent interest.

⁵⁹² AUBRY, M., *Pour changer de civilisation, avec 50 chercheurs et citoyens*, Paris, Odile Jacob, 2011, p. 1297.

⁵⁹³ Anonymous source, interview University of Yaound I, on Campus, June 2021.

⁵⁹⁴ Interview with Epiengole student of the University of Douala

3.3.6- Deviant behaviour in the University and social control

Conflict can induce deviant behaviour⁵⁹⁵. The term deviance appeared at the beginning of the year 1950 in American sociology and diffused rapidly there after. This term though simultaneously used should be distinguished from related words like delinquency and criminality most often used by specialists of criminal law. Sociology of deviance is not just reduced to crimes punishable by the penal code, but englobes behavior patterns of social ills such as alcoholism, sexuality just to name but these. This refers to all behavioural pattern judged non-conformists to social norms of a group whether codified or not. Every where norms are in existence, there exists equally the transgression. Therefore, Durkheim sees conflict as a normal phenomenon in the sense that it is recurrent in all human societies⁵⁹⁶. In this regard, the phenomenn of deviance is co-substantial to the existence of life in society.

Conversely, the forms that deviance can take have different effects from one society to another. Even in the mist of a society, there exist plurality systems of norms which are at times, contradictory. It is understood that one is never a total deviant but in one or more social groups which compose the society. In the light of the present study, deviant behaviours vary from clubbing, alcoholism, drugs, sexuality of all sorts. Cohen explains the deliquence of youths saying the emergence of a delinquent sub culture negative and aggressive constitutes a collective response to the problems faced by youths in school⁵⁹⁷. These behavioural patterns are most often than not instigated by peer influence over weaker sudents and help to capture and divert learners' attention most often from learning in general and political culture in particular.

3.3.6.1- Deviant behaviour in the University

Seeing its genesis in American sociology in the 1950, the word deviance rapidly spread in the subsequent years. Distinguished from delinquency or criminality as most often used by specialists of criminal law, deviance also covers a broad spectrum of behavioural patterns extending from cultism, prostitution, and drug abuse just to name but these. Deviance

⁵⁹⁵ MERTO, R. K., In his strain theory explains that societal structures can preasure individuals in a group to committing crimes. This classic strain theory predict that deviance is likely to happen when there is a misalignment between the cultural goals of the society (such as monetary and intellectual wealth and the opportunities people have in obtaining them.

⁵⁹⁶ European sociology review, << Emile Durkheim's theory of social order and deviance: a multi level test >> vol. 20, n0: 4, September 20004.

⁵⁹⁷ Cohen, A.K., << DelinquentSub Culture >> American Sociological Review, 1958-JSTO.

existence is in relation of norms. All behaviour judged non-conformist to social norms of a particular group is termed deviant. Norms vary from one society to another and in respect of the position occupied in a social group. A behavioural pattern of an ordinary member of a group may be judged abnormal yet considered normal when coming from the leader of a group. In this sense, norms are sensitive in function of the social context in place. In this light, it is at times difficult to establish variance in patterns of behaviour in terms of typical and atypical (those that are not normal but are most often than not tolerated in the society). In the light of great ambiguity, individuals in society exercise a margin of liberty to what they deem normal in an organization.

The term deviance has two phases⁵⁹⁸. The first phase centres on the existence of behaviour which makes deviants different from those considered normal. On the other hand, we can consider that deviance does not exist independently from norms and their conditions of application. Studies of delinquency centre on these three applications. According to Phillip, “we have pass through sociology of act to that of reactions”⁵⁹⁹. This sociology is specifically more interested in deviant personality and the social milieu. It seeks to explain why certain individuals commit deviant acts while others donot that is the causes of deviance in personality characteristics of the deviant person. It seeks an understanding whether the deviants characteristics in the personality of the person is innate (criminal theory of Lombroso)⁶⁰⁰ or acquired (family socialization). Apart from this, deviance is also explained with respect to the social milieu of the deviant as well as their living conditions.

In the context of learning, the word deviance centres on the kind of friends high school children have and whether these friends are interested in learning, studying as well as in participating in school activities. Also, in understanding this it is worth knowing if they belong to a group that likes to indulge in risk- taking activities. If their pattern of peer association change over the course of their enrolment in the High school⁶⁰¹. In the context of political socialisation of students, High school is an important period of time in an adolescence life. It is at this time that students make decisions, future educational and career

⁵⁹⁸ Etienne J., idem.

⁵⁹⁹ Robert, P., cited in Jean Etienne et al, idem.

⁶⁰⁰ LOMBROSO A. C., theory argues that criminals are primitive savages who are evolutionarily backward compared to normal citizens. He distinguishes two sources of deviance is inherited and some times born. According to him, born criminals possess an array of stigmata or markers that may be considered putative evidence of their criminality. Retrived on the 20 July 2021.

⁶⁰¹ National Center for Education Statistics, Statistics in Brief: Students’ Peer Group in High School: the pattern and Relationship to Educational Outcomes, June 1997.

plans. It is also the time when parental authority is being challenged by peer Pressure. The influence of peer can be both positive and negative. On the positive side, it can serve as an important incentive for students to perform well in school. On the negative side, peer influence can lead to discipline problems and delinquent behaviour both inside and outside school. Thus, the values of peer can play an important role in students' educational experience and outcome. The loss of consciousness and interest of the majority of students can as well be related to Cesare's theory in peer relationship in terms of influence and their social milieu⁶⁰² in which they exercise lack of civic consciousness. Living conditions as well may contribute to lack of consciousness and interest. Students may be attracted or forced to reject political activities because of the influence on their living condition. As earlier noted, peer is a powerful force. Owing to the fact that students have different socio-cultural, economic-political backgrounds, the social status and economic background of the rich students serve as a powerful instigation or conditioning force to some others to depend on. In this regard their consciences may be manipulated and their preferences influenced in favour of others against civic commitment.

According to Merton, deviance should be explained with reference to what is abnormal (anomie)⁶⁰³. This is the non-agreement between the cultural goal to be valorized by the society and the possibility of access to legitimate means to meet the goals. A clear example of the author is not enrichment of persons in America. Enrichment is a goal, in order to satisfy this goal, there is need for a legitimate means which is a job. Failure to which, they can only satisfy this through illegitimate means.

Generally, the relationship between goals and means of Merton brings in mind four other classes of behaviour apart from those of conformists⁶⁰⁴.

⁶⁰² Santona, A., Tognasso, G., and De Cesare, <<the mediating role of romantic attachment in the relationship between attachment to parents and aggression >>, a cognitive dimension of family and peer relation. *www.frontierin...* 2019, *frontier in.org*.

⁶⁰³ Merton, R., typology of deviance is born on two criteria. The first is based on a person's motivation or adherence to cultural goals. The second on a person's belief on how to attain her goals which according to him are five in number (conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion).

⁶⁰⁴ As a matter of fact, motivational strategies have a great impact on the process of learning. In the case of the above diagram, innovationist are those who accept goals but reject and will want to modify the means through which this can be attained. Ritualists on their part are a set of respondents who reject the goal but want the means to satisfy further goals. Retreaters are the direct opposite of conformists. They neither are interested in the goals nor the means to achieve them. Rebels on their part put up a double capacity. At times they may not show their inward feelings, pretend to belong but where as they are not for. From this summary, it is observed that actors have multi-forms that they portray and these condition their opinions and motivation towards political socialisation of students

Table 4: Deviance representation

Modes of adaptation	Goals	Means
Conformists	+	+
Innovation	+	-
Ritualism	-	+
Retreation	-	-
Rebellion	+ ₋	+ ₋

Source: Elements de theorie (Merton)⁶⁰⁵

The above table is made up of signs the key to these are seen thus; the positive sign (+) signifies acceptance of valorised goals by the society or the legitimate means to satisfy the goal. The negative sign (-) signifies the contrary, reject of goals or means proposed by the society. The positive and negative signs (+) signify the reject of both goals and means proposed by the society. On the mode of adaptation, innovation corresponds to a situation where individuals adhere to the goals of society but use illegitimate means to satisfy them (a play of conscience). Ritualism makes reference to a situation where individuals blindly apply the rules prescribed by the society without associating or seeking their adaptation to the society (at this juncture, individuals are more attracted to the means not really having the goal at heart).

In this case, promises of jobs, wining, and dinning with elders, money and other social relational benefits). Evasion or retreation on their par, constitute taking a distance. It characterizes a situation where individuals neither adhere to rules nor goals of society (alianation, vagabond and abuses of all sort). Finally, but not the least, rebellion characterises a situation where individuals reject the rules and goals of the society and at te same time, try to promote new norms and values (Mobilisation and revolutionary groups like strike and pertition).

Also, in the light of the present study, the development or lack of consciousness can be sub classified a follows;

⁶⁰⁵ Rbert Merton, K., *elements de theorie et methode sociologique*, Plon, 1965 as cited in Jean Etienne et al, idem.

Table 5: Students' levels of civic engagement

Students' adaptation modes	Civic interest rate	Civic interest goals
conformists	+	+
Ritualism	-	+
retreationist	-	-
Rebellious	+	+
	-	-

Source: researcher's initiative

From the above table, it is discovered that the process of socialization is affected by deviance. As a product of social interaction, deviance is analysed as an interactive and sequential process. It poses an object of equity and stigmatisation in the family, peer and neighbourhood.

From the above table, students' involvement in civic duty is sub divided into four categories. To wit conformists, rationalist, retreation and rebellion. The positive sign (+) signifies acceptance of valorised goals by the society or the legitimate means to satisfy the goal. The negative sign (-) signifies the contrary, reject of goals or means proposed by the society. The positive and negative signs (+, -) signifies the reject of both goals and means proposed by the society. On the mode of adaptation, innovation corresponds to a situation where individuals adhere to the goals of society but use illegitimate means to satisfy them (a play of conscience). Ritualism makes reference to a situation where individuals blindly apply the rules prescribed by the society without associating or seeking their adaptation to the society (at this juncture, individuals are more attracted to the means not really having the goal at heart. In this case, promises of jobs, wining, and dinning with elders, money and other social relational benefits). Evasion or retreation on it's part constitutes taking a distance. It characterises a situation where individuals neither adhere to rules nor goals of society (alianation, vagabond and abuses of all sort). Finally, but not the least, evasion characterisis a situation where individuals reject the rules and goals of the society and at the same time, try to promote new norms and values (Mobilisation and revolutionary groups like strike and pertition).

3.3.6.2- Norms and social control

Norms can be distinguished into two categories; social and Judicial. On the juridicial perspective, there are sub split into two levels, elaborated according to regulations of formalised procedure clearly written⁶⁰⁶. On the other hand, their violation invites sanctions edicted by specialised bodies. In sociology, the concept norm is a key one in analysis, its utilization is relatively recent with the analysis of (19 century) Durkheim who talks of roles instead of norms⁶⁰⁷. It is with Parsons in the 1930 that normative orientation of actions is termed noble. Today, the analysis of social regulation which seems to explain how norms are violated, disappear or are transformed, continue to make the object of recurrent debates in social sciences. At the same time there are contested by theoreticians of rational action. The pluridimension of the notion of norms makes it difficult for actors to understand.

In the first place, norms can be defined as models which drive or orient behaviour of humans in the society. Presented as an obligation which prescribes or prevent certain negative behaviour. This obligatory character is justified by reference to values shared by members of the group. Its violation induces reactions which vary from simple disapprobation to disciplinary sanctions or penal. Sanction is melted to the non respect of norms. The question of understanding if sanction has a normative character is controversial. A norm which does not effectively call for sanction, risks to be ineffective. In this regard, Durkheim⁶⁰⁸ perceived the importance of sanction when he said it is more an external indicator which is able to objectivize the existence of norm which has an intrinsic character. In effect, there are situations where the violation of a norm may not necessitate sanction as a result of a social situation. If norms are respected in the absence of sanction, it is because they are interiorised by agents in the course of their socialisation process.

In its exclusive sense, the term social control as originally employed by Alsworth refers to the processes through which groups regulate activities of their members in respect of a number of values⁶⁰⁹. It refers to all the conditions of socialisation of individuals or groups in the society. The study of social control consists in analysing the role of regulating

⁶⁰⁶ Pernal code of the Republic of Cameroon, les editions de L’Imprimerie Nationale, 2011.

⁶⁰⁷ Emile Durkheim, *les regles de la method sociologique*, 1^{ere} edition, 1895, 7^{eme} edition, Paris, Librairie Felix Alcon, 1919.

⁶⁰⁸ Anonymous, is a social condition defined by an uprooting or breaking down of any moral values, standards or guidance for individuals to follow. It refers to the philosophical interpretation of morality.

⁶⁰⁹ Alsworth, R. E., social control: a survey of the foundations of order, Macmillan, 1901, p. 49.

institutions like the school. For parsons, social control refers to processes through which deviant behaviour is fought and social stability maintained through sanction⁶¹⁰. It refers to the various means used by society to prevent and correct deviant behaviour.

Reynaud on his part tries to synthesis the contemporary approach on social control referring to it as activities in the society which assure maintainance of regulation and fight against deviance. This is possible through institutional mechanism or through the diffusion of pressure exerting reprobation or spontaneous sanction as the case may be. The application of a system of sanctions whether positive (recompensation) or negative (punitive) does not reduce profoundly on the structuraliation of personality. According to Reynaud, two forms of social control principally exists these are; formal social control and informal social control⁶¹¹.

a) Formal social control refers to official instances of social control e.g, the police and justice regulating deviant behaviour, through application of sanctions of different nature. Moral (reprobation, blame), religious (penitence, excommunication) and penal (imprisonment).

b) Informal social control is one in which the regulation of behaviour takes a more subtle way. this vary from a smile as a sign of appreciation, approbation or recognition sufficient to encourage cherished behavioural patterns. On the other hand, a frown and silence are different ways through which deviant behaviour can be discouraged informally.

The effectiveness of the informal mode of social control is evidently more powerful this makes individuals to realize their faults through the manifestations of others like parents, peer and friends. Worthy of note is also the fact that informal social control is predominant in the mists of primary groups like the family, friends and neighbourhood. On the contrary, it is weakened in more complex communities and modern societies. Also, public opinion is another form of informal social control. It tries to assure a premodial role in the regulation of social behaviour. At the same time, specialized instances depend on the state like the police, justice who are charged with exercising formal control by applying the law. The effects of social control in temporary societies according to sociological researches are more particularly focused, on the impact of social control in the domain of delinquency.

⁶¹⁰ TELCOTT P., *social system: the action frame of reference and the general theory of action systems, cultural personality and the place of social systems*, 1951.

⁶¹¹ Jean- Daniel Renaud, *theorie de la regulation social: pouvoir et construction des regles*, 2005, www.sietmanagement.fr/theorie-

For Maurice, the application of sanctions, permits the reduction of criminality through different mechanisms⁶¹². Informal sanctions exercised by family or close collaborators contribute to reactive rules. Contrarily, the lessening of social control such as non guidance of learners by parents and teachers (moral laxism), contributes to the development of deviance above all criminality. In this light, penal sanctions exercise a dissuasive effect on learners (criminals or defaulters) thus considered rational, the intensity of act depends on the advantage, cost and or risk associated to it. The certainty of penalty being greater than the risk will help reduce criminality.

Contrarily to Maurice Cusson, interactionists like Giora shoham are of opinion that social control contributes to the creation of criminality in effect stigmatisation. Insisting on the role of stigmatisation exercised by the family in the construction of negative identity by the child, Giora cites Jean Genet⁶¹³ who qualifies a child as a thief by his adopted family. In such a case, the child in the course of time end up accomplishing the destiny that has been assigned to him. Other authors have insisted on the stigmatisation of penalty of imprisonment and the amplification of deviant behaviour which is induced through two processes. Firstly, by putting occasional delinquents in contact with advance criminals who will teach them technics of crimes (“prison is a school of crimes”). It reduces the chances of having a legal profession since very few will want to employ an ex-convict. The conditions under which norms are elaborated constitute a central question in sociology. The sharing of common norms by individuals is a necessary element in social life. The formation of norms can be envisaged in another perspective than imperative through which individuals must submit.

In the context of socialisation particularly political socialisation of students, both judicial as well as social laws and sanctions are appealed to when students default. Worth of note is the fact that these internal laws and sanctions help to ensure the smooth functioning of the Universities in particular and society in general. It is therefore difficult to distinguish from them social norms.

⁶¹² CUSSON, M., *le conflict sociale du crime*, 1983, <http://clasiques.uqac.ca> > control

⁶¹³ GIORA, S.S., *interaction in violence*, sage journals, Brown, Roger (1965), scial psychology, New York Free Press.

CONCLUSION

The teaching and learning process is a synergy between the school and other agents. The University is not constructed in a vacuum but in society. In order for socialisation to be carried on in this institution, there is need for interaction among and between members. Actors who make up this population are internal and external. These actors whether immediate or periphery they are diverse in terms of individual differences. Nevertheless, as a social institution, its members are bound to function together. They need to accept, accommodate and endure some differences of members. In this light, the complementarity of the University and other agents in political socialisation of students is sought. It is understood that the process of interaction at times bring about collision, disagreement thus conflict. In the course of this chapter, conflict between the schools in the process need not be emphasised. This process is so binding that it warrants the burden contribution of all the parties concerned either directly or indirectly involved. There is a great need for the parties to collaborate thus cohabit.

The co-existence or collaboration is done by members within the school as well as between the school and other agents. Students complement other students, teachers complement teachers. University is complemented by other agents like the church, State and mass media. By so doing, they learn, accept each other for what they are, forge ahead to achieve the full development of personality and the society as a group. These differences notwithstanding, the process of schooling in general and that of acquisition of political learning in particular is and remains a synergy of actors in the domain though with diversified interest, posing constraint not void of impacts.

fields animated by the *logique* of interest and of stakes, more or less distinct, specific and at times, contradictory are factors that condition this process. An analysis of collective action of a social system like the University involves constraints⁶¹⁸. The process of political socialisation of students is not void of interest and constraints. Education in general and schooling in particular, as a social process consists of efforts to impose on learners the manner of looking at things, feeling, acting and reacting. These are not spontaneously arrived at⁶¹⁹. Actors in this field have diverse interests concerning the idea. Therefore, the quest to satisfy these interests at times serves as obstacles to the process. These difficulties or obstacles are partly societal norms in disfavour of the practice as well as acquisition.

4.1.1- Stakes in the process of political socialisation

Stakes connotes interest. Although the concept is more presented as interest, it also implies challenges. To this effect, multiple challenges are encountered in the course of students' political socialisation. These problems are not related only to the University and its environs but also the general society⁶²⁰. Education in general and schooling in particular involves many actors. These actors, central or peripheral, impact the process of schooling in general and political socialisation in particular through educational policies⁶²¹. National policy in education does not sufficiently integrate political learning in curriculum programming. As well, some agents and actors prove their lack of pedagogy in dispatching content. Therefore, the deficit of knowledge on the part of students remains important. The question of involvement in the learning process is a matter of interest. In the field of political socialisation, students form the core of interest. They are used as the experimental field by the other actors involved. Whereas, as students have the prime objective of acquiring knowledge especially in the political domain for a better understanding of their political culture. Rather schools are closed and apolitical environments, thus the process is limited. Each actor involved seeks to protect its interest. In this sub section, the interests of the actors are examined in the light of the government and politicians.

⁶¹⁸ CROZIER, M., *idem*, P.21.

⁶¹⁹ DURKHEIM Emile, *idem*, P. 7.

⁶²⁰ Jack Dennis, << major problems of political socialization >> *Medivest journal of political science*, vol. 12. No. 1(February 1968), p. 85-114, in <https://doi.org/10.2307/2110156> accessed on 03/04/2022..

⁶²¹ Educational plicy and practice, aim at promoting more effective school reforms by eliminating important connections between educational policy, curricula, teaching and learning.

4.1.1.1- Stakes related to governmental agents

Governmental interest in the process of political socialisation of students in the University is split into open and latent. The termed manifest, are the intended outcome while latent or the hidden, are resultant of the effects. These although not of clear prime motive, sets in and interplay.

4.1.1.1.1- Manifest interest

Governmental view on political socialisation of youths in general and students in particular is that of exclusion. According to the 1993 University reforms in Cameroon⁶²², schools are closed and apolitical milieus. That means, they are clear from all activities with political affiliations which in any way can hinder their smooth functioning in particular and the external environment in general. This declaration does not in any way depict that the socialisation of students into political culture through learning, is of minimal importance. From the past experience, it is a means for the government to protect the image of education in general both at the national and the international levels. It is no doubt undertood that when students are socialised politically, they do not only understand but have a good mastery of their political culture as well as the occurances in their environment. This knowledge can push them at times to question the happenings and events around them such that if care is not taken, may enable them request or seek changes thus leading to frequent riots.

Further more, the apolitical nature of the school in general and the University in particular, is out to render steady, peaceful and smooth the process of teaching and learning in particular and University education general. It is also noted that the interest of protecting school infrastructure as well as government budget led to rendering of this environment apolitical. When students go on rampage, there is massive distruction of lifes and properties. For precautive measures therefore the process of socialising students is limited greatly to theory. Even in the exposition of theoretical knowledge, much emphasis is omitted as well as precaution taken as though political learning is not important. According to Anna, a clear example is observed in the superficial presentation of political content in the amphitheatre⁶²³.The danger associated with this therefore is students' neglect. If content cannot be fully exposed then there is more to it that for fear of the unfore seen, students

⁶²² Idem.

⁶²³ Interview with Anna, M., a student in the University of Buea.

prefer to stay clear from any entanglement as they put it. This therefore leads to their neglects which within a long run if care is not taken might play back negatively not only on students but on the entire society.

Another manifest function of the apolitical nature of the educational milieu is the search for peace and serenity in this milieu. A conducive environment attracts foreign partnership. The University environment is one whose zeal of acquisition of scientific knowledge drives them to be in search of partners at the national and international levels. One of the fundamental requirements for friendly ties is peace and security. No partner can get attracted to an environment with perpetual chaos. For the search of these therefore, Universities are rendered free from political activities that may help destabilise it. If care is not taken, political socialisation may endanger the political system. The quest for transparency may drive students to question the activities and decisions of the regime in place. When students are adequately politically socialised, they will become current and interested to follow up the day to day activities as well as political occurrences of the country.

They will develop interest in following up and putting to question every decision and practice underlining the strength and exposing their weaknesses. They also would become interested in taking part such that if care is not taken, this may culminate to heated debates and criticism of the political system in favour of innovation and or change. Therefore, as a means of putting the educational system in general, students and political learning in particular under perpetual control, it has been rendered closed.

4.1.1.1.2- Latent interest

As earlier noted, interest is one's goal of indulging into an action. This can be overt or covert. As opposed to manifest goal readily observable, latent goals are not directly open. Latent interest is that which is not directly exposed that is, which is hidden. As earlier discussed, it can be analysed that one of the reasons for the government declaring schools closed and apolitical environments⁶²⁴ is maintenance of peace and tranquility in the educational milieu in particular and the society in general. Putting the lens of latency, it can be said that it serves a hidden interest to permit the regime in power to stay clear from criticisms on the part of scholarised youths. Rendering the educational environment apolitical

⁶²⁴ University reforms of January 1993.

makes it less tense in terms of interest development. It also prevents critical brain storm on political events, situations as well as figures thereby grounding them. This fact helps to protect the interest of those in power. The scholarised youths constitute a great proportion of the entire population keeping them out of the conventional duty of voting under the coverage of school, permits the absence of a great fraction⁶²⁵ of the active (15-34year) ⁶²⁶ population at the advantage of those in power. Apart from the government, politicians also have interest in this process.

4.1.1.2- Stakes related to politicians

The struggle for power domination constitutes the political atmosphere of every nation term politics. Politicians are men and women involved in the political field or game. They constitute the central machinery of power structure and decision making of the society. As powerful actors in the process of schooling, their decisions influence and impact the process either directly or indirectly. These are examined in their opened and hidden forms below.

4.1.1.2.1- Manifest interest

The involvement of politicians in the process of political learning whether directly or indirectly is associated to stakes. The stakes vary from making their presence felt to gaining fame through their donations to schools and students at the individual levels. Their constant presence in the school environment is to show and inform the population that their micro project funds are used judiciously to empower youths in general and students in particular. Furthermore, they get themselves involved in this arena as a means of providing constant support, gain firm and to make their actions widely heard as an attempt to depict good governance.

Also, this group of persons is noted for their excitation and instrumentalisation of youths in general and students in particular for their personal and selfish ambitions. These mobilisations expands from organising students to go on rampage, exciting them in order to settle private scores with political adversaries, peaceful matches, motions of support, appreciation matches just to name but these. The above cited are at time show of loyalty for

⁶²⁵ ETAPE, K., interview on Campus, University of Yaounde I.

⁶²⁶ Worldometer. 6 December 20211, idem.

the system. It as well involves selfish quest of committing the government to further appointments to posts of greater responsibilities as credit for their loyalty.

4.1.1.2.2- Latent interest

On the other hand, these groups of actors do have hidden interest when they indulge into school projects in particular. For Andrew, the hidden agenda or aim related to this is to prove to that the population is loyal to the regime which later accredits them to higher heights. This consists in keeping youth and students, perpetually at a distance from the political field. Better still, for the few who manage to be interested, to render them permanently on a reserve bench (social cardettes⁶²⁷). These on grounds of immaturity although from first sight, their slogans and propaganda seem to be involving. It is clear that they consider youths as not being matured. For this reason, they are kept at a distance. They are deterred from the political arena if not exploiting them. As earlier noted, apart from the contributions of actors, the process of political socialisation of students encounters some obstacles.

4.1.2- Constraints to the process of political socialisation of students

The process of schooling is exposed to some constraints. According to Touraine, schools are channels through which every society is reproduced⁶²⁸. In the political sphere, civic learning in the University is a reality. This seems a distant from the pre-occupations of policy makers and executors. At the same time, youths are expected to manifest a degree of civic commitment in a changing globalized world preaked with plaques also instigated by broken walls of media. This fact seems to lessen its importance thus attracts disinterest in students. The consequence of lack of consciousness as well as interest is shared by many in divergent views. While some base their argument on the programative effect, others account on the role of the government. Yet to some, the motivational effect as the blame. The constraints or difficulties associated to the process are classified constraints related to actors and other societal barriers.

⁶²⁷ Idem.

⁶²⁸ Allain, T., idem.

4.1.2.1- Constraints related to actors (Individual constraints)

Individual constraints affect the process of political socialisation. NGWA and KRAMME, notice a lack of interest on the part of students as far as learning political culture is concerned of which political socialisation ought to be a drive for all political change with students at the center⁶²⁹. It has been noted that youths are absent where their responsibility demands them to intervene that is at the level of social organisations, in their relationship with the government and even in the structuration of the political field. In the present research, it has been noticed that students have little or no concern in political learning. Even the few who take part in these activities do so not because they are interested but because most often, they are driven by the offer. Take for instance youth day celebration where University students are motivated extrinsically to partake where as, it is their civic responsibility. As such, as an institution of formal learning, policy makers should be in measure of accepting political interaction of students which form part of the democratic process of exposition of democratic values in schools⁶³⁰. They should base their engagement in rendering political learning in particular and socialisation of students' in general, more effective. Under individual constraints, we have developed our argument on students' mindset. From the interview conducted in the selected Universities, it is discovered that most students have a negative mindset as concerns developing interest in learning political culture and civic responsibility. Individual constraints to the process stems from obstacles emanating from students themselves (1) as well as those coming from other (2).

4.1.2.1.1- Constraints emanating from students

It is worth evoking that in the process of knowledge acquisition, at times some students serve as a source of problem to themselves as well as to others. Social conditioning is a powerful postulate for success. According to Mathieu, we are intelligent through others⁶³¹. The obstacles related to the acquisition of political culture by students greatly

⁶²⁹NGWE, G., et Kramme-Stermose, F., *Citoyenneté active au Cameroun : enjeux, défis et perspectives*, Friedrich E, S. Yaoundé, 2017, p. 5-6.

⁶³⁰MERLE, P., idem.

⁶³¹ Mathieu Recard, idem.

depend on their cognitive dissonance⁶³². They are divided into constraints related to student's peculiarities as well as those linked to lack of internal motivation.

4.1.2.1.1.1- Constraints related to individual difference

Individual difference is a barrier to the process of political socialisation. The principle of individual difference stipulates that no two individuals are the same⁶³³. This does not only apply in terms of physical appearance but also in terms of biological dispositions, experiences and others. These make appreciation of stimuli or values in the environment in terms of like and dislike different. In the context of political socialisation of students, it can be stated without the fear of contradiction that students have differences in terms of preferences as well as likes and dislikes. This makes appreciation of political learning and practice different. While some see it worthy of inculcation and do their almost best to acquire the knowledge, others do not see the need, thus attach no interest. EDIE, clarifies this view, saying;

although to a lesser extent, the University initiates students into some political content and activities, students are free to make a choice whether to be or not to be politically involved this therefore constrains socialization⁶³⁴ they are autonomous beings, as such they have the choice of choosing what to and what not lay interest in thus they have a merge of liberty termed constraint liberty⁶³⁵.

From the above declaration, it is discovered that learning or appreciation of political culture is not a matter of "mandamus" that is force. Students are "stricto sensu" not tied to political learning or socialisation, neither are they compelled to have interest. They have the choice of developing or not developing interest and this choice coupled with other factors like motivation limits participation.

⁶³² Cognitive dissonance is a psychological theory developed by Leon Festinger, in the late 1950s. This theory explains the link between attitude and behaviour. Dissonance refers to inconsistency. Cognitive dissonance refers to the incompatibility that an individual might perceive between his or her attitude and behaviour. The inconsistency in behaviour is uncomfortable for this reason, the individual will attempt to reduce the dissonance hence, the discomfort. Stephen Robbins, *Organizational behaviour*, 8th edition, 1998, New Jersey, Upper Saddle River, P. 140-145.

⁶³³ Mayer, E. R., *Individual differences principle*, Santa Barbara, Cambridge University press, 2012. Retrieved on Monday 12 July 2021. The principle of individual difference explains the variability in learners. It states the uniqueness of individuals. Each person experiences a different response to an exercise program these differences stem from physical, genetic, past experiences and chronic conditions. In the context of the study, this may influence students' preference against political culture.

⁶³⁴ Anole IDIE, a university student in an interview on the impact of political socialisation on students, conducted in November 2020.

⁶³⁵ CRUZIER, M., et Erhard, F., *idem*, P. 197-198.

4.1.2.1.1.2- Lack of internal motivation

For Guy, structure does not determine action but only conditions it⁶³⁶. In this light, the University as a social structure through its curricular and co-curricular practices condition students towards acquisition of civic competence within a limited spectrum. This notwithstanding, students have a margin of liberty which ought to serve as internal encouragement to many to engage in learning and development of civic competence. Viewed as the willingness to exert high level of efforts in organisational goal, motivation affects the process of socialisation positively and or negatively⁶³⁷. Internal motivation is considered as the quest or zeal that comes from within a learner. This drive pushes or causes the learner to learn in order to satisfy the quest. It is a prime condition for learning. Although affected by many other factors, many students who have the internal drive of learning in general and political culture in particular. They put in much interest to achieve this. Many learners of the same age manifest great differences at an adult age. This is either as a result of their internal conditioning or the education they have acquired as well as their surrounding environment. For this reason, it is not only the responsibility of parents, teachers but that of community as well as the learners themselves to offer students the references that will help develop internal growth of interest. This will permit them to become what is worth instead of handicapping them by our projections, hopes and subjective exigencies which limits interest.

Also, although the University initiates students into some political content and activities, students have a merge of liberty. With this discretion, they have the choice to take part or not. Anonymous source says the political system in place discourages students from having any thing to do with participating politically in Cameroon. Even though Alison holds that young people when consulted on their own social and cultural conditions can bring in new perspectives which will influence outcomes in new⁶³⁸ and unexpected ways⁶³⁹. Some students are of the opinion that politics in Cameroon is a game of the older generation⁶⁴⁰. Therefore, they see no reason why they should develop interest in learning the theory civic knowledge of a game meant for the older generation for this cannot serve students in any way

⁶³⁶ BAJOIT, G., *Socio-analyse des raisons d'agir : etudes sur la liberte du sujet et de l'acteur*, Canada, Presses de l'Universite Laval, 2009, P. 8.

⁶³⁷ Robbins, S., *organisational behavior*, eighth edition, UK, Printice Hall, 1998, P. 168.

⁶³⁸ LOZOWICK, L., *idem*, P. 17.

⁶³⁹ Alison G., increasing participation of children, young people and young adults in decision making: a report from the ministry of youth affaires, June 2002, P. 4-5.

⁶⁴⁰ Interview with students, on the influence of political socialisation.

and cannot sideline individual difficulties. Apart from this, students' lack of interest can't be analysed solely from the perspective of students' internal drive but a marriage with other factors as seen below.

4.1.2.1.2- Difficulties emanating from other individuals

An analysis on the socio-cultural context of society has permitted an understanding that the cultural and material world serves as further impediments which condition actors. Apart from lack of internal zeal, external motivation affects political learning. It is a drive or force which comes from outside the learner that pushes him or her to learn. These influences are diverse and condition learning outcome either positively or negatively. External motivation deals with every stimulus in the surrounding environment of the learner. This influences his or her choice or decision in one way or the other. In the context of this study, external motivation is viewed in the light of the political atmosphere of the country, the political system. Other factors like governance precisely; policy, unemployment and poverty just to name but these affect the learning of political culture by students. The idea of external motivation extends to the curriculum which is not very reflective of political culture. Furthermore, the surrounding environment of the school is not stimulative enough for practice. NAOURI is of opinion that a human being can be stimulated⁶⁴¹. He or she can be encouraged to attain a particular goal or objective through excitation. External constraints here are grouped under peer, teachers and parental guidance.

4.1.2.1.2.1- Peer influence

Peer influence negatively affects the process of political socialisation of students. Lack of a civic conscience which can easily be transferable. The peer group which one interacts with serves as a form of socialisation. This socialisation at times is not positive but negative and helps to slow down the process of learning. A peer group includes childhood play groups, cliques, fraternities, work groups and community groups. Students interact more with friends of the same or of almost the same age group and through interaction, they re-define and shape their behaviour. They adopt the view of their peers because they like or respect them or because they want to become like them. A peer group socialises its members by motivating, persuading or pressurising them. Learning in a peer group usually occurs through play where

⁶⁴¹ ALDO, N., *idem*, P. 76-113.

they assume various social positions⁶⁴². These social positions may be negative that is those that enable the learners to inculcate rather negative behaviour. The school and peer group collaborate in the process of schooling. Although a force towards positive learning at times this collaboration is at the detriment of hard-working students as their attention and interest may be diverted from learning. The role peers play is diverse. They serve as teachers, informates and counselor to members of the group's members of the group TAMBO⁶⁴³ This teaching at times may not be positive thus can help to divert not only the attention of mates against learning (alcohol, drugs, prostitution) but a responsive civic life. In addition, some peers counsel their mates and help implant in them the sense of decadence and divert interest from hard work. This changes the attitude and behaviour of the students. This help to discourage and reorient the goal against learning in general and academic performance of its students.

In the context of political socialisation in particular, negative peer influence orients them against political culture. Peer may discourage their mates by capturing and diverting their attention. They may be brought to realisation that the learning of political culture is not of importance. They may also be convinced that it serves them no good learning this. By so doing, weak students (those easily convince) may divert their choices and interest against their initial.

In addition, although it is allerged that peer help the school in inculcating basic discipline by restraining members and correcting them where need be as well as instill aspirations; teach social role, skills and conformity to norms OLATUNDE⁶⁴⁴, these may be disorienting. Peer milieu is an environment in which students have the occasion to talk politics, but if care is not taken, the manner in which some of these discussions are oriented may discourage the weaker ones an act that greatly affects the learning of political culture in particular and political socialisation in general with its plethora effects on policy framework.

4.1.2.1.2.2- Effect of policy on political socialisation

There is a direct link between the society as a whole and the school. As a mirror of society, it is a true reflection of the future generation. If understood the type of youths the

⁶⁴² ALEMNKENG Micheal, *Deontology and professional ethics made Simple*, 1st edition, (2015), p. 31.

⁶⁴³ LEKE T., *Ibid* p. 108.

⁶⁴⁴ OLATUNDE O., A, *Sociology: An Introductory African Text*, Nigeria, Odetola, (1985), p. 58.

society wants to groom, then the environment should be secured that there is coherence between content and the values promulgated. Teachers need to look for a means of developing students' innate empathy. Students in response should develop sentiment and a sense of responsibility towards others and the society since it is the sense of empathy which pushes people to react. As well suggestions on other motivational strategies are made. Most students say they get involved in these activities because they are attracted by the external motivation the University offers⁶⁴⁵. In the domain of co-curriculum, the direct link between class work and out door activities should be reinforced. Better still it is well understood that the period of games in the University is usually considered a thing for a selected few and a period for relaxation. Most teachers and students see this period as a time for catch up in their studies. Moreover, others see it as a time to meet up with the lack of space experienced in the Universities. On the note of relationship between the curri and co-curricular, Moreen laments saying;

it is when we are at the heart of preparation for co-curricula events especially for those performing more than one activity that some teachers intensify studies. This clearly depicts the lack of importance that they in particular and the administration in general attach to this⁶⁴⁶.

Lack of interest in co-curriculum activities is a problem worth examining. It is understood that some of the activities constitute courses taught in the classroom. Furthermore, many influential men and women today are sporters, therefore, there is a great need for reconsidering decisions in this domain. As to what concerns human security of students, the society has to assume its responsibility of elementary needs and explain the quest and realisation of durable solutions at the individual and collective levels. To achieve this, it warrants the guidance of students through creating more structures adapted to their follow up and supervision, applying the laws and policies put in place as well as respect social contract and democratic values. On the individual plan, it entails reinforcing education of students and

⁶⁴⁵ Interview anonymous source, conducted on the rate of civic commitment of students in political activities, in April 13, 2021.

⁶⁴⁶ EJEBE, M., interviewed on the relationship between the curri and co-curricula in the acquisition of political culture laments on the little importance attached to out door activities by some teachers and students. For this reason, many consider the period for games as relaxation. This was supposed to be a continuation and follow up work done in class and a point of concern for all.

youths by helping them at all levels, to wit social, economic, moral and politically partaking in learning and exercising democratic values⁶⁴⁷.

On a collective plan, a just and equitable society which favours the cultivation and promotion of civic knowledge and commitment should be re-enforced. The society in general and the University in particular should transform its learners. For this reason, both the family, schools and other agents of socialization should fashion or orient learning more towards obtaining responsive citizenship. Schooling as a process for the acquisition of formal knowledge should lay more emphasis on citizenship education inculcating values of living together in the society “web of relationship”. The education for democratic values, better still democratisation of education should be fully privileged to change influence the mentality and behaviour of learners in favour of statesmanship.

4.1.2.1.2.3- Parental control

Parental control is another influential force towards learners’ all-round development. It is eminent that as opposed to the basic and secondary levels where most students remain permanently under the guidance of their parents at home and tutorship of teachers and the administration, in the University, the situation is a bit different. Most students at this level are at a distance from home. Also, here, there is not much control and follow up of students neither by the teachers nor the administration. The process of learning here is facultative. This therefore makes it dangerous as students are exposed at the mercy of their decision of whether to attend classes or not, go to school or stay back. The peer and other influences capitalise on this to divert the attention of most students against studies. For this reason, lack of parental control may expose students. To prevent this, Parents need to strategise means of controlling their children even from a distance. They should frequently pay surprising visits to them at school to check on them.

They should also provide their children with the necessary school needs that will keep them comfortable for learning thus concentrating on studies. Parents should avoid giving students much money as this may help divert their attention from learning thus affecting the learning of political culture and socialisation in general. They should not spare any efforts to

⁶⁴⁷MERLE, P., idem, P.69.

protect and prevent their children from any activities they suggest will be harmful to their lives.

4.1.2.2- Societal barriers on political socialisation of students

Society is a web of relationship which most often carries along obstacles. Barriers affecting political socialisation are partly societal. As earlier enunciated, society plays a great role in the lives and development of learners. This role cuts across the development of interest in political learning by youths, which fragilizes their civic competence. The theme for the fifty forth (54th) youth day celebration 2020 prescribes youths citizenship in the socio-economic and political life of the country⁶⁴⁸. This insinuates youths especially students be groomed or grounded not only in socio economic but largely in the political life of the country. In realistic terms, political socialisation of students in particular and youths in general faces great difficulties. In the domain of socialising students, they feel a force imposed on them by the society. This force hinders them from being adequately socialised. However, these controllable or uncontrollable factors slow down the process of political socialisation. These are sub divided into two. Those related to acquisition of political knowledge (content) as well as crisis with the institution and obstacles emanating from reforms and governance (system).

4.1.2.2.1- Difficulties related to the acquisition of political knowledge and crisis with the institution

The educational system in Cameroon like any other is guided by content. Policies orient content. Another aspect worth evoking as far as the curriculum in general and acquisition of political knowledge in particular is concerned is that of pertinence. The pertinence of courses in this perspective as well as topics taught and learnt to an extent constitutes a problem. The adequacy as well as importance to the learners both at present and in the future should be judged. Needs of learning content should not be limited to present since the learners come from the society and they are expected to go back to the society after their study therefore the material they learn should be capable of helping them not only as students but also in the nearest future. Therefore, the quality of political knowledge to be delivered to students should

⁶⁴⁸ The opening speech on the eve of the 54th youth day celebration, *ibid.*

be determined and should be that which will develop learners in all domains political not exempted. The idea of learning political culture should be reinforced.

The curriculum should abreast students with a wide range of political knowledge. It is only through learning and understanding political culture that we can implement what is right. Students need to understand their political culture, values, figures, events and other occurrences around their environment. These, if well assimilated serve as conscientizers of civic consciousness as well as a rode for engagement. Therefore, the University as the highest institute for knowledge acquisition is the right place to concretise this. To step up students' intrinsic motivation, political socialisation needs to be reinforced.

Political socialisation should favour the emergence of critical judgment in students. To achieve this, they should be assisted to study and understand the influences which inter play as far as their political development is concerned. This should fully influence the curriculum of the University in general. For Vermar, the content of political knowledge the university as the highest institute of learning exposes to students, needs to be politically stimulating enough in order for the adult students to put this knowledge to practice⁶⁴⁹. COOMBS, looking for a means to ameliorate the world crisis in education especially in some under developed countries like Cameroon, sees the need for adapting the curriculum and pedagogic methods in a manner to suit a variety of students⁶⁵⁰. The curriculum should compose of a variety of elements which are motivating, interesting and whose context stands the test of time. The centre for attraction or interest for pedagogic content should not be limited to socio-cultural nor professional but equally effectively extended to the political domain.

Anonymous source says that the problem of adapting courses like History and Geography among others to the proper context of the country is another hindrance to acquisition of political knowledge⁶⁵¹. On this ground, events and occurrence should be fully recorded and documented in books without discrimination. Also, emphasis should be laid in exposing civic content in order to develop civic conscience. To achieve this, there should be an understanding on what it entails as well as a consensus between policy makers and execoters. Also, there should be a review of some textbooks, school manuals and other pedagogic materials. There should be adequate follow-up to ensure the execution, difficulties

⁶⁴⁹ Vermar, M., interview conducted in the University of Buea campus on the 11 of April, 2021, in Campus.

⁶⁵⁰ Philip, H. C., *idem*.P.125.

⁶⁵¹ Interview on the role of content on political socialization, conducted on the 27 of Aprail, 2021.

faced by teachers as well as how these can be resolved. Students' reactions as well, should be censused. These checks when done will enable an appreciation of the changes put in place. Political socialisation of students needs to be fully institutionalised so as to enable young stars give valuable contributions to the country. Of course, they form part of the population if not the majority⁶⁵². For this reason, at least they should be involved at all levels of decision making. If not ascribed roles, then at least, they should understand at each level why particular duties or functions cannot be ascribed to them.

Youths particularly students constitute the generation to be⁶⁵³ as such, preparations need to be made for their integration. Therefore, there is every reason why youths should be placed at the center of every activity. Especially students so that can give contributions where knowledge and not just intuition is required. Moreover, at each level, students should be guided or helped to construct values which make them better citizens. Programmes like youths' services if introduced into the school system will help not only to blend theoretical knowledge to practice but will go along way to inculcate in students the duty and obligation to work for the nation. It will also familiarise them to the functioning of institutions as well as the difficulties associated to them at the international, national and local levels. They should progressively and systematically be permitted to better identify positive and constructive aspects of their lives. If fully installed and content practically enabling, the socialisation of students politically will boost interest particularly, broaden their knowledge on the political platform as well as induce them to make valuable contributions⁶⁵⁴. This sub section views difficulties or barriers and interests of actors in the system. These are discussed in two phases namely reforms and poor governance, institutional difficulties and crisis.

4.1.2.2.1.1- Lack of solid base for engagement of youths

Rita and others say, a powerful booster to students' lack of interest is the crisis of confidence with the system⁶⁵⁵. They state that most of the politicians we see in our country today are old. This is because the youths during their schooling are not motivated in learning their political culture. Coupled with other barriers, when they leave school, they are less involved and thus not interested since they can't give what they don't have. This serves as a

⁶⁵² Worldometer, idem.

⁶⁵³ Paul BIYA, idem.

⁶⁵⁴ Interview conducted with some students of the University of Yaoundé I, on campus on the 15 of April 2021.

⁶⁵⁵ Interview with Rita, a student of the university, Buea, 2020.

handicap for them to join and make impact. The fact that students in particular are not grounded in learning their political culture, negatively affects their political socialisation. Liberty of Association granted by law N0. 90/ 19 December 1990⁶⁵⁶, paved way for both freedom and chaos as far as political participation is concerned.

The birth of this law saw the multiplicity of political parties. The quest for power therefore led to confrontation amongst these parties as well as the instrumentalisation of some youths (students). This brought much tension and division not only in the University but in the entire society. Attempts to bring this chaotic situation under control brought about mass destructions and untold misery which today is still fresh in minds of some people. Today, most youths say that they are afraid to get themselves entangled with politics⁶⁵⁷. The non-participation of youths at times is not related to their lack of interest but based in political culture but fear as well as lack of base. Youths in general and students in particular are not grounded in their culture. This makes it difficult for them to understand the rules involved in the political play thus they are limited. They are also restricted by law and at time threats. Law N0. 2014/028/ of 23 December 2014 bears repression of acts of terrorism⁶⁵⁸ and Law N0. 90/055 of 19 December 1990, bearing restrictions on public groupings and manifestations⁶⁵⁹ are clear examples. Furthermore, it is also limpid that the age to context in presidential post is thirty-five (35) years⁶⁶⁰. This is to an extent an absolute elimination of youths in this prestigious post.

Moreover, the press plays a great role in deterring youths. The dissemination of political information to the public as well as political debates over a wide range of media has a negative latent effect on youths. The information disseminated most often discourages engagement. The message disseminated to people by MINPOSTEL, between the month of January and march 2017, through the mobile telephone reminding people to stay clear and the presence of the repression law can be considered as a strategy for intimidation which could as well lead to severe repression⁶⁶¹. The fear of repression and other unforeseen circumstances

⁶⁵⁶ Law N0. 90/053 of 19 January 1990, bearing Liberty of Association.

⁶⁵⁷ Anonymous sources interview University Campus, 2021.

⁶⁵⁸ Law N0. 2014/028 of 23 December 2014 relating repression of acts of terrorism.

⁶⁵⁹ Law N0. 90/055 of 19 December 1990, bearing restrictions on public groupings and manifestations

⁶⁶⁰ Law N0. 2012/ 001 of 19 April relating to electoral code, Chapter II, Eligibility and incompactability, section 117, article 1 stating that candidates for the office of president of the republic must be aged 35 and above.

⁶⁶¹ YANKEP C, C., *Jeunesse et Citoyenneté Active au Cameroun*, Freidrich Ebert Stiftung, Yaoundé, 2017, P. 45-65.

force youths to shy away from performing their civic duty as well as right to participation in civic and political activities. This has also led to the crisis of value.

Youths, to be more precise students, have lost memory as far as the recognition, promulgation and participation in society is concerned. The absence of model and the lost of memory have therefore driven them to better identify with values of the external world, without consistency. This situation has been made possible by the new technological and communication means⁶⁶² (NTIC) and is fast eating deep into the marrow of society. To limit this therefore, something needs to be done to re-orient the minds set of students as well as circumvent crisis of confidence related to institutions.

4.1.2.2.1.2- The crisis of confidence with regards to the system

On the part of political system, youths in general and especially students are not interested in learning their political culture. Some students say that they have lost confidence in their political institutions. For this reason, they are not ready to learn or get involved in any thing that has to do with politics⁶⁶³. Youths in general and students in particular are not systematically initiated into political activities. Even if a few do, it is not a current practice and it is not sufficient⁶⁶⁴. It should be under pinned that although some proves of youth involvement with the presence of youth councils like the Cameroon National Youth Congress⁶⁶⁵, these are places where they mostly share ideas about other things. They are monitored and limited. The new regime if confronted with the phenomenon of erosion of political confidence as far as constitutive democracy is concerned deters them latently. The traditional dichotomy between the government and the governed has been transformed into friction.

The former is accused by the latter for incompetency, non representativity and of immorality. Implanted in thought, this channel of presumptions gradually culminated to progressive lack of interest in the young generation and abstention from participation in civic life. We also observe a lost of confidence in political system by the population. As far as their

⁶⁶² FUH-SUH, idem.

⁶⁶³ Interview with anonymous sources.

⁶⁶⁴ POULET, Jean Christophe *Question Contemporaines : Se Mobiliser la Jeunesse*, Paris, l'Harmattan, 2017, P. 62-63.

⁶⁶⁵ The Cameroon National Youth Congress held to discuss the challenges and opportunities for young people and engage with Regional leaders and Ministers to put forth their recommendations and ways they can contribute to taking Cameroon towards an emerging nation by 3035, held in Yaoundé from the 27th-29th January 2015

political ideologies and propaganda are concerned “l’ecole aux ecoliers, la politique au politiciens”⁶⁶⁶. By this statement, the head of State meant that learners should not get involved in political activities but their role should remain within the context of study. If truly the school is a direct representation of what the society wants its citizens to become, then the question why should learners be limited to particular domains of which in the nearest future they will be expected to exhibit these talents. “The Cameroon of tomorrow is with you”⁶⁶⁷. If truly this is to happen then now is the right time to prepare for it. It is interesting to ponder on the fact that something cannot be with you and at the same time far from you. It is also important to understand if it is at this « right moment » of execution that the learners will begin learning to practise their civic responsibility as well as learning political knowledge and practice.

The results of a study on expression and citizenship engagement of youths showed that 70% of youths have never participated in elections be it municipal, legislative or presidential⁶⁶⁸. The democratic system has equally imposed a new form of social drive, a new form of governing with new principles. From the 1990, all institutions charged with learning witnessed a profound disorganisation with total confusion between the term liberty and its ramification exercise. The poor interpretation of the notion of democracy drives students into deviant behaviour in the face of the Cameroonian society. The process of democracy has negative consequences such as the progressive abandonment of citizenship behaviour which is the respect of others and of state institutions and properties as against the destruction of public properties during strikes and other public manifestations.

Interested in the political situation of youths in general and students in particular in a political context where democracy is still in construction, interest needs to be boosted beginning with students. STIFTUNG postulates that there is no real democracy unless all the classes of people in the society participate actively in the political play⁶⁶⁹. To address this situation, the quantity and quality of youth involvement in political learning as illustrated above corroborates this view. From a brief analysis of the Cameroonian society, which is essentially young with children (2-10 years) and median age (17-25) and above, represent

⁶⁶⁶Head of state declaration, idem.

⁶⁶⁷Head of State, idem.

⁶⁶⁸ YANKEP, C. C. *ibid*, P. 45-65.

⁶⁶⁹Fondation Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, *Les Jeunes et L’Engagement Politique*, Yaoundé, édition L’Harmattan, 2014.

64% of the population. The old that is those with 60 years and above represent just 5%⁶⁷⁰. Through these statistics, it is noted that youth although constitute numerical majority are the Centre of political discuss. This manifestation in relation to the range groups, lack of interest in political culture. Instead, they are highly interested on the problem of unemployment with their principal problematic beingthat of socio-professional insertion.

According to this author, it's a question to know the perception of youths who have attained electoral age (20 years) in politics. The answer to this question remains mitigated since for youths working for the country remains a natural assignment. Engaging in politics remains an illusion for youths in general and students in particular since the different political formations do not sufficiently provide real arguments as well as opportunities. The same situation unfolds in the school. The curriculum of the University specifically in some departments like political sociology unit, and those of political science are not sufficiently reflecting political learning thus it does not sufficiently awaken political consciousness. Lack of motivational strategies in learners and the society have been held responsible for poor conscientisation and participation of students and youths in civic responsibilities. Apart from the above, poor governance is also a stigma that constraints the process.

4.1.2.2.2- Constraints related to reform and governance (unemployment).

Learning is not to fill a vessel but to enkindle a fire, we are but intelligent through others⁶⁷¹. In viewing the contribution of democracy to education in Africa, KOM quotes Humel stating “c’est par education qu’on change la société, c’est par l’éducation qu’on a une emprise sur l’avenir. Il faut donc organizer l’éducation en fonction de l’avenir quel’on souhaite {...} ». According to this author, in most African countries the educational system from Nursery to the University is in crisis⁶⁷². The formal system of education which is a true model of colonial as well as post colonial era ought to have been long revised in terms of reforms to suit the African context. But for over forty years now, the educational system still models after the colonial masters and for this reason, it is faced with a lot of problems such as inadapuate and limited educational programmes. Moreover, the democratic wind which has been blowing in Africa in general and Cameroon in particular since 1990 has failed to open a

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid, P.50.

⁶⁷¹ Ricard, Mathieu., idem, P. 37.

⁶⁷² KOM, A., *Education et Démocratie en Afrique : le temps des illusions*, les éditions du CRAC, Yaoundé, 1996, p. 95.

new era but brought blockages in the educational system. The political formation of youths is rendered difficult as democracy is facing difficulty in being enrooted fully into school programmes. This has brought about not only political but also cultural and economic stagnation.

In the context of the present study, the structuring of educational programmes in Cameroon in general and those of higher education in particular, are more general and less reflective of the context to the society. Educational programmes are more general and theoretical that they do not leave the learner with specific knowledge required for a job market. Particularly in the context of exposing students to the political culture or civic learning in the country, both in the Anglophone and Francophone sub systems of education. The history of important political figures as well as events is omitted from the programme. This prevents the students from learning about events in their country as well as models. In addition to this omission, the school is rendered apolitical. Where as in the United States, France and other developed countries, Universities and other affiliated centres are arenas where projection and simulation on applicability of diverse political ideologies⁶⁷³ are taught.

Worried on what school holds, as well as on the attitude of students states “de la maternelle au supérieur s’installe une anarchie qui épouse candalleusement les contours de la disintegration que connait notre société. Chaque enseignant titulaire d’une classe ou d’un groupe d’enfants se transforme peu a peu en un homme/ femme d’affaires, c’est-à-dire enventour »⁶⁷⁴. Worried about this, the researcher proposes what he terms positive education⁶⁷⁵. It is evident and worth remarking that the school (University) which ought to be a high place for learning and critical thinking of not only political but moral values, a high place of implanting and testing aptitude is fast turning to a market for bargaining. A place which at times marks are sold and bought at the detriment of some students who work hard. Instead of students studying to understand merit their ranking, they rather concentrate in looking for marks network. An act which eats deep into the corps of the institution of higher learning. This affects hard working students and the entire society. It should be noted the institution have put predisposition as by laws to curb this. The process of political

⁶⁷³ KOM, A., *ibid.* p. 267.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.* P. 112.

⁶⁷⁵ Positive education consists in putting in place two programs namely; resiliency program with the goal of ameliorating students’ capacity of resolving day to day problems. The second program is that of empathy and guidance towards institutions and others.

socialisation of students in the University faces numerous obstacles. These difficulties are sub classified into two as amplified herein.

4.1.2.2.2.1- Closed and apolitical nature of University (reform)

Also, the process of political socialisation is affected by reforms. Reforms of University in 1993 decreed schools are closed and apolitical environment. As concerns external forces influencing disengagement, depolarisation in the mist of educational institutions consecrated in postulates like « school for learners and politics for politicians », deception solicited by politicians, the image of politics associated to fighting (the fight for power and political supremacy and subordination) and violence. In analysing youth political engagement, there is need to work on the mentality of youths, students specifically conscientising them on a change of view and position in favour of acquisition of civic knowledge. The 1993 reforms on this in the domain of politics serves as a barrier that hinders or blocks some interested students from taking part in political matters like elections under the umbrella of the school. But it has been progressively noticed that school institutions are serve as voting centres. This therefore puts in question the idea of schools as apolitical milieu since a school is not only identified by its population but also its structures.

The fact that students constitute a great fraction of youths has helped to handicap their participation in elections as strongly confirmed;

we are discouraged with the declarations and do not find any reason why we should be seeking to perform our civic duties out of school in a society which seems to exclude us politically of which we constitute a great majority⁶⁷⁶.

Anonymous source also says,

even for those youths (students) who decide to take a distance from school in order to partake, it is noted that in most cases, they have marginal functions to play in their political parties. Specific youth structures (institutions) through which youths can exercise their political engagements like ministerial departments associations like youth parliament (a municipal council for the government of youth). All these structures seem to be figure heads that is those whose activities are reserved in their groups but hardly figure in the agenda of priority preoccupations of the political parties. The young members of these

⁶⁷⁶ Interview with some students on their view in political socialisation.

*structures are kept in a distance in the process of decision making but use them as aerates drives to fulfill their political agenda*⁶⁷⁷.

The marginal functioning of youth structures also brings about another important limit which is that of few youths ascending into political power. Be it in political parties or other wise, the opportunities of youths ascending to power are slim to single session. This limits and discourages them from having decisive power within the party. This situation reinforces intergenerational conflict⁶⁷⁸ which takes place in the mist of some political parties and thus leads to the weak rotation of leadership in the mist of the parties a phenomenon which is quasi endemic in Cameroon and grounded in the idea of governance.

In viewing how, the learning process can be democratised, Merle distinguishes the concept of democratisation of education into two perspectives. The first perspective deals with the diffusion of instruction across the history of schooling. For this author, the phenomenon is dissociable to the great periods which fashion the ideologies of schools. The second perspective of democratisation of education deals with equality in the chances of schooling. On this note, the author views the gap between educational policies to be implemented in schools and the objective reality of these in the system of learning. He connotes that it is difficult to understand that this gap is susceptible of being contrary to social hopes placed in schooling as well as contrary to influencing an analysis of valuable transformation in the learners. Democratisation in the second perspective of the learner attempts to breach the gap of “reproduction” by BOURDIEU and PASSERON and “inequality of chance” by Bourdon.

According to the author, these terms have progressively disappeared in favour of democratisation of education. Although other authors still consider that the logic of reproduction although reduced still dominates⁶⁷⁹. In the context of the present study, the researcher evokes the theory of “best start” to view the idea of inequality of chances from a much broader perspective. Inequality of chances is also as a result of a learner’s cognitive development which is a result of genes or social learning. Individual potentials implanted at birth through the process of genes transformation has a great role to play as far as the process of social learning and classification is concerned. This partly explains the reason why some

⁶⁷⁷Anonymous source, interview.

⁶⁷⁸YENKEP, C.C., *ibid*, P45-65.

⁶⁷⁹ Merle, P., *la démocratisation de l’enseignement « une synthèse pertinente et accessible des derniers acquis de l’histoire et de la sociologie de l’éducation »*, troisième édition, la découverte, Paris, 2017, p. 4.

learners are more talented than others. This also explains why some students are interested in certain activities more than others. The psychological principle of individual differences in terms of peculiarities justifies the reason why even identical twins turn to behave differently.

4.1.2.2.2- Governance

An attitude common with analysts in the political field consists in reading the behaviour of individuals on the basis of economic rationality. Here, political actions are determined by the material conditions of individuals. This approach of political phenomena is always used in analysis in developing countries like Cameroon, to refer to inefficiency as a result of weak economic power. Good governance on its part is a regime with transparent and equitable distribution of these scarce riches and resources as well as the reasonable transfer in the system of education and health. This leads to better living standard of the population. Contrarily, the reverse is true. Cameroon was ranked the 34th most corrupt country in Africa in 2015⁶⁸⁰. Also, it was reported that unemployment was and is a major issue affecting youths in the country. From the above report, much has been done in the field of education as well as in the creation of employment in a bid to encourage literacy and to better the living standard of Cameroonians. In addition, one can say without the fear of contradiction that the multiple attempts made by the government to professionalise schooling and create more employments for youths in recent years is a strategy used by the power that be to obtain support and favour on the part of students in a politics prone to exclusion.

Moreover, the question of human security constitutes a major stake for youths as far as their political socialisation in Cameroon is concerned. At the same time, actors are victims of violence, students particularly females are most exposed to actions of Human Rights Violations. This brings youths to confrontations with the forces of law and order and of the army in times of conflict. The regime in power at times puts up non-democratic measures to deter the people. An act which do not only torture people but help to implant hate and as well keep young Cameroonians at a distance from partaking in political activities as well as losing interest in learning the political culture.

Institutional structures as well as undefined portion of youth's representativeness in political activities constitute another menace in political socialisation. Notwithstanding the

⁶⁸⁰ Transparency International (NGO) ranks Cameroon 34th in the list of most corrupt countries in Africa, out of 167th and 130th at the global level. www.businessincameroon.com >2801-5..

existence of some structures like National Youth Congress (CNYC), President BIYA's Youths (Press B) dedicated to youths, in Cameroon, the participation spirit in the political life of the country in a very timid manner. The politisation and instrumentalisation of young leaders of these institutions seem to be ineffective. Also, the actual supervision given to youths in political matters is inadequate. This situation is further buttressed by the inadaptability of the structure for supervision, insufficiency of structures for extra-scholarly supervision, inefficiency of finance, material and human resources, the weak application of text of laws, insufficient recruitment of personnel, unequal instances of official participation of youths, an insufficient diffusion of information in the mists of youths and the absence of criteria for representativity of youths in diverse instances.

Finally, but not the least, poor governance enhances corruption of all sorts as well as mis management are all sources which make students to lose confidence in the government and develop hate in learning political culture thus creating a negative impact on political socialisation. BOULAGA frowns at this practice by African intellectuals and leaders whose principal objective is to embazzel or divert states funds and projects for their personal aggrandisement at the detriment of the masses, stating « ... s'intégrer dans les réseaux administratifs, entrer dans les circuits ou se stockent et se redistribuent les biens rares, les honneurs et les plaisirs »⁶⁸¹.

He also affirms that ;

«<.... le principe génératif et unificateur de nos jongler intellectuelles, c'est le ventre, c'est la peur de ne plus manger, de manger peu ou mal. Je tiens pour une catastrophe sans nom que pendant deux ou trois générations, tous ceux qui ont fait des études supérieures et secondaires aient été larbineses, rendus serviles, tenus en laisse au moyen d'un salaire. Dans cette mise en tutelle générale, un emploi, un avancement, la nourriture quotidienne, les soins primaires de sante, tout devient une faveur, dont chacun est redevable aux dirigeants, puisque, à tout moment, ils sont capables de les soustraire et de vous précipiter dans le vide, dans le néant »⁶⁸².

The above quotation further explains the lamentation of the practice of our leaders which has fast become a tradition of a selected few against the betterment of the population. This act has a negative impact on the young generation. Even at the level of the classroom, the teaching and learning is greatly restricted within a limited frame. Teachers and learners

⁶⁸¹ EBOUSSI B, F., op. cit, P. 38.

⁶⁸² Ibid, P. 18.

have no liberty to navigate learning outcome as well as feed back. No wonder some say they are not out to lose their job. The drive to this therefore is their lost of confidence and a negative mind set as well as socialising them politically is concerned. This in a long run affects not only youths or students particularly but society in general. The learning of political culture done through socialisation involves learning about the political sphere, an intervening stage of personality development between childhood and induction into adult political life. This is classified into three namely induction into general culture, induction into a more explicit political life and political recruitment to special roles within the political process. What makes political socialisation in the University an obstacle can be tackled or viewed from the perspective of reform, students' mind sets as well as governmental control.

4.1.2.2.2.3- Governmental control

BAJOIT et al say that the school system is mandated and controlled by the state. They examine the effects of school and the educational process on the political attitude and behaviour of students⁶⁸³. To an extent, control meted on education also serves as an obstacle to the process of political socialisation of students. On the note of control, Waller distinguishes personal and institutional power domination and sub ordination in the school constitutes the dimension of discipline. Government policies fashion the structuring and functioning of education in general and Universities in particular. According to Kom, the future of education passes through democracy⁶⁸⁴. In Cameroon schooling in general and Higher Education in particular is considered as a mirror of society (microcosm).

Although considered as such, in practical term, content is only theoretical that is limited, especially in the political sphere. Whereas Lee is of opinion that it is necessary to combine speech to action. A blend between theory and practice⁶⁸⁵ for we better learn by doing. As well as practice makes perfect the domain of political socialisation not exempted. The policies, ideologies and reforms do not only serve as stumbling blocks but also limits content as well as slows the zeal of learning in youths. Many students are of opinion that the political system has not put in place enough mechanisms to encourage their political socialisation in Cameroon. Through government control actions policies and reforms, youths

⁶⁸³ BAJIOT, Arnaud et al, << the role of school in politics >> Vol. 43, N0, 9, March 22, 1993, University of Michigan Law School <http://repository.law.umich.edu/res-gestae/210>

⁶⁸⁴ Kom, A., idem, P. 89.

⁶⁸⁵ LEE, L., *le courage d'éduquer*, les éditions du Relie, France, 2001, P. 21-100.

in general and students in particular have been prevented from taking active part in political activities. Notwithstanding the fact that the school reflects society, there are certain aspects of the political field that the government deems non-worthy of transmission.

The University although a community of sciences is closed and apolitical therefore the application of scientific experience in this domain is restricted. This is to say it remains indifferent to matters concerning political participation. At the same time when governmental quest in involving youths into the political field is high. It is a question to understand why these stumbling blocks if we have to talk of the future laying in the present. When then do we have to prepare for that future if not even at the highest level of schooling? An attempt to understand and seek answers to these questions warrants us to see the implication of the political life today and in future.

SECTION 4.2: IMPACTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION ON STUDENTS

The process of socialization of youths in Cameroon in general and students in particular, is a central problematic to the growth and continuity of system. As two phases of a same coin, opinions vary as per political socialization of student. All in all, these contribute to in impacting the process in diverse ways. This section looks as impact on students and impact on society.

4.2.1- IMPACT OF THE PROCESS ON INSTITUTION AND STUDENTS

Generally, socialisation impacts the life of society either positively or negatively. The process of political socialisation of students is a call for concern since students constitute future generational leaders. According to OLATUNDE, the school plays an essential role in political socialisation of learners⁶⁸⁶. Nevertheless, students do not only learn from academic curricular prepared by teachers and the administration. Students also learn social skills through their interaction with the internal as well as actors in the external environment. The role the University plays with the help of other agents affects students in particular both within and out of the milieu. These consequences do not weigh on students alone but the institution, political system as well as the entire society. They are either positive or negative examined in the light of the actors, institution and entire system.

⁶⁸⁶ OLATUNDE, O., *Sociology: An introductory African text, Nigeria.1985, P. 58.*

The development of more vital civic education systems through useful pre-service teacher preparation, as schools provide concrete laboratories for teaching democracy, help to provide the requisite building blocks to encourage civic effectiveness in society at large⁶⁸⁷. Projects in Civic Education give learners significant and constructive learning opportunities to help them understand their potential as committed and involved citizens and practice the responsibilities. The process of political socialisation of students influences the life of society. This sub section examines positive impacts viewed in two groups, those related to the institution and students and those on the political system and the entire society

4.2.1.1- Positive impacts on institutions

Participating in the life of the community makes students to learn how to become active and responsible citizens. By exploring the problems in their community and institution, students acquire knowledge about functioning democracy. Education is an important source for knowledge acquisition on government and political participation⁶⁸⁸. This knowledge when acquired and utilized creates positive impact. Teachers need to look for a means of developing students' innate empathy. In a way, that they in response will develop sentiment and a sense of responsibility towards others and the society. Since it is the sense of empathy that pushes people to react. As well suggestions on other motivational strategies should be made. Most students say they get involve in these activities because they are attracted by the external motivation that the University offers⁶⁸⁹. The positive impacts of political socialization are felt not only by students but also by the institutions that harbour them both at the internal and the external levels.

MUMA, in a diagnosis of active citizenship in Cameroon says that the school plays a very important role in educating students towards gaining knowledge on democratic principle such as democratic cooperation that is based on the acceptance of universal Human Right, the rule of law and value diversity done at the micro, meso and the macro levels. At the micro (individual) level, political socialisation is recognised through the students' knowledge, relationship, attitude and aptitude towards other citizens, authorities and how he or she

⁶⁸⁸ ALETUM, T. N., *Sociologie politique*, 3^e édition, graphisme Yaoundé, 2008, P. 105.

⁶⁸⁹ Interview with anonymous source, conducted on the rate of civic commitment of students in political activities, in April 13, 2021.

tackles major challenges of the time that affect the general well being of the community⁶⁹⁰. But this author frowns at the fact that voting age does not match with other ages in Cameroon. For her, it is unacceptable that a youth can get married, enroll in the country's military and defend its colours at the age of eighteen (18) but is refused the opportunity to part take in choosing those who govern⁶⁹¹. According to some students also, the lack of interest in political culture is as a result of the disgruntlement they have for the government.

Socialising University students to their political culture has positive impacts to the maintenance of the institutions of the country. SINDJOUN in viewing the impact of school on learners says it has political, cultural and ideological functions. Culturally, the school inculcates political value. Politically, it deals with the acceptance of legitimate political order. Socialising students politically is not only important to the students in question but also to the society where they come from as well as that which they form part. In varying ways and in different degrees, the learning of political culture through political socialisation, leads to political integration of the school community. It provides both the students and teachers with a sense of national identity and a feeling of belonging to a particular political system. It makes them to be committed and loyal to these institutions as a means of respecting their civic obligations.

The school in general and the University in particular shape the intellect of students to understand the implications of values, beliefs and thus evaluate performance. Political culture is taught as a nation's political identity. It encompasses well defined and established political traits that are characteristics of a society. Political culture introduced in the University takes into account values, attitudes and beliefs of the Cameroonian people about their system. It also includes standard assumptions about the way the government works. These cultural practices are handed down through theoretical dispatch of content as well as in routine practices that reflect what goes on within and in the external society of the University. For instance; elections, hosting of the flag, singing of the national anthem and participating in other national festivals as a school. The learning of political culture through socialisation contains standards for evaluating the effectiveness and competence of those performing specialised roles in the political system. Also, the institutional layout and the pattern of authority in the University, reflect what goes on in the entire society. These

⁶⁹⁰ MUMA, B. Y., *A Diagnosis of Active Citizenship in Cameroon*, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Yaoundé, 2017, P. 10.

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.* p. 21.

standards depend upon popular views as to how national and international community problems should be solved as a sign of positive effect.

4.2.1.2- Positive impacts on students

On the note of strategy, students need to be motivated so that they can perform well. The most important of this motivation is internal. According to McClelland, the need for accomplishment⁶⁹² that is the internal zeal pushes the learners to perform well not for the purpose of obtaining praises or prestige but for internal satisfaction⁶⁹³. Easton in his analysis of the political system uses multiple actions and retroactions⁶⁹⁴ to expose the idea of motivation. He exposes the idea of motivation in terms of support to ensure valuable concrete actions. The action ensures the smooth functioning of the political system. Easton's analysis centres on three things namely; input, the political system and output process called feedback. To encourage political socialisation and engagement of students, projects of general interest should be encouraged. Particular days should be kept aside for youths in general and students in particular to commemorate the opening of associations at the international, national levels.

At each level, students should be placed at the centre to understand their values, their rights and their obligations. When created, the University should be well informed on the importance for each of these days as well as events surrounding them without restriction. Develop the culture and practice of democracy in students. For any effective teaching to take place there ought to be clear objectives and proper evaluation procedures to ensure that the content is well understood. Teaching and learning in the University should not only aim at imparting knowledge in a particular discipline but also at ensuring a mastery of the didactic package that goes with it. The didactics of a discipline raises a number of questions which the teacher has to answer⁶⁹⁵. In the context of the present study the question on; what is the content, how should it be presented and with what expected result are of key importance.

Political socialisation of students if adequately carried out leads to the development of civic competence. The continuity or discontinuity of promulgation of political culture warrants that it should be taught to the younger generation. Political socialisation of students has an impact on the students. BUISSET states that life aspirations do depend on neither the

⁶⁹² McClelland, le besoin d'accomplissement, idem, P. 179.

⁶⁹³ LEKE, T., idem.

⁶⁹⁴ EASTON, D., cite par Phillip BRAUD, *Sociologie Politique*, 7^e édition, Paris, Cedex, 2004, P. 175 -179.

⁶⁹⁵ NDONGKO, M.T., and LEKE T.I., *Educational developments in Cameroon*, Nkemnji global tech, USA, 1961-1999, P. I43.

past nor the future but on what is lived at present⁶⁹⁶. The view of this author serves a significant reminder to students on the necessity for them to be grounded into their culture at present. In some societies in general and Cameroon in particular, the primary process of socialisation, tends to provide learners with a strong optimistic view of life and a deep sense of basic trust in human relations. Students' exposition to political knowledge enables them to be adequately informed. This will excite them to develop interest in political activities. Knowledge of political culture also serves as a drive for students to develop interest in follow up of political events in the country directly and through media. They will develop civic conscienceto follow up programmes like debates, read news papers, and listen to news on radio as well television. It equally permits them to get involve in other political discusses that might help to enrich them and to interpret good from bad. Knowledge of political socialisation enables students to be intrinsically motivated and committed in the execution of their obligations.

Political socialisation of students, leads to the development of political efficiency, trust, skills and inculcation of basic disciplines by students towards the institutions. A fundamental aspect of human socialisation involves learning to acquire knowledge, experience, have insight in the society and to behave appropriately in that society. For the individual to be accepted in the society he has to be well groomed and disciplined conforming to norms and values of society. Political socialisation if well manage will inculcate discipline which begins at home. The school in general and University in particular provide students with concrete perceptions of political institutions, rules to obedience, skills and social relationship. It also permits and promotes values and attitudes of the society. It reinforces affection for the political system and provides common symbols for an expressive response to the system such as the flag and the pledges to allegiance. The University is a general society made up of students from varied socio-cultural, economic and political backgrounds. While in the University, they are exposed to more sophisticated behavioural traits manifested by peers and are bound to learn to eliminate some of the non-acceptable patterns of others. The University through its routine programmes, rules and regulations ensure these. The process of political socialisation cannot be totally be separated from the socialisation experiences that occurred during childhood and adolescence. At the level of the University, students are mostly exposed to occupational roles through observing the work of parents, teachers, friends and the media.

⁶⁹⁶ Buisset, A., et al, *Connaissance de Soi ; perspectives non duelles*, ouvrage collectif, France, Paris, 2004, P. 38.

The government of Cameroon through the Ministry of Higher Education has laid down principle guiding political socialisation in the University. Though limited, this is done to meet up with the exigencies of the State.

Through the process of interaction in the University, the structural layout of some faculties like political science, departments like Geography, History, and units like political Sociology, as well as the learning of course knowledge and practice, provide the students with skills. These though limited can serve as base for them to capitalize on when they leave the school. As earlier noted, it is understood that some students get to the university as those already involved and occupying posts in the school government. These classes of students in the university through their influence help to impact others indirectly.

Another impact of political socialisation is that it entails intellectual development and the construction of individual and collective identities. Through some departmental layout, the University guides the historical continuity of important events or happenings in the society as well as important figures. The University as a social institution exercises collective force on students. Students behave as individuals and groups within their classrooms or the entire structure. The identity of students as individuals is constructed in the perspective where each student has a name which identifies him or her differently from other students. Each student has his or her belonging and is bound to take examinations as individuals. Also, at the level of grading performance in terms of ranking within each classroom as well as between levels within the University.

Moreover, each University differs from another in terms of name and population. Collective identity is formed in the University having a name that covers the entire population of that institution. Even at the level of the sub classification, they each have a name that refers to a group of students and not a specific one. It implants rituals, traditions and symbols which are highly visible aspects of the political culture and which are important characteristics. There help in the formation of personality and nation's identity. Students get the sense of identity by learning and practicing order patterns of behaviour as prescribed by the University. These impact not only the students as future generational leaders negatively.

4.2.2 - Negative effects of political socialisation of students in the University

The process of politically socialising students has negative effects. It should be underpinned that as oppose to the former, the latter stages of political socialisation of learners

emphasizes cynicism and suspicion of political actors. This in any way is balanced by the expectations that reforms are worth seeking. It instils a sense of fundamental distrust. The sense of fundamental distrust of students on their actors helps to kill the zeal in learning their political culture they therefore develop lack of interest in political socialisation. The exposition of students to political socialisation may encourage segregation. The political socialisation of students makes them to develop a sense of awareness and belonging such that if care is not taken, they might grow up taking sights and aligning behind particular political actors thus encourage segregation against the main objective of schooling. In addition, too much competition by students and favoritism by some teachers make the learning atmosphere unfavorable, especially for the weaker ones.

Also, those from very poor economic and social backgrounds and the less familiar ones at time may feel threatened by the rich. They need support of teacher to clear off their learning difficulties. When parents are in confrontation with teachers, teachers among themselves, or with students, the learning environment becomes uncondusive and leads to the development of tension and a sense of insecurity thus affecting socialisation. Just as positive, the negative effects of political socialisation are felt either directly or indirectly by the parties involved. Here the effects on the institution and students are viewed in and on the society.

Students form part of internal actors of learning. The process of political socialisation greatly weighs on them. Just as positive, this process has negative effects. This sub section views the negative effects of socialising students politically. These are based on the institution and the students.

4.2.2.1- Negative effects of political socialisation on the institution

According to Boudon, all social phenomina should be analysed as resulting from individual actions⁶⁹⁷. This perspective supposes that individual is the starting point of all sociological analyses. This opposes collectivism which puts in evidence social regularities explained through actions of social force (collective action). Political socialisation of students can be a decisive factor to students' rebellion against the institution. It can create space for students to organise in defense for their interest thus leading to students' rebellion in the society as well as necessitates change. Although there is need for students to be socialised

⁶⁹⁷ Boudon, R., idem.

politically in order for them to understand the realities of life, the adequate exposure of students to political culture of their country may lead to riots. Both violence and insecurity complement each other. Political socialisation of students can lead to the development of a sense of insecurity within and out of the school environment. Faced with the reality of life today, the security in school seems threaten at times by the presence of some students and their gangs. This may be compounded by political socialising effects of students on the institution.

It can also serve as a source for division amongst the students with different views grouping themselves in camps. Political socialisation can lead to riots. When students are fully exposed to political learning they develop mastery of not just political event, activities but also of the system. The sense of fundamental distrust of students on their actors helps to kill the zeal in learning their political culture they therefore develop lack of interest in political socialization. The exposition of students to political socialisation may encourage segregation. The political socialisation of students, make them to develop a sense of belonging such that if care is not taken, they might grow up struggling for power as well as taking side and aligning behind particular political actors thus encourage school drop out against the main objective of schooling. The understanding of political culture through socialisation may further ground the students with a sense of destructive criticism that may lead to riot. When students protest, this may disturb and destabilize social peace and tranquility of not the institution alone, but the entire society.

4.2.2.2- Negative impact on students

Citizenship construction of identity is a collective sentiment of belonging to a political community. The corresponding status based on defined laws shows the political legitimacy in a democratic society and identity based on the sense of belonging to a political collectivity. In a democratic sense, political behaviour is vast. It is not reduced to vote or partisan. Generally, we distinguish two form the conventional and non-conventional⁶⁹⁸. These behavioural patterns need to be learnt. One of the negative consequences resulting from this is the frustration on the acquisition of civic competence by students, a situation that needs

⁶⁹⁸ Etienne, J., Bloess, F., Noreck, J-P., et Roux, J-P., *dictinnaire de scilogie*, (Political behaviour), Paris, Hatier, 2004.

adjustment⁶⁹⁹. According to Mayer, the poor scholarisation of youths, in political learning make them less interested in politics⁷⁰⁰. In as much as it's vital for students to be politically socialized, the socialising effects may be at times detrimental to students' wellbeing. In some societies in general and Cameroon in particular, the primary process of socialisation, tends to provide learners with a strong optimistic view of life and a deep sense of basic trust in human relations⁷⁰¹. The latter stage of socialization, emphasizes cynicism and suspicion of political actors that instills a sense of fundamental distrust (exchange theory⁷⁰²). This in any way is balanced by the expectations that reforms are worth seeking and most often are exposed through students' riot on the school infrastructure. This has great negative effects on the learning process, students themselves and the state budget. The sense of fundamental distrust by students on their actors helps to dampen interest in learning political culture.

Political socialisation if not well implanted makes students to lack understanding of basic principles, democratic notions as well as a patriotic spirit. It should be noted that the curriculum pays little attention on the issue of partisanship. This is a weakness in the sense that it limits the students as political participation is concerned. The emotional concomitant of frustration does not only apply that all frustration be avoided or that it has no useful function in human living. It is true that frustration interferes with the normal flow of emotional energy and places the individuals under stress. But sometimes, this stress may stimulate personality development and encourage the individuals or groups to put forth best efforts. No one learns to accept completely and gracefully, all the frustrations and inconveniences imposed by society. When this occurs, the individuals or groups result to protective devices. These relieve them of the sense of threats and provide means through which they may maintain self esteem⁷⁰³. This is possible through three mechanisms namely; deception, substitution and avoidance. as far as the mechanism for protection is concerned, learners may protect their ego, by excluding tension, producing stimuli from their centre of awareness or by reconstructing their attitudes so that they sense no threat. This may be accomplished through the following devices;

⁶⁹⁹ Anonymous source in an interview on the negative effects of political socialisation on student.

⁷⁰⁰ Mayer, N., 1992, *idem*.

⁷⁰¹ BBERGER, P., et LUCKMANN, T., *Socialisation Primaire et Socialisation Secondaire*, as in Jean Etienne et Henri Mendras, *les grands thèmes de la sociologie par les grands Sociologues*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2008, P140-142.

⁷⁰² Homan, G., exchange theory, in Joseph Okokon, C., *idem* P. 208-211.

⁷⁰³ Intractions, *idem*, P. 246.

- Rationalisation which deals with providing plausible reasons for when the actual reasons are too painful to acknowledge.
- Projection which deals with transferring the responsibility for an act or thought from one's self to an outside agent or to another person.
- Displacement; a special form of projection where a response or reaction is shifted from its original object to another which is less dangerous.
- Repression; an unconscious process wherein shameful thoughts, guilts-laden memories distasteful tasks are removed from awareness or forced below the level of consciousness.
- Suppression; the deliberate conscious control of one's hazardous and undesirable thoughts or impulses, so that they are removed from awareness.

4.2.2.2.1- Adjustive values of mechanism of deception

The mechanisms of deception protect the ego by removing the feelings of threat. They do not remove the threat but enable a person to dodge the reality of a menacing situation. Such self deception may have some adjustive values, since the passage of time often result in reorientation in the attitudes and feelings of learners or the alteration of circumstances such that what was a crisis earlier becomes less threatening at a latter date. This phenomenon occurs quite commonly among learners. At a given stage of life, dissapointments and frustration may be acutely painful and threatening. However, when people reach maturity, they look back upon many of these feelings as inconsequential growing pains.

4.2.2.2.2- Mechanism and adjustive value for substitution

4.2.2.2.2.1- Mechanism for substitution

When learners feel thwarted or uneasy by tentional situations, the most wholesome thing they do is to make an active attack upon the obstacles which interfere with the attainment of their goals. Many obstacles or, threats and other sources of tensional situations are of such a nature that no amount of added efforts can enable them overcome. Under those circumstances, they may use mechanisms of substitution to relieve their anxiety and extricate themselves from disaggreable situations. This mechanism enables students to find relieve from tension by altering their goals may be involving the following devices;

- Compensation a mechanism which enhances self esteem by overcoming the failure or deficiency in one area by achieving recognition in another area. This mechanism is often used to cover up a weakness, counter-balance failure or achieve prestige.
- Substitution which is a device which makes it possible to discharge tension by diverting one's energy from a desired goal to a substitute goal. It differs from compensation since there is a change of goal as well as activity.
- Reaction formation; this is a substitute activity adopted to relieve guilt feelings as a complete reversal of the original behaviour.
- Sublimation this is the redirection of emotional tension into socially acceptable models of behaviour.

4.2.2.2.2- Adjustment value of mechanism for substitution

The mechanisms of substitution are potentially more adjustive than those mechanisms which distort the perception of threat. Learners who use mechanism of substitution make an attack on the problems rather than merely distinguishing them. They sense the threatening situation and try to something about it by changing their goals or activities so that they do not remain trapped by emotional block. Compensation and sublimation are probably the most effective of the adjustment mechanisms, because they may lead to emotional satisfaction. And stable adjustment. If they are misused, or over used, then the person will overcome one conflict only to create another. Like all adjustive mechanisms, substitution device serves primarily to make a person feel more secure and comfortable. The learners remain sensitive to the original threatening circumstances even when they find other channels of satisfaction.

4.2.2.2.3- Mechanism of avoidance

Avoidance mechanism permits learners to remove or withdraw from scenes they term unsatisfactory or conflictual. Here, they do not solve the problem by withdrawing but make life where there are no troubles, where their wishes are fulfilled. The tendency to divert from a distressing or dangerous situation is a common characteristic of living things. According to Amabou, the snail escapes danger by withdrawing into its shell⁷⁰⁴, when it is no longer threatening each organism regains its normal mode of living. In summary, students use this same technic to insoulate themselves from disruptive situations and protect their nervous

⁷⁰⁴ Interview on Campus University of Yaounde I. June 2021.

systems from unbearable irritations. Such behaviour has a self-protective value as long as the person can control his insulation from life and return to his problem⁷⁰⁵.

Also, it can be a decisive factor to students' rebellion. It can create space for students to organise in defense for their interests. It can also serve as a source for division amongst the students with different views grouping themselves in camps. Political socialisation can lead to riots. When students are fully exposed to the political learning they will have mastery of not only political event, activities but also of the system. This may give them a sense of criticism and riot. When students for any reason protest, this may disturb and destabilise social peace and tranquility of not only the institution, but the entire society. As such, they may end up not attaining the principal goal of schooling. Through riots, student may end up landing themselves into trouble and finally into the hands of the forces of law and order. Some may lose their lives, materials and others found guilty and sentenced to prison as the cases may be.

4.2.3- IMPACT OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION ON POLITICAL SYSTEM AND SOCIETY

As earlier mentioned, the education of youths in general and schooling of students in precision, constitute a forcal concern for the continuity of systems in society. No wonder the school is a mirror of society. The process of political socialisation of students in Cameroon, impacts the political system as well as that of society both positively and negatively,

4.2.3.1- Positive impacts on political system and entire society

Society is made up of systems, among which is the political. The political system is the generator as far as the functioning of every society is concerned one. The socialisation of youths in general and students in particular has an impact in the management of activities of the political system as well as the entire society. The sub section below constitutes an examination of the positive impacts on students' political socialization has on the systems and the society.

⁷⁰⁵ Moseley, A., Harris, J., *interactions: A thematic reader*, 3rd edition, New York, Boston, 1997, 216.

4.2.3.1.1- Positive effects on political system

According to BENEM, political content expose to students, under the auspices of the University, in terms of theory, should not only be reinforced but should also cut across co-curriculum activities⁷⁰⁶. Socialising students politically impacts the system positively. The principle of reciprocity⁷⁰⁷ of gesture by Levi –Strauss proves that students when fully informed about and involved in the political system will be capable of influencing possible outcomes. At the level of the University, students are considered as intellectuals who have acquired a certain level of knowledge that can enables them better understand, appreciate and make valuable contributions to the political system particularly and the society in general. In analyzing students' involvement in political activities, EBERT sees the need of conscientising them for a change of view and position as far as political culture is concerned⁷⁰⁸ as their massive involvement will contribute to the construction of democracy. This will lead to mastery of the civic and political duties of citizens. It will also encourage representativeness as prescribed by democracy. Thus, bringing about a renewal in political leadership and the political class of the country. Engagement in this sense, involves the choice of a political formation, in respect of the conviction of taking part not only in conventional but unconventional activities.

The inculcation of political values in students theoretically, may provide adequate knowledge about their political system and thus influence their involvement and actions to institute innovations or changes. Young people in general and students in particular when engaged in social, economic, cultural and political activities can bring about inexplicable outcome in terms of innovations and solutions. On the note of seeking solutions to problems, Alison confirms that involving young people into the affairs of the city is vital. This can bring about new perspectives which will influence outcomes in new and unexpected ways⁷⁰⁹. The principle of individual differences⁷¹⁰ which is reinforced by gene implantation during the

⁷⁰⁶ BENEM, interview, idem.

⁷⁰⁷ Lévi-Strauss, C., principe de réciprocité, as stated in les grands thèmes de la sociologie par les grands sociologies, par Jean Etienne et Henri MENDERAS, P. 103.

⁷⁰⁸ Ebert Stiftung, idem, 130.

⁷⁰⁹ Alison, G., idem, P. 5.

⁷¹⁰ www.slidshare.net> principle of individual differences. This principle states that no two persons are the same even identical twins have what makes them peculiar. For this reason, coupled with others, there is a wide range of variation in terms of stimuli in the environment. In the context of political engagement therefore when students are actually encouraged, their involvement will help to enrich the process with a diversity of thoughts. This may go along way bringing about concrete solutions.

period of conception as well as other environmental factors helps in the development of individual thinking such that students are enriched in diverse ways. As such, they can better brain storm and bring long lasting solutions as well as suggest concrete decisions when involved into the decision-making Centre to move the country forward. For BAKWO;

the internal politics of the University affects students' socialisation as well as the political system. Political socialisation of students into what the government contributes to their education is a clear indication of its commitment. Government's involvement in housing learners with disabilities for free, offering fifty thousand (50,000) francs scholarship to students each year, provision of food in the restaurant at a subsidised rate of a hundred (100) francs per a plate to students as well as the lodging of students in hostels at a low cost of five thousand (5000) francs are all indications of internal policy. These internal mechanisms put in place at the University of Yaoundé I and Buea positively affect not only internal but the external dynamism of the schools nationally and internationally⁷¹¹.

From the above statements of the interviewed, it is eminent that the government's duty to the students as citizens of a particular category serves a double effect. The first depicts its commitment towards the students as a father of the nation as well as equity and democratisation. It also wins the trust of some students through the offers. The second centres in the external picture these gestures portray both within the nation and externally. It shows a sense of commitment as well as an effort of equating and standardising its Universities to international levels.

The situation holds that when students are not groomed into the political culture of their country, there will be less informed and less aware of the events and occurrences around them. In this sense, the political system will have nothing to worry about as far as contestations or protest actions from the younger generation are concerned. Most especially those who are educated since education is power. The limitations imposed on them as students prevent them from developing open thoughts since political socialisation helps to conscientise students. When fully applied, it will create a sense of political awareness thus open them up to critical thoughts in favour of construction as against instrumentalisation. The intellectual analyses skill will be acquired by students at the level of the University as an added advantage against the unscholarised youths may enable them probe and prompt events and situations analyzing them. They may lead to constructive criticism that may also influence innovations or new discoveries which may contrite in impact the system positively.

⁷¹¹Idem, interview in the university of Yaoundé campus, July 7/2020.

4.2.3.1.2- Positive effects on the entire society

The process of political socialisation of students have positive outcome on the entire society. We can hardly talk of a homogenous social grouping, talk less of students. They have peculiarities which although we need not labour on, help to influence in one way or the other, their socio-cultural and political relationship. Looking at the school in the struggle to meet the aspirations of youths in general and students in particular, encourages conflict in the society⁷¹². It is noted that in the course of living together in the University, actors (students, teachers, administration) from time to time are bound to have differences in terms of interest. These differences at times arise due to too much competition. No matter the sources, students need to accommodate, endure and assist each other as a group. Their involvement in civic affairs will enable them to voice their concerns over a variety of issues, which they consider genuine. This may help policy makers to orient decisions in this perspective. Education enables learners to learn in order to be empowered to reflect on societal concerns and bring forth solutions. It supplies them with the intellectual power to debate and bring solutions to substantial issues. Students should thus be given the chance to involve in these. At the same time, they should be cognisant of outside influence in University matters as it may cause unnecessary tension in and out of school. When this is done, it will be of plausible effect to the society as it will fasten the bond between them and the system.

When students socialise politically, they master their political culture and thus respect their civic engagements by showing up massively during events on account of obligation void of external motivation. Governmental decisions such as the recruitment of two thousand (2000) University teachers are those that do not only depict government's commitment in education of its youths but accreditation on its part in the eyes of students and the external society. When students are adequately socialised politically, they will stay away from all activities that help to perturbate social peace. For through the knowledge and love of their fatherland, they will understand how necessary peace and security are and will do all in their capacity to maintain these.

The organisation of University games which is an aspect of co-curricular activities can also be analysed in the perspective of political socialisation. During games, the routine practice of all Universities gathering in a particular place helps to boost the image of that

⁷¹² MBEMBE, A. J., *idem*, P. 26.

town in which that University is found. It as well has a significant impact in terms of infrasturural development. This does not only improve the face of the town hosting the said games but the population. The said town benefits from the infrastructures. It equally improves the life of students hosting population. Beside sporting activities, some students are actively involved in other petit activities which boost the economy during and after games. The hosting population also profits from such games by carrying out some economic activities in a bid to reap gain from the University come together. We do deeply regret that Covid 19 has come to inhibit such organisations how ever we pray that things should be gradually normalise. Also, if a student of a particular University wins a prize, be it in individual or collective games, like the common wealth prizes awarded for the best easy writer, this does not only portray the image of the student, but that of the University as well. It also brings in a sense of solidarity, unity and happiness, all things being equal amongst students of diverse Universities. These arenas serve as one where students gather to exchange views and problems in their peers varrying from academics, social and why not political. This may end up impacting not only the lifes of the students, their institutions but that of the society at large.

Moreover, the learning of political culture if put in place will enable students to have an insight of the importance of some democratic values and a sense of civic commitment there by preventing them from being use for any sort of instrumentalisation. This will permit them have a clear view on how some of these political instability in our society today can be avoided. When students are exposed to political events especially the vice aspects and what their impact on society can be, they will grow up understanding as well as avoiding such ills.

Political socialisation of students leads to the development of leadership power. Leadership power at times is inborn. It can also be acquired through the process of learning as well as practice. The society that succeeds in politically socialising its children succeeds in forming future leaders for its country. In the University, students are taught to take up little responsibilities in leadership. The formation of students' government through organisation of elections in school both at the level of the classrooms, department and the entire University, a class of leaders is set up to help the institution in the maintenance of order. These posts if well handled help to initiate and develop leadership skills and interest in students thus leadership aspirations.

When students are politically socialised, they develop political knowledge and talents. When these are put into practice, it is not only the individual but society as a whole that benefit from it. For instance, a student who while in the University becomes the delegate of the class, because of his or her hard work, is elected the next year as the delegate of the department, then to the faculty and finally that of the entire University. Such a student may consequently develop love for leadership such that even after leaving the University, all things being equal, will be interested in putting these talents into practice thus the school shaping him to become a leader. For example, the case of CABRAL LIBI who is today leader of a political party. On the note of University shaping students, CHAGNOLLAUD says “individuals in the course of living adapt their personalities to the society and groups of reference⁷¹³”. These adaptations although most often are productive are at time negative.

4.2.3.2- Negative effects on the political system and entire society

As earlier noted, the University is not constructed in a vacuum. It is a microcosm of society. That is, it is a sub section of society and its activities must reflect that society. As much as this is the case, according to the principle of reciprocity⁷¹⁴, the repacautions of the University as a school also falls back on the society. This sub section capitalises on the negative repacaution of political socialisation on the political system in particular and the entire society in general.

4.2.3.2.1- Negative effects on the political system

Political socialisation can impact the political system negatively. In as much as it is necessary to socialise students, this socialisation can at times be detrimental if care it not taken. Through this socialisation students may understand their culture so well that they master their duties and obligations. Through this, they may end up revolting each time that their rights are trampled on. Durand and Weil uphold that no politics can continue if the young generation in one way or the other does not learn the rule of the political play⁷¹⁵. The study of the political play in school is referred to as politic socialisation. Schools are apolitical that is there are not of political manifestations that will hinder the objective of

⁷¹³ CHAGNOLLAUD, idem.

⁷¹⁴ Lévi-Strauss, C., *le principe de réciprocité*, cité en Jean Etienne et Henri Mendras, *les grands thèmes de la Sociologie par les grand Sociologues*, Paris, Almand Colin, 2008, P. 103.

⁷¹⁵ Durand, P., and Weil, R., *Sociologie Contemporaine*, France, Paris, 1004, P. 422-423.

schooling. But at the same time, it should be noted that schools do not exist in a vacuum but form part of society.

The school in general and the University in particular is a microcosm of society as such it is its mirror. These societies have their systems and these must be reflected in school programmes in order for them to continue to exist. What the society wants its citizens to become is translated into policies and inserted in school through the curriculum. But worthy of note is the fact that the University curriculum does not sufficiently stimulate political consciousness. To conform the view, MUXEL says that, youths on the contrary are not politicised, they maintain a different link with politics. The young generation today suffers from skeptic and dubious views on the proposals of ancient generation. The ancient generation thinks that the new cannot do better thus being less engaged⁷¹⁶. By so doing they see no reason why even their programmes in school should be enriched with aspects that can provide them with adequate political knowledge as well as skills. There is a form of a “mirror play” and “viewing effect⁷¹⁷” an inter crossing which prevents dialogue between the groups.

There is always suspicion on the part of the ancient generation to the new. “Ils ferons moin que nous” and the new on the ancient “ils sont trop vieux”, on les a déjà vu, il ne nous attendent pas⁷¹⁸. There is a force to combat which is not without consequence on the way we construct the link between politics and the new generation. Anonymous source say that this is one of the reasons why they find no interest in political activities. Youths today base their interest and attention on being autonomous and not to be involved in traditional political organisations. In addition to students’ refusal to submit to a set of political strategies, but to be liberal in order to react to their proper convictions they affirm the refusal of political ethics.

MBEMBE in analysing the position of African youths in general on politics attributes their lack of interest to the political regimes⁷¹⁹. This powerful weakness today manifests in the form of a cultural divorce as well as conflict. In trying to understand the difficulties of the

⁷¹⁶ *ibid*, P. 5.

⁷¹⁷ Woolf, V., *the lady in the looking glass*, Harpers, 1929. This describes the image reflected in a mirror but which is only limited to the physical and not what is latent. Applied to the context of the present study, political content to schools is superficial, limited such that the students after leaving the university in particular will have little or nothing to offer because very little was exposed.

⁷¹⁸ Alison, *ibid*, P. 5-6.

⁷¹⁹ Joseph Achille Mbembe, *idem*, P. 247.

crisis the author evaluates the degree of integration. He as well looks at the marginalisation of youths in relation to political orders. He questions the mode and form of expression, the sense to be given to social and cultural practices and the responds they obtain from the system. This author holds the educational system responsible. For him, school has wiped out the function of traditional socialisation which in it's self also constitutes a crisis known as mental extraversion of the global system. This fact justifies the gap that exists between youths and politics.

The implicit thought students have about politics even though it governs our life is that it should be kept at a distance. At the same time, they should be taught of and motivated in casting vote during elections, which obviously would make them interested in politics. What ever way the message about political socialisation is conveyed, the truth remains that a sense of disgust with regards to political learning is conveyed. As a result, many intelligent students become passive with respect to politics as they progress in their lives. That ultimately affects the politics of our country as it would not draw the best citizens to fill the political field. As a result, many ideas and approaches that would have been appropriate solutions to socio-political problems do not see the lamp light as a result of the gap between the world of academic and that of politics which is the backbone of the Cameroonian society. An example of this type of country is India where there is a great distance between academia and politics.

4.2.3.2.2- Negative effects on the entire society

The political socialisation of students has negative impact on the society. It is well known that structure does not determine action but conditions it. When individuals or groups get in relations, there are oriented by structures in which they are. These legitimate structures propose finalities and redisable distributions with competences and limited resources at their disposal which condition their way of reasoning and of acting. Schools in general and Universities in particular are not constructed in a vacuum but in society. Also, the population (students) which occupies these institutions as well as the knowledge they pursuit constitute the base of the social, economic and political capital of the country. According to Bajoit, individuals' reactions are based on certain sociological factors which condition the liberty of actors as subjects⁷²⁰. In the same vain, limited resources at the disposal of students influence

⁷²⁰ Bajoit, Guy., *socio-analyse de raisons d'agir : etude sur la liberte du sujet et de l'acteur*, Canada, presses de l'Universite Laval, 2009, P.5-8.

their lack of consciousness. This is partly attributed to the less reflexive nature of the curriculum to the civic culture. This makes the knowledge to be embedded in students superficially and less profitable in this perspective. Therefore, students see little or no need in learning what will not profit them. In this regard, the society becomes bare of its future educated young generation in civic values because their logic of action is conditioned by social and material constraints.

Talking about the political socialisation of youths in general Revault et Dousselin postulate based on different forms that “the political engagement of youths be it of the political order by voting, militarism or civic like association petition interest needs to be strongly put in place⁷²¹. For them, the abstention of youths from the electoral list is constantly projected. There is a great gap between traditional structures and civic assignment of voting. The authors question this motive to measure the impact as well as understand the consequences. They allude to the French system to show how the situation has been. Here citizens have always been reduced to the act of voting or of manifestation as individuals or autonomous construction thus individualising citizenship in youths. Understanding citizen identity of youths warrants us to understand how in the mists of society, youths adapt and affirm identified roles “vis- a-vis” collective identity. The above position constructs a feeling of belonging, of solidarity and management of youths.

In its inverse form, it can provoke exclusion believing in one self, egoism and no concern for others. The act of shying away postulates individualism. Although not our main focus, it is good to note that individualism plays a role in the way we form our social network. This also influences in one way or the other, the construction of social identity. The practice of politics further diverts students from participating in that even those who register some times see their civic right denied in that most elections take place during holidays, period when students must have left the campus to various destinations. This simply implies that they are merely used to lengthen the electoral list and truncate democracy. In the sense that and according to electoral law you can only vote where you registered. To this effect, what becomes of their names or places found on the electoral list. Can we term it as an act of shying away or that of eliminating them from the electoral process thus slowing their desire to political participation. When students fail to be politically socialised, the impact is negative

⁷²¹ Revault D’Allones, C., et Ambre Dousselin, “L’engagement Politique chez les jeunes et étude Civique” édition Planète, 19 Février, 2016.

on the entire society in that they will have no interest thus no time for political culturand so will less committed citizens. This act does not only loose the bond of citizenship, but leaves the system weak and bare.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, the process of political socialisation of students involves stakes, constrains and impacts. The University in general and political socialisation in particular impacts the lifes of students. Students' behaviour towards political learning differs just as they come from different homes. Their attitudes⁷²² and preferences vary considerably⁷²³. These, are moderated and shaped by the school through the help of its actors in the process called political socialisation. The process of socialisation is nourished mutually. Other agents also form sources where information is gathered that influence students' political learning. The dynamics of these in the miste of the family, peer, mass media and religion. The school particularly University prepares the act of learning which in turn reinforces socialisation of individuals. The socialisation or non socialisation of students to the political learning impacts students as well as society in which they are part. The consequences are enormous. This falls not only on the students, but the University community as well as the society. The impact which can be positive or negative helps to foster or slow down the political learning.

Also, it is worth noting that the process is affected by interest and some constraints. The obstacles whether imposed by students or by others in the society need to be eliminated. Though with negative effects, the process goes a long way to prepare students for future responsibilities and is not void of interest. Worthy of note is the fact that as many as the actors involved in this process, they have interests. The game of insterest helps to fashions contribution as well as Constraints related to this process. The difficulties in the execution viewed in two categories, those imposed by the society and those related to the students' impact viewed in the same light.

⁷²² The role of students' attitude and behaviour, in cooperative classroom settings, scholarly articles for studentsattitudes and behaviour solution, scholar.google.com > citations. Retrived on 22 February 2022.

⁷²³ Students' learning attitude, engagement and strategies, content://com.opera.



GENERAL CONCLUSION

Cameroon colonial heritage has greatly influenced the system of education in Cameroon. This shift is today noticed on the nature of studies which is purely formal to the detriment of the informal educational system. In the light of the formal system, it is structuralised from Nursery through primary, secondary and University, not excluding professional institutions of Higher learning, piloted by private persons. Their premodial ambition is to impart knowledge to young Cameroonians in diverse fields. The multiplicity of schools in Cameroon is a direct response to the current increase in population. Today, Cameroon counts ten State Universities not ignoring private ones under the direct supervision of the State in a bid to sideline derogations from State stipulations in relation to Higher Education in Cameroon. The functioning of these institutions is in line with governmental policies. Activities in the University are structured within the classroom and outdoor. The formal concerns curriculum based on content while the latter entails co-curriculum. Each of these activities is geared towards the training of students to be responsible citizens.

The multiplicity of institutions of Higher learning⁷²⁴ constitutes crusades where intellectual elites are formed. With the increase in ethnic coloration of actors in the field, it is considered as Cameroon in miniature. According to statistical estimate issued by the service of the ministry of Higher Education, the number of students inscribed for the 2020-2021 academic year rose to 420, 000 students⁷²⁵, what makes this milieu an area greatly sought, accentuating in advantage a mixture of diversities in terms of desire, culture, and political culture to be more precise.

The relationship between politics and education is one which sociologists and politicians did not establish until the 60s⁷²⁶. Youths in general and students in particular are oriented to the farms and schools while the game of politics is for politicians (BIYA)⁷²⁷. If these two concepts are linked, the influence of one on another is neither always clear nor easy to understand⁷²⁸. As an agent of political socialisation, school is estimated of being capable

⁷²⁴ There were 8 State Universities with two other newly created according to the presidential declarations on the 1st of January 2022. These universities are spread over the national territory.

⁷²⁵ Statistic available online, <https://www.cameroon-tribune.cm/35682/r.html/academic> year-2020-22021-420

⁷²⁶ The idea existed in philosophy. We can approximately date the beginning of empirical research on the relationship between the two concepts with the appearance of the article of David Easton (1957). The function of formal education in a political system, in school review vol, 65. The works of J.S. Coleman (1965) on education and political development, Princeton, Princeton university press, and M.W. Kirst (1965), on state, school and politics, Heath, Lexington.

⁷²⁷ His Excellency president Paul BIYA, idem.

⁷²⁸ CHERKAOUI, M., *sociologie de l'éducation*, édition actualisee, Paris, puf, 1999, P. 10.

of inculcating in learners, sentiments, aptitudes with regards to the political system of the country.⁷²⁹.

The political context of Cameroon during and after the 1960s did not favour political awakening of youths in general and scholarised in particular (la politique aux politiciens et l'école aux ecoliers)⁷³⁰. The situation did not remain stagnant by the late 1990s, there was a drastic transformation of the political arena of the country. The changes marked by renewal of political discuss in favour of inclusion. This was eminent in slogans as political renaissance (rebirth), the rule of law (liberalism) and the end of one party system (Cameroon National Union CNU) in favour of multipartism. With first political parties to wit; CPDM, the former CNU and the creation of SDF in the 1990, did not only give rise to Democracy but the anticipation of youths precisely the scholarised. This situation became an eye opener of University students. They later on felt the effect of hardship and manifested their discontentment against the suppression of advantages. Consequently, it has a direct impact on the sphere of education and its content.

Along side the economic crisis structural reforms as well as exponential increase in students' effectif, much is still to be done for its full democratisation. There is a shift in the social dimension of Cameroon state Universities, particularly in their ability to produce students who are concerned about their civic responsibilities⁷³¹. Youths in general and University students in particular manifest lack of consciousness, interest and a sense of commitment in political learning. This has an adverse condition on political culture of the country at present and the situation if not addressed might expoundiate in the nearest future whereas, it is a duty of every youth to understand and uphold his or her civic rights. It is also incumbent on them to respect civic obligations vis-à-vis the State. The benefits citizens derive from citizenship of a specific nation, helps to strengthen the cord that bind them to it.

⁷²⁹ UNESCO, enshrined in its recommendations, the promotion at every stage of education, an active an active civic training that will enable everyone to gain knowledge of the work of public institutions at te local, national and international levels. unesco and the introduction of civic programs in school.www.unesco.org> retrived on 10th June 2021.

⁷³⁰ This statement was used for the first time in Cameroon, in the late 1950, by the High Commissioner Xavier TORRE, in a visit in evangelic collage in Libamba. By this slogan, he advised students not to give in to the political chaos of maquissa at the time. In the same light, Paul BIYA at the beginning of 1990, made allusion to this statement in order to limit the implication of students in the social movements consecrated to the political liberalization of the country. (cf. testimony of Paul OMGBA in the document published in view of the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the National School of Administration and Magistracy (ENAM) Cameroon, December 2009).

⁷³¹ Madec, A., et Numa M., *citoyennete et politiques sociales*, France, Dominos, Flammarion, 1995, P. 68.

In a society which is today invaded with the withdrawal of identity, hatred, perpetrated violence by youths against others and secession impulses especially in the two Anglophone and the northern regions of the country. We must nevertheless deplore the disinterest of students and lack of a sense of commitment in learning their political culture.

The polemic which surrounds this situation of political socialisation and which postulates a critical reflection is centred around the contrast between what is and what ought to be and divergence in terms of desire of University students. Although the University is as a closed and apolitical environment, the exposition of political knowledge is eminent. Slidely visible in the structural lay out as well as exposition of political content in the amphitheatre. The attitude and behaviour of students is problematic. Most students remain negative as far as acquisition of political learning is concerned. Today, youths constitute the future generation⁷³², a great portion of the population⁷³³ and the majority is scholarised, the complexity⁷³⁴ of our society calls for increase in civic commitment⁷³⁵ of citizens more specifically youths, in civic activities of the country.

Moreover, at the time when the government affirms its vision of an emerging Cameroon by 2035. Our institutions and students continue to manifest lack of concern and hate for political learning. This is compounded by antagonized violence, chaos as a result of perturbation of national peace. Capitalised by the instrumentalisation of some youths, specifically the scholarised, it is a call for concern to examine why the disinterest in students. It is also a matter for our schools particularly the Universities to re-examine and re-orient programmes fashioned to educate sound minded students on political learning. It is therefore incumbent to ponder on these reflections. It is upheld that the lack of consciousness and interest influences political socialisation negatively. To this effect, we panic of the future of this country. Faced with this delima, the research is particularly interested in conducting an in-depth investigation in line with the present situation in a bid to view the place of political learning in these institutions. To this effect, we have set out to make inquiries on the situation of political socialisation in States Universities.

⁷³² MBEMBE Achille, J., *idem*.

⁷³³ The population of Cameroon is 27, 272, 480 inhabitants with youths constituting 8,646, 643.00 from 15-45 years. According to the Worldometer of the UN data July 21st 2021,

⁷³⁴ Theme for the 56th edition for National Youth Day celebration, on the 11th of February 2022 “Youths and volunteering in the face of Cameroon’s challenges”, Crtv.

⁷³⁵ Theme of the 53rd edition of national youth day celebration on the 11th of February 2019, “youths’ great opportunities and participation in building a peaceful, stable and an Emerging Cameroon”, Crtv.

The study conducted with two State Universities specifically Yaoundé I and Buea involved some students, teachers, administrative and support staff. The research titled “political socialisation of students”, aims at understanding the profound affiliation between the political learning and the level of political knowledge offered to students in the University. Moreover, the study centred on a general objective and three specific ones; to understand the place of political socialisation in the University milieu. On a specific note, to identify the nature of political socialisation offered by Universities to students. To identify the perceptions and roles of actors in students’ political socialisation, and finally, to examine the influence of political socialisation of students in the society.

The above stated objectives stem from a general research question and three specific ones. These varied from understanding the place of political socialisation in the University? What is the relationship of political socialisation and University? Further more the perceptions of actors in political socialisation of students in the University is viewed in relation to stakes and influence on the society. To embrace the field for inquiry, the following research hypotheses served as a yard stick better still a measuring rode to understand the place political socialisation occupies in the University. Generally, the concept of political socialisation of students is rooted in the structural lay out as well as curriculum and co-curriculum programmes of Universities. Political socialisation in State Universities is theoretical this leaves the students with limited room for practice. Actors share diverse views and roles as far as students’ political socialisation in Universities is concerned. Finally, this process has both positive and negative outcomes on the entire society.

Material for this qualitative study is collected through a combination of research procedures and instruments. Direct observation defined as “a pre-requisite for the construction of a good interview”⁷³⁶ was employed. The technique of data collection, permitted the direct understanding of students’ opinion and behaviour towards political learning. A semi structured observation possible through the aid of an observation guide. Through this, both classrooms as well as some out-door activities were observed. The curricular activities of some departments in subjects like history, geography, sociology, political science just to name but these were followed up.

⁷³⁶ DURAND Jean. P., et WEIL Robert., *Sociologie contemporaine*, Paris, Vigot, 2006, P. 42.

Further more, interview as a process of scientific investigation based on verbal communication to get information in relation to the established objective⁷³⁷ is sought. A semi directive interview is employed to seek the opinions of various actors beginning with students, teachers as well as other external actors on how the idea of political socialisation is conceived. Also, to understand why students manifest lack of interest or look warm attitude in political learning. Through the use of two interview guides, one directed to students and the other to personnel at different levels. Moreover, some cases were grouped in small focus, in others, one on one discussion. Fifty persons were interviewed in each University making a sum total of one hundred (100) for the two Universities. Other sub classifications like students' workers and non-workers, also in terms of age variation sub grouped into three that is; 18 – 26, 27 – 34 and 35 – 42 and above were considered. The selection of respondents in these two universities was obtained through a non-random selection this because it was hard to select students age 18-42 and above at random.

Documentary analysis was also employed in this study owing to two reasons. Firstly, it permitted familiarization with the bock of materials in this field. It was used as a supplement to combat the lapses and complete data collected from other sources. It helped to simplify the principle of triangulation of data gotten from direct observation and interview. The consultation of documents for the study varried from press, other software. Moreover, students' memoires, press, articles as well as emissions, all formed part of analysis of content.

The review of relevant literature which constitutes a piece of excellence where the researcher of a scientific discipline treats information concerning the variables as well as important theoretical questions is sought from works of a variety of authors. This centred on three dimensions. The first based on a brief history on origin, objective and importance of school (University). This is capitalised on Laws, decrees and works of authors such as Bastit, Fonlon, Lantum, Carlyle, MVOGO, KUM, Merle, NGWA, KRAMME and MUMA. The second type of documents on the subject of political socialisation of youths in general and students in particular. The works of authors alluded to in this perspective are DURKHEIM, LAGROYE et al, and NJOYA. Literature on the role of school in political socialisation examined with the works of authors like MENTHONG, Mariet, MBEMBE, NTUDA, JOHN and OSBORN, MVESSO, PIAJET, TAMBO and BAJOIT. Finally, but not the least works

⁷³⁷ GRAWITZ Madalein., *Méthodes des Recherches en Sciences Sociales*, Paris, Dalloz, 2001, p. 644.

on the influence of school on political participation are also consulted with KHERRAZ, DURAND and WEIL, just to name but these.

MENDRAS affirms “there is no observation of social reality without a minimum of theory. From the onset, we do not look at what happens in the society without having some pre-conceived ideas, therefore sociologists like any other contemporary science constructs its object based on reality in relation to the hypotheses and theories”⁷³⁸. For Roger- Gerard, the concept of a general theory of systems can be classified into three principal groups. The first is simply descriptive of the system limiting it to whether it is an opened or closed system, the second concerns the regulation and the maintenance of the systems and lastly, the third envisage their dynamism⁷³⁹.

The methodological procedure chosen for the realisation of this piece, corresponds to constructivism, strategic analysis of social phenomena or relations in the social field and systemic analysis. This approach enabled the construction of the concept of political socialization of students and helped to analyse it strategically in terms of its place and stakes in the system.

EASTON on his part, proposes the utilisation of this theoretical frame in the study of political socialisation. The principal question posed pivots on how political socialization contributes to the maintenance of the system to which it is exposed. The answer to this worry constitutes an examination of Easton’s systemic theory on input and out put analysis through feedback. This warrants us to see if the school in general and Universities in particular constitute part of the system or if it is the system that makes up part of school. Of course, the University is a part that is a microcosm of the system therefore it is the “mirror” that is a reflection of that system. The reality on the ground shows that the school is and remains a principal channel through which the ideologies of every country are passed from one generation to another (a mirror of society). As such, though apolitical, it has its worth in the transmission of political learning thus should be motivated. Worth noting also is that political socialisation of student is not limited to political participation. Even at that, participation is conventional and non-conventional.

⁷³⁸ MENDRAS, H., *Eléments de Sociologie*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1989, p. 8-9.

⁷³⁹ SCHWARTZENBERG, R.G., *Sociologie Politique : la théorie générale des systèmes*, 5^e édition, Paris, Cedex, P. 82-87.

As a sub system and in principle is considered “closed”, however can be described as “opened” as concerns certain democratic values and civic principles which are termed dysfunctional. The University as an opened system is characterised by exchanges with both the internal and the external world as far as friendly relations are concerned. In addition, as a sub system, it is well structured and organised into parts that may be considered further sub parts in the sub system (faculties, department and units). Though different, these fractions further guarantee internal organisation through integration, interdependence and centralisation. There is constant interaction between these sub systems with their environment in terms of input and output. The political content exposed to students reflects the feedback we get from some of them. As such the values and principles worthy of inculcation are transformed into policies and educational ideologies and passed onto school as content. In his input, support and output analysis, the political content exposed to students in school which is principally supportive of the system (patriotic symbols, attachment to community life, civic initiation as well as cultural taboos which render inadmissible certain exigencies) leave them with no option than the restraint frame of thinking within the context. This system of parenisation develops civic qualities of citizens (students).

Furthermore, Easton makes use of support which is very necessary in the accomplishment of inputs for the realisation of outputs. Most often, the government provides support in terms of finance to accompany the students in their goals. Worth noting is the fact that support as analysed in the systemic analysis can as well be suppressive or better still, oppressive. Whatever the case, the quality and quantity of support provided as inputs, conditions out put though other external factors of the milieu may influence behaviour in favour or against. This leaves them with little or no room than reproducing what they are limited to.

BOURDIEU in his organisational theory puts in use the notion of habitus, field and capital. Habitus connotes the processes as well as the physical dispositions which are inculcated to the learners. These dispositions influence students’ ways of thinking and behaving either positively or negatively. To present this, the author uses sport metaphor “field for a game”. On this note, school in general and the University in particular are considered as a social enterprise and the moral of learners in this organization are determined by the content they are exposed to as well as the way they learn. This is likened to the way

the labourers' morals influence and determine their turn over. Therefore, moral boosting is a key determinant as far as increase in production is concerned (motivation).

In the same vein, the learning process in general and that of the University in particular needs motivation to help encourage a change of mentality and sustain the drive of interest in students, especially in the domain of political knowledge. This is essential for the formation of their civic personality. To conclude, habitus can also be linkened to "taste". Taste economically refers to the value viewed in terms of worth. In this work, taste refers to feeling or interest. The taste (Feel) students have for political aspirations conditions their acquisition of political knowledge in the University. Here, Bourdieu's idea of cultural taste (food, clothing etc), in his work on distinction, where he links French citizens' taste to their social class position, arguing that aesthetic sensibilities are shaped by their culturally ingrained habitus.

In line with Bourdieu, this exposes another phase as far as the study is concerned based on the background of the students. It is noted that students and teachers who make up the divergent University population come from different socio-cultural, economic and political backgrounds. These, undoubtedly have an influence on their likes and dislikes as well as aspirations of students for the future is concerned. It is discovered that most students that have interest in acquisition of political knowledge are those from families with solid political foundations⁷⁴⁰. They undoubtedly want to grow in that same light. Others who do not see any need in learning them are either discouraged by their parents to have nothing to do with that because of the old memories some of them lived as far as University strike in the past is concerned. Some are also motivated or discouraged by their peers this therefore influences their behaviour negatively.

According to Braud, a field is a place where relations of power and domination take place between classes and sub classes. It is also a place for the unequal distribution of power⁷⁴¹. The University is considered as a field. It is likening to stadium which permits players (students) to engage in a game through the guide of a referee (teachers). It is a milieu in which learning in general and that of political values in particular is made possible. Its

⁷⁴⁰ METUKE, G., in an interview on why students manifest lack of interest in political culture notes that most of the student who develop interest in these are those from solid political backgrounds.

⁷⁴¹ Braud, P., *Sociologie Politique : champ social et société connexionniste*, 10^e édition, Paris, Paris Cedex, 2011, P. 120-122.

activities are complemented or supplemented by other sub fields which are worthy of mentioning family, peers as well as media. The influence from parents, peers and media help to orient and condition students' perception about the political world thus contributes in fashioning their taste or interest in this vain.

Analytically, field in the context of this study refers to University in terms of structure and functioning. Other channels through which students are exposed to political culture, via curricular and co- curricula activities. A field is made up of a group of players who through a chain of connections and rules, relate to play a game which enable the students to emerge victorious in political aocialisation by enhancing their political knowledge. In the light of the topic, the University is made up of a population. This population sub classified into sub groups in terms of faculties, departments, units and specialties. The University population in general is classified in a hierarchical order either from bottom to top or from top to bottom beginning with the Vice chancellor and ending with the students. Te consideration or the placement f students being last in terms of heirarchical arrangement can be argued out.for the purpose of this study, students are placed at the apex reason being of their active interaction with all the actors and agents of political socialisation. To this effect, it can be said that “no students, no University” therefore the goal of politically socializing for the prosperity of our society of tomorrow. To ensure the smooth functioning of this institution, the different sub groups as well as their members (parts) need to work together (interaction). The interactive process is possible through the establishment of some rules and regulations. These rules make individual members to work in conformity either voluntarily or for fear of punishment. Through these, the teaching and learning process is possible in its goal of social reproduction.

Also, worth noting is the social tension or conflict that can affect an organisation. The fact that the more the organisation grows the more human problems increases in the same way is the University as an institution. As humans, in the process of cohesion, learners are bound at times to step on each other's toes thus causing social friction, collition thus conflict. Moreover, the struggle for supremacy and subordination at times lead to tension in the University. This conflict positive or negative what is important in the affective climate, the spirit of belonging and participation as well as communication between individual students, groups (faculties, departments, units, and other social and cultural groups), teachers and the administration. Through dialogue, better human relationship is established which permits

resolution of problems resulting in the teaching and the learning process as well as from other activities of the school.

Important to note further, is the aspect of peculiarity of actors (students or actors) even while in a group. Bourdieu's players although in a group, had acquired peculiar playing styles that make them partly different from each other. Either of their fair play method or of their individualistic style with a goal to emerge victorious as earlier stated above. This is as a result of social learning as well as personal abilities partly as a result of genetic inheritance of each player or his or her motivation. Evidently, in the context of this research, some University students are exposed to the political learning as a matter of internal zeal, through the curricular and co-curricular activities. The structure of the University, programmes as well as the curriculum reflect this. The University has particular faculties like that of law and political science, political science found in almost all state Universities as well as specialties in other departments like sociology where political sociology forms part, history and Geography. Here, courses warrant the exposition of students to some political notions, dates, events and figures of the country. Moreover, the University routine activities as well as the administrative layout (students' union, students' government) are some areas which are exploited by students to enrich their habitus. Their reaction to this in terms of perception, like or dislike or interest and lack of interest differs considerably is also a product of genetic inheritance. Thus, students have varied reactions to the way they perceive political socialisation. While some see it as not having any importance thus lack of interest, others look at it as a necessary prerequisite for their political insertion when they leave school thus a source of investment of cultural capital which has a strong link with social capital. Also, in the course of the development of this work, we made well recourse to economic capital, which sustains cultural capital.

Capital in its simplest term refers to what generates and sustains an action or an activity. It is classified into the economic capital, social, Human (intellectual) and or cultural (cultural heritage). In his concept of cultural capital, Bourdieu⁷⁴² refers to the collection of symbolic elements such as skills, taste, materials and credentials that one acquires through being part of a particular social class. Although the author makes mention of three capitals namely; Economic, cultural and social, this work lays emphasis on cultural capital. Cultural

⁷⁴² BOURDIEU, idem.

capital is sub split into school capital (attested today by diplomas which are unequal in terms of worth), cultural capital that is the deeply ingrained habits, skills and dispositions possessed due to our life experiences especially those at school. These permit identification of taste, judgment and knowledge on what is to be and is learned. Lastly, we have social capital; it deals with social network of relationship. Sharing similar forms of cultural capital with others creates a sense of collective identity and group position.

In the light of this research, cultural capital in students originates and develops from three sources. These are inborn qualities inherited through the biological process of genes transformation during the period of conception, through the process of social learning in school as well as through the process of practice (experiences), of course a popular adage goes “practice makes perfect”. From the general perspective of capital, the learning process in the University is possible thanks to the economic capital. In terms of money, capital is needed to pay fees, buy books pay rents, feed, clothing, and afford other bills just to name but these. Where these demands are not met, the learning process is hindered and void and vice versa.

The strategic analysis of Crozier further exposes organisational constraints of actors. His margin of individual liberty and the zone of uncertainty are also sought. According to this actor, a student has a margin of action that is he or she is autonomous, his behaviour not determined in advance. He is intelligent, an opportunist who adapts to circumstances. He or she has his proper way of thinking (proper logic of action) and the zone of uncertainty within the organisation and between the organisation and the environment. The topic at hand encapsulated, political socialisation of student in the University, exempts students drawing allusion to the popular adage which goes unto whom much is given, much is expected. The students exhibit a sentiment of dissatisfaction with the level of political knowledge the University exposes to them. Also, the political system has greatly discouraged the learning of political culture in the school as well as practice is concerned (apolitic nature of the school). This has therefore encouraged them to use their rational sense of judging to perceive it differently thus their actions and reactions towards it differ. On this note, they need various motivational tendencies to boost and attract change of mind set. These can be either internal or external of the learners. The view of motivation backed by some authors as seen thus.

According to ONANA, three conditions are necessary for politisation to succeed; the social groups must be interested, the existence of a structure of cultural opportunities, and the intervention of political powers⁷⁴³. This study resumes these under the framework of enabling atmosphere when everything is taken into consideration. The democratization of learning implies the diffusion of instruction on the political culture of the country. The word politics is also used to signify the different means put in place or efforts deployed by individuals, groups or institutions in view of realising stated or given objectives. The term relationship between politics and education was long established by sociologists and politicians. Since 1970, the link between the two concepts has not been clearly established or not easy to understand. The results of the study prove that while the role of school in political socialisation appears strong, there is little evident to show it is due to the civic courses that the general public might commonly associate with learning about the general system. Civic classes and other formal political education efforts in school, have not been found to have a major impact on political attitude or behaviour due to the limited nature of political socialisation.

To this end, results show that students' disinterest in political learning is partly due to institutional or procedural vacuum. This explains the various controversial points of views of actors in this educational channel. Finally, but not the least, it is discovered that political socialization has an impact on both the internal and the external dynamism of the school. On the internal perspective, political knowledge impacts students both positively and negative. When students are sufficiently exposed to political socialisation, they will consequently grow up to be sufficiently not only aware of the facts and events in their immediate and external environment, but as well take up important duties which may go a long way influencing their further engagement while out of school.

On the other hand, it is discovered that the sufficient implantation of students into their political culture, make it difficult for them to be exploited, this may serve as a danger not only to the institution but as well to the entire society as they may stair up riots each time that their rights are tempared with. Further more, that attempts to distance school from the political world, is partly beneficial to the system in that, it grooms young stars who are perpetually handicaps as well as knowledge and interest about political domain is concern,

⁷⁴³ ONANA, J., *idem*, P. 27.

for this reason, they are considered as cardettes who perpetually needs monitoring. These are structured into a work of two parts each part bearing two chapters with corresponding sections giving rise to four chapters and eight sections. Part one titles; School: an agent of political socialization of students and two; roles of other agents, stakes, constrains and impacts of students' political socialiation on the society. Infact the term bearing the concept politics, scared many from providing credence information for reasons best known to them. Therefore, it will be practically unjust to testify that a research work of this magnitude is free from huddles.

Enormous refusals were registered in respect to the topic. Some institutions failed to recognise the authenticity and importance of the research authorisation issued by the institution of origin. Also, many students did not want to respond to us on grounds that the topic is sensitive and the period is critical. Some openly deleared that they can't really make a distinction between politics and political socialisation. Others said they are less interested in any thing that begins with the word politics. On this note of refusal, an authorisation was sought from the Ministry of Higher Education. This therefore helped to retard the smooth process of work for a period of six months walking on the corridors of the Ministry to see it done (see annex 2). The respondents who for any reasons raised discontent or a sense of insecurity with the topic were immediately replaced with those who were willing to cooperate. With the issuant of the authorisation, another problem arouse it was very difficult to have documents related to the study in the English. To this effect, recourse was made to mostly French authors.

From the results obtained, it is recommended that Universities should create arenas for a blend of theoretical knowledge with practise. They should be motivating environments where political culture is not only learnt but practised. Also, the introduction of political learning should not be a thing for particular departments or units, rather, a compulsory course in the whole University tol help step up its importance not only on the part of students but also on the part of the government. Another clear attraction of the analysis of Crozier to this study is his relationship of power in an organisation. In the University, the pattern of relationship of power is from top to bottom. The administration is at the top, followed by the teaching staff, the supporting staff, the students' government and the students.

In terms of practice, being more of a long term and gradual process, it is a call for concern for political learning to be spread in a number of courses and these courses be made compulsory (common) to the University and not particular departments. Talking about the general system, the affirmation can only be made possible if youths in general are fully employed especially the scholarised in particular in political learning. With this, it will be easier for them to continue when they leave school. The influence of politics on education is evident on grounds of control by the State or certain pressure groups in terms of the repartition of financial and human resources as well as the elaboration of school programmes by appointed or elected commissions by the state or professional organisations. Even though with a certain degree of autonomy by the University authority, we observe the tendency that government policies orient the control and search for solutions on educative problems the tendency of this influence not withstanding.

According to Mohamad, the effect of education on politics is not very evident⁷⁴⁴. As an agent of political socialisation, the school in general and the University in particular, is estimated capable of inculcating to its students sentiments and attitudes regarding to the political system. In this sense it's learning should be cognitive, affective and excitative. This is exhibited via theory and practical methods.

Learning is purely cognitive if it has as goal, the simple transmission of knowledge relative to the system. It can equally be affective when it enables the learner to develop positive or negative attitude with regards to authority. The role of school in general and the University in particular, can also be incitative when it inculcates in the learner the sense of commitment and participation. Cameroon is blessed to know two heads of states and many opposition parties envisaging democracy but it is noted that their declarations of intentions are not adequately reflected in the curriculum of the school. Hence, hindering history of the Country both to the present times and the future generation.

Considerable national attention is focused on skilled but unemployed manpower of the University. The theme of the 54th youth day celebration 2020 encourages youths' participation in political life of the country. This pronouncement envisages an enhancement of youths in general, students specifically in the participation of political life. To this effect, they should be given ample opportunities to meet up with this idea. Concern about this state

⁷⁴⁴ CHERAOUI, M., *idem*, P. 9.

of things, generate discussions in both intellectual circles and community gathering about what ought to be done. These are postulated as possible suggestions and summarized as follows. For academic and educationalists, the University curriculum is seen as a focal point that needs scrutiny for failing to reflect significantly on economic and political realities of the Cameroonian society. Giving the changing nature and needs for the country, it is imperative that the University construct its teaching programmes in keeping with the aspirations of parents and the community. School has to be in harmony with other components of the society. It should also be a privilege Centre for scientific and ideological training of the future generation. For this reason, school needs autonomy in decisions making and the power to resist manipulation. Further more, the University curriculum and co-curriculum should sufficiently reflect political culture. In addition, political culture should be spread in a great number of courses in the University. Moreover, political culture should be made compulsory to all faculties and departments. They should be considered as common courses for all students in the University. At the end of the University study from each circle, a compulsory youth service ranging from months as the case may be should be instituted to have students, practicalise the civic knowledge arcquired some of the theoretically in the Amphitheatre.

This is practical in some neighbouring countries like Nigeria. It will help concretize the sense of work for the nation. Last but not the least, political cultural aspects should be given a place in co-curriculum especially during games. Provision should be made for students to compete in this perspective. When this is given a place, it will push students to develop interest and work if not for internal motivation, then in preparation for competition thus an aspect of learning (play way)⁷⁴⁵. To crown it all, the theme of the 54 youth day 2020 reads “Youths, citizenship in the socio-economic and political life of the country”. Also, in appreciation of youths’ contribution in the last presidential elections the president affirmed “the Cameroon of tomorrow is with you”. If truly this is the case, then now is the right time to prepare for it. It is interesting to ponder on the fact that something cannot be with you and at the same time far from you. It is also important to understand that it is at this « right moment » of execution that the learners will begin learning to understand and practice.

The creation, of a department for evaluation, to monitor programmes of the various divisions of University should be made possible. The various disciplines we study and teach

⁷⁴⁵ Levi-Strauss, idem.

in the University are but collations and systematisation of portions of human experience therefore the function of political socialisation in the University is insufficiently reflected in its' curriculum. The University needs a special department to monitor programmes from its' various divisions so that proper and objective evaluation can be carried out. Such departments if created could also follow up the evaluation of the country's quantifying needs. It could also work on the types of skills on demands so that the programmes can reflect projected needs. Programmes changes are left to the aspiration and discretion of the various units of the University, which quite often do not have technical competence and expertise to carry out this task.

Encourage the involvement of youths in decision making. Youths in general and students in particular are suffering from a poor representation on the political sphere. In order to ameliorate this, political parties should be encouraged to present younger candidates in elections. Also, their participation in structures of decision making should be encouraged. The nomination of youths should be favoured to head associative institutions and syndicate. Also, youths should be encouraged to engage in political parties. Enhancing the engagement of youths in political parties consists in intergrating an organ of youths in the structure of the party. This can be assured by putting in place single or many structures which are specific to them. Again, the politics of quota should be practised. This warrants a clear definition of the proportion of representativeness of certain grouped in the society in the mist of organs of a political party. The process of political socialisation of students in the University faces some setbacks. However, we cannot intoto lambaster the governmental reticent towards political socialisation of students in State Universities because it is often said that "once bitten, twice shy"⁷⁴⁶

The theme for the fifty forth (54th) youth day celebration 2020 prescribes youths citizenship in the socio-economic and political life of the country⁷⁴⁷. This insinuates that youths especially students should be groomed or grounded in the political life of the country in a bid to pilot the economic activities of the country. The concept citizenship eluminate the idea of patriotism which in turn is an aspect of loving your country. Therefore, if a country is loved by its citizens, it will be rather normal that its values will be learnt thus effective political socialisation. But it is noted that in its realistic terms, political socialisation of

⁷⁴⁶ A British popular adage in current English.

⁷⁴⁷ The opening speech, *ibid*.

students in particular and youths in general faces great difficulties. As regards the obstacles faced by students in this process, the following suggestions are further made related to the content of the curriculum. While the role of school in general and that of the University specifically in political socialisation appears strongly, there is little evident to show that it is due to the civic courses that the general public might commonly associate with learning about the system. Civic classes and other formal political education efforts in the University have not been found to have a major impact on political attitude or behaviour due to the nature of political socialisation. As far as this sub dealing with curriculum content is concerned, it is further split into three groups of suggestions.

When this is done, it will serve as a reminder to the University population that the affairs of the state occupy a central place in the University in terms of learning. Just as a human baby is stimulated to obtain a particular objective or goal through excitation, this in itself will serve as a steam for students in the acquisition of political culture. Also, students can be excited by stimulating the curriculum in the domain of political knowledge. Writers and publishers of books especially in the domain of History should present detail analysis of events related to political knowledge.

The University as the second and formal agent of socialisation of learners after the home should reflect activities the all-round formation and development of the learners with respect to domains. All school systems attempt to inculcate certain basic values and attitudes including those of political nature. These brings in mind feeling of affection of belonging or support for the country. The support also extends to governmental apparatus, the Head of State the police, the parliament, the national anthem as well as democratic values like peace, equality, freedom, and important historical events of the country. In strict sense, there is need for a political education and socialisation of youths that will help to eliminate the intrigues and violence that trails the political violence atmosphere some of African countries. The lack of or insufficient political socialisation in the Universities is not the sole responsibility of the institution. More blame is laid on the government which makes no effort to improve of the situation.

In Cameroon, the curriculum of the school in general and that of the University in particular needs to be fully democratized. From primary to University level, our educational

system needs reconstruction⁷⁴⁸ to be adaptable to our environment and needs. For Aldo, the corrective measures taken after the period of 20 years of post colonisation in Africa have failed to bring any tangible measures thus needs to be restructured. To support the need for reconstruction or destructuralisation of the educational system, there is need of making the school reflective of society right from the base. Using the British and the American systems of education respectively as examples. In Britain, the entry age into school is six years. Nursery in other places is judged indispensable as far as sensory motor activities are concerned. While in the American system of education, children specialise from the onset. The advantage with specialisation is that it gives them the opportunity to be long initiated and stay in their trend of specialty from the onset and be taught in that light. Not waiting until when they get to the University before specialising to be performant. In the same light, the present research buys this view. The preparation of learners as well as their initiation into the political culture needs to begin from the very onset of schooling. Students do not need to wait until when they finish the University before involving in politics. This means late inculcation of politics which other environments may better prepare them towards this endeavour other than the school. A deep reflection on this will improve the system. Apart from quantity, quality is also a problem.

On the other hand, interest does not only come externally that is either from parents or from the school in terms of content, teachers, friends and or all other things around us. Intrinsic that is internal motivation which comes from within the learner is a powerful drive to learning. Students who have that internal drive which pushes them to work are more conscious than those who are motivated externally. Take for instance a University student who has that internal drive of becoming an important political figure in future will do every thing possible to develop interest in learning (manifest and latent functions) all what will enable him or her achieve that dream than the one who sees no reason but is being forced to do so. In most cases, it is at this point that truancy sets in since the student knows that the parents are doing every thing within their capacity to see him or her succeed in their ambition not his, he will also do every thing within his capacity to trick them so as to gain what has been promised.

⁷⁴⁸ ALDO, N, idem, P.48

Moreover, while some get involve in tricks, others are actually pushed to work because of what has been promised to them and end up liking it. It is also important to evoke the fact that in the teaching and learning process, there are huddles. The school in general and the University in particular is not free from constraints (obstacles) says Durkheim, that hinder the smooth functioning of the process. These obstacles or constraints are at time posed by the learners themselves, the teachers as well as the administration and the environment. What ever be the case, a lot of strategies have been previewed and put in place in the school in a bid to strategise and manage analysis. A clear indication of this is sensed in the head of States speech to the youths “Cameroon of tomorrow is with youth”⁷⁴⁹. In this light, learning is a process and evolves with the evolution of society. Thus, the slim practice of political socialisation in our Universities would one day equate with that of content which undoubtedly dominates, yet leaves students with less political acument during and after school.

⁷⁴⁹ idem.

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- Law no: 90/055 of 19 December 1990, bearing restrictions on public groupings and manifestations.
- Law of Orientation of April 2001, Articles 37 and 46, laying emphasis on the mission of teaching in Higher Education in the reinforcement of ethics and national conscience.
- Law no: 2012/001 of 19 April, Relating to the Electoral Code, part III, chapter 1, Qualification of Electors 20 years.
- Law no: 2016/001 of 19 April, Relating to Electoral code, Article III, Chapter I, 20 years, p. 15.
- Law no: 90/055 of 19 December 1990, bearing groupings and public manifestations.
- Law no: 005 of 16 April, bearing orientation of Higher Education.
- Law no: 2016/007 of 12 July 2016, Relating to the Penal Code 18 years, not a minor but below a minor. Partial Exoneration but has special procedures and mutilating circumstances. 10 years and below benefits total exoneration.
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- Decree no: 62/ DF/ 372 of October 8, 1962 making the Advanced Teacher Training College an integral part of the University.
- Decree no: 75/ 501 of April 16, 1975 signed by the then president of Cameron (AMADOU ALHIDJO) bringing about a turning point in the development of formal

education in Cameroon.

- Decree no: 73/ 326/ of June 23, 1973, changing the Federal University of Cameroon to the University of Yaoundé.
- Decree no: 93/026/of January 19, 1993, creating the Universities of Yaoundé I, Yaoundé II, Douala and Dschang.
- Decree no: 93/ 035/of January 19, 1993 bearing special status of personnel in Higher Education, Articles 51 and 53.
- Decree no: 92/074/of 13 April 1992 creating the Universities of Ngaoundere and Buea to meet the diversity of the bicultural nature French and English respectively in Cameroon.
- Decree no: 77/ 108 of April 1977 gave the University centres their autonomy.
- Decree no. 93/0036 of 29 January 1993, bearing administrative and academic organisation of University of Yaoundé.
- Decree no. 2005/342 of 10 September 2005, modifying and completing certain dispositions of decree no. 93/027 of 19 January 1993 bearing common dispositions in the Universities.
- Decree no. 2005/ 383 of 17 September 2005, fixing financial regulations applicable to Universities.
- Decree no. 2005/ 390 of 25 October 2005, bearing the creation of an attachment post for of teaching learning and research.
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ORAL SOURCES

List and location of interviewed persons

NAME OF INSTITUTION	FACULTY	DEPARTMENT	LEVEL	NUMBER
University of Buea	Law and political science	Political science	100	7
University of Buea	Law and political science	Political science	200	10
UNIVERSITY OF Buea	Social and management sciences	Political science and comparative sciences	300	10
University of Buea	Law and political science	Political science and comparative politics	400	2
University of Buea	Science of education	Curriculum studies	400	3
University of Buea	Social sciences	Sociology and Anthropology	300	10
University of Buea	Social science	Sociology and Anthropology	500	6
University of Buea	PERSONNEL	–	–	2
University of Yaounde	Arts, letters and human sciences	Sociology	III, IV, V.	12
University of Yaounde	//	Philosophy	IV, V.	6
University of Yaounde	//	History	III, IV, V.	8
University of Yaounde	//	Geography	III, IV.	7
politechnique	Engineering	Technical Engineer	III	4
ENS	Education	education	V	5
University of Yaounde	Sciences of education	Measurement and evaluation	V	3
University of Yaounde	PERSONNEL	–	–	5
TOTAL	–	–	–	100

SOURCE: field work research initiative.

ANNEXES

Annex 1: Research authorization from Yaoundé I

REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN
Paix - Travail - Patrie

UNIVERSITE DE YAOUNDE I

FACULTE DES ARTS, LETTRES
ET SCIENCES HUMAINES

DEPARTEMENT DE SOCIOLOGIE
Siège : Bâtiment Annexe FALSII-UYI, à côté AUF



REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON
Peace - Work - Fatherland

THE UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I

FACULTY OF ARTS, LETTRES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

ATTESTATION DE RECHERCHE

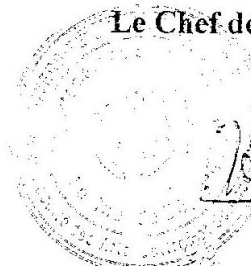
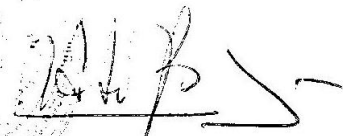
Je soussigné, professeur **NZHIE ENGONO Jean**, Chef de Département de Sociologie de l'Université de Yaoundé I, certifie que madame **MBULLE Annmarie ESONG**, matricule **18W659**, est inscrite en cycle de doctorat/Ph.D en Sociologie, spécialité Sociologie Politique. Elle effectue, sous la direction du Professeur **NODEM Jean Emet** et la co-direction du Docteur **BIOS NELEM Christian**, un travail de recherche sur le thème : *School and political socialisation of students in Cameroon. Case study Yaoundé I and Buea University*.

Je vous serais reconnaissant de lui fournir toute information non confidentielle susceptible de l'aider dans cette recherche.

En foi de quoi, la présente attestation lui est délivrée pour servir et valoir ce que de droit.

Fait à Yaoundé, le 05 09 2019

Le Chef de Département



Jean Nzhié Engono

Annex 2: An authorisation from the Ministry of Higher Education

REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN
Paix – Travail – Patrie

MINISTERE
DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPERIEUR

SECRETARIAT GENERAL

DIVISION DE LA RECHERCHE ET
DE LA COOPERATION UNIVERSITAIRES

CELLULE DE LA RECHERCHE UNIVERSITAIRE

N° _____/MINESUP/SG/DRCU/CRU/gh
20-05875

REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON
Peace – Work – Fatherland

MINISTRY
OF HIGHER EDUCATION

SECRETARIAT GENERAL

UNIVERSITY RESEARCH
AND CO-OPERATION DIVISION

UNIVERSITY RESEARCH UNIT

Yaoundé 19 2 AOUT 2020

THE MINISTER OF STATE
TO
Mbule Ann Marie Esong
University of Yaounde 1
Tel: 679410386/674313273

Subject: An application for Research authorization

Mme Mbule Ann Marie,

I write to acknowledge receipt of your letter with subject matter cited above, requesting for authorization to carry out a research work in my Ministerial Department to enable you have access to information concerning the Universities of Yaounde1, II and Buea.

I wish to inform you that you can get right hand information from these Universities. The Ministry cannot help you enough.

Accept, Mme Mbule Ann Marie, my best regards.

Pour le Ministre d'Etat
et par Délégation,
Le Secrétaire Général



WINDA...
Professeur

Annex 3: Research autorisation from Yaounde I

REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN
Paix – Travail – Patrie

UNIVERSITE DE YAOUNDE I

Tél. /fax : (237) 222.22.13.20

CABINET DU RECTEUR

P.O.Box. 337 Yaounde

Tél/Fax : 222 22 13 20

e-mail : rect_cab@yahoo.com



REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON
Peace – Work – Fatherland

UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I

Tel./fax : (237) 222.22.13.20

RECTOR'S OFFICE

Yaounde, the 19 NOV 2020..

N° 22777 /UYI/VR-RCRME/DAAC/C/DEPD

Mme. Mbulle Annemarie Esong
Faculty of Arts, letters and Social Sciences
Department of Sociology
University of Yaounde I

Subject: R/An application for an autorisation to do research in your area of jurisdiction

Madame,

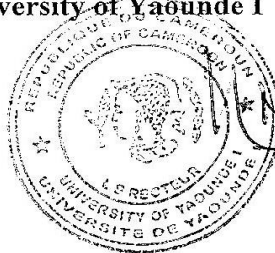
In response to your correspondence with the subject mentioned above, this letter is to confirm your application to carry out research for your Ph.D thesis in the University of Yaounde I for a period of two (02) weeks in the Month of November.

However, you should present a protocol of the information you want to collect to the Director of Academic Affairs and Cooperation and at the end, a copy of the information gathered should be deposited in the Department of Academic Affairs and Cooperation (DAAC)/ Division of Research, Publication and Development University of Yaounde I for exploitation.

I hope the information gathered will be useful for your research.

Best Regards.

The Rector of the University of Yaounde I



[Handwritten signature]
P. Annemarie Esong

Annex 4: Research authorisation from Buea**UNIVERSITY OF BUEA**

P.O. Box 63
 Buea, CAMEROON
 Tel: (237) 233 32 21 34/233 32 26 90/23332 27 06
 Fax: (237) 2332 22 72

**REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON**

PEACE – WORK – FATHERLAND

PRO-CHANCELLOR: **Professor Edward Ako Oben**
 VICE-CHANCELLOR: **Professor Ngomo Horace Manga**
 DVC/Teaching, Professionalisation and Development of
 Information and Communication Technologies: **Professor Nol Alembong**
 DVC/Research, Cooperation and Relations
 with the Business World: **Lucy M. Ayamba Ndip, PhD**
 DVC/Internal Control and Evaluation: **Professor Samuel Ndonwi Ayonghe**
 REGISTRAR: **Molua Ernest Lytia, PhD**

Your Ref: _____

Our Ref: 2021/121/UB/DVC/RCB/DRP/AA


Date: _____

Mbulle Ann Marie Esong
 University of Yaoundé I
 Tel: 679410386

Authorisation to Undertake Research at the University of Buea

With reference to your letter of application for authorisation to collect data at the University of Buea for a research study on “*School and Political Socialisation in Cameroon: Case study Yaoundé I and Buea Universities*”, we are pleased to grant you authorisation.

The authorisation has been issued on condition that the data collected shall be utilised strictly for the purpose of your research. Please, present this authorisation to the Departments of Political Science and Sociology where you intend to collect data.


Lucy M. Ayamba Ndip, PhD
 Deputy Vice-Chancellor/RCB



cc:

- D/FLPS
- D/FSMS

Annex 5: Research authorisation from the department of Law and Political Science

MBULLE ANNMARIE ESONG
 Ph.D Student
 University of Yaounde I
 Faculty of Arts Letters and Social Sciences
 Department of Sociology
 Unit: Political Sociology.

The Dean
 Faculty of Laws and Political Science
 University of Buea

Dear Sir,

A Research Authorization

I am a Ph.D student in the University of Yaoundé I writing a thesis on the topic:
*The Political Socialization of students in Cameroon. Case Study: Yaoundé I and
 Buea Universities.* I would like to have an authorization to enable me work with
 some students and lecturers of the Department of Political Science.

I would be grateful if I am given the permission to carry out this research.

ESONG

MBULLE ANNMARIE ESONG

Annex 6: Attestation for audition

RÉPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN
Paix –Travail –Patrie

UNIVERSITÉ DE YAOUNDÉ I

FACULTÉ DES ARTS, LETTRES
ET SCIENCES HUMAINES

CENTRE DE RECHERCHE ET DE
FORMATION DOCTORALE EN SCIENCES
HUMAINES, SOCIALES ET ÉDUCATIVES

UNITÉ DE RECHERCHE ET DE
FORMATION DOCTORALE EN SCIENCES
HUMAINES ET SOCIALES

DÉPARTEMENT DE SOCIOLOGIE
B.P : 755 Yaoundé



REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON
Peace-Work-Fatherland

THE UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I

FACULTY OF ARTS, LETTERS
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL
AND EDUCATIONAL SCIENCES

DOCTORAL RESEARCH UNIT FOR
SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

**ATTESTATION DE PARTICIPATION À L'AUDITION
DOCTORALE (D1, PROMOTION 2018/2019)**

Je soussigné, Professeur **Jean NZHIE ENGONO**, Chef du Département de Sociologie de l'Université de Yaoundé 1, Président de jury d'audition doctorale, atteste que le 08 juillet 2019, madame **MBULLE Annmarie ESONG**, née le **27 mars 1982** à **Lebang**, a soutenu son projet de recherche en vue de la préparation de sa thèse de Doctorat/Ph.D. en Sociologie, Spécialité Sociologie politique.

Ledit projet a pour titre *School and political participation of students in Cameroon. Case study Yaounde I and Buea universities*. Elle en est sortie avec la **mention Bien (70/100)**, moyennant les **observations du jury** suivantes : « Sujet pertinent et digne d'intérêt. Nécessite un réajustement du titre et du cadrage théorique ».

En foi de quoi la présente attestation lui est délivrée pour servir et valoir ce que de droit.

Fait à Yaoundé, le 08 JUL 2019

Le Chef de Département



Jean Nzhie Engono

Annex 7: Audition report

RÉPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN
Paix – Travail – Patrie

UNIVERSITÉ DE YAOUNDE I

FACULTÉ DES ARTS, LETTRES
ET SCIENCES HUMAINES

CENTRE DE RECHERCHE ET DE
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UNITÉ DE RECHERCHE ET DE
FORMATION DOCTORALE EN SCIENCES
HUMAINES ET SOCIALES

DEPARTEMENT DE SOCIOLOGIE
B.P : 755 Yaoundé



REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON
Peace-Work-Fatherland

THE UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I

FACULTY OF ARTS, LETTERS
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL
AND EDUCATIONAL SCIENCES

DOCTORAL RESEARCH UNIT FOR
SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

BOITE POSTALE 755 YAOUNDE I

RAPPORT DE SOUTENANCE DES PROJETS DE THÈSE DE DOCTORAT/PH.D. 2019

Nom et prénom du (de la) candidat(e) : MBULLE ANNAMARIE ESONG
Name and surname of the candidate

Matricule/Registration Number :

Date et lieu de naissance : 27/03/1982 à LEBANIG
Date and place of Birth

Titre du projet : SCHOOL AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
Title of the project OF STUDENTS IN CAMEROON
CASE STUDY YAOUNDE I AND BUEA UNIV.

Discipline/ Discipline: SOCILOGIE

Spécialité /Specialization: POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Date de soutenance/Date of Defense: 08...juillet 2019.

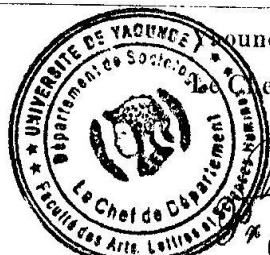
COMPOSITION DU JURY	NOMS ET PRÉNOMS	GRADE/ UNIVERSITÉ	SIGNATURE
Président	<u>NZHIE ENGONO</u>	<u>Professeur</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>
Membres	<u>LEKA ESSOMBA</u>	<u>MC</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>
	<u>BIO S NELEM</u>	<u>CC</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>
	<u>TEBO NGMO TEKO</u>	<u>CC</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>

Appréciations du jury/Observations of the jury: Sujet intéressant et degré
d'intérêt. Nécessite un ajustement du titre et du
cadre théorique.

Note obtenue (sur 100) :

70

Mention obtenue :



Yaoundé, le 12 JUIL 2019
Le Chef de Département

[Signature]
Jean Nzhié Engono

Annex 8: List of selection

5/11/2018

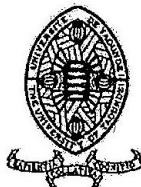
RÉPUBLIQUE DU CAMÉROUN
Paix-Travail-Patrie

UNIVERSITÉ DE YAOUNDÉ I
B.P 337 Tel/Fax : 22 22 13 20
Email : uyi@uycdc.uninet.cm

DIRECTION DES AFFAIRES
ACADÉMIQUES ET DE LA
COOPÉRATION

Division de l'Enseignement et des Personnels
Enseignants

Service des Programmes et des Diplômes



REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON
Peace-Work-Fatherland

THE UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE I

DEPARTMENT OF ACADEMIC AFFAIRS
AND COOPERATION
P.O. Box 337 Tel/Fax: 22 22 13 20
Email: uyi@uycdc.uninet.cm

Sub-Department of Teaching and Teaching Staff
Programs and Certification Service

Décision N° 018-0752 /UYI/VREPDTIC/DAAC/DEPE/SPD/ du
~~06 DEC 2018~~ Portant sélection des candidats au cycle de Doctorat dans le Centre de
Recherche et de Formation Doctorale en Sciences Humaines, Sociales et Éducatives de
l'Université de Yaoundé I au titre de l'année académique 2018-2019.

Les étudiants dont les noms suivent sont autorisés à s'inscrire en Doctorat au titre de l'année
académique 2018-2019.

CENTRE DE RECHERCHE ET DE FORMATION DOCTORALE EN SCIENCES
HUMAINES SOCIALES ET EDUCATIVES (POST GRADUATE SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL
AND EDUCATIONAL SCIENCES)

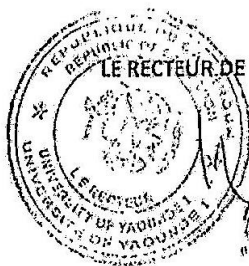
UNITE DE RECHERCHE ET DE FORMATION DOCTORALE EN SCIENCES HUMAINES
ET SOCIALES (DOCTORAL RESEARCH UNIT FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES)

I- SECTION SOCIOLOGIE

N°	Noms, prénoms	Matricule	Directeur(s)	Sujet de mémoire
1.	ABATE Gatien	10K026	LEKA ESSOMBA Arnand, MC	La construction politique de la bureaucratie parallèle au Cameroun : les logiques "d'en bas", mécanismes et enjeux
2.	ADA Vanessa Ninelle	08F545	ZAMBO BELINGA Joseph-Marie, Pr	La problématique de la sous population gabonaise
3.	ANUYA Aurelie Vanessa	11J407	- NZHIE ENGONO Jean, Pr. - DJOUDA FEUDJIO Yves Bertrand, CC	Vulnérabilité social, accompagnement et prise en charge des maladies de la lèpre, de l'ulcère de Buruli et de la filiarose lymphatique dans les zones d'accueil des réfugiés centrafricains à l'Est du Cameroun
4.	ATOK A ATOK Ghislain	08F044	NZHIE ENGONO Jean, Pr	Les processus décisionnels d'aménagement et de vitalisation des marchés dans le littoral camerounais : contribution à la sociologie du développement durable
5.	BIOLO MYOGO Germain	08J535	ELLA ELLA Samuel- Béni, MC	Paysan au cœur des interactions entre projets de développement et insécurité foncière au Cameroun : cas de l'arrondissement de LOBO
6.	ESSALA Badel	09I.117	- ZAMBO BELINGA Joseph-Marie, Pr - NNA NTIMBAN Albert, CC	Jeux d'argent et paupérisation de la jeunesse urbaine au Cameroun
7.	FOCHUE YEMZEU Jean- Claude	12F380	- NZHIE ENGONO Jean, Pr. - DJOUDA FEUDJIO Yves Bertrand, CC	Logiques, stratégies et pratiques d'acteurs face aux enjeux de santé communautaire et d'accessibilité aux soins de santé maternelle et infantile en milieu rural au Cameroun : une approche socio-anthropologique
8.	FOSSO WAFO Francis	12D282	- NZHIE ENGONO Jean, PR - TEDONGMO TEKO Henri, CC	La RSE ministères nationales et multinationale en contexte local en Afrique : une analyse comparative à partir de l'expérience camerounaise

9.	KAMSU YIEMO Huguette Laura		- ELLA ELLA Samuel-Béni, MC - ESSOMBA EBELA Solange, CC	Les paysans face au capitalisme agraire de l'Etat entier et de l'élite locale dans la région de l'Ouest du Cameroun
10.	KELLE KING Gabriel Walter	06K106	LEKA ESSOMBA Armand, MC	Université, gouvernance et professionnalisation au Cameroun : entre mutations sociales et changements organisationnels à partir de l'université de Yaoundé I
11.	LAM Victor Hervé	11K321	- NZHIE ENGONO Jean, Pr - MBA Robert, CC	Recours aux soins et lutte contre la mortalité maternelle et néonatale dans la zone de Nyong et Kelle au Cameroun. Dynamiques institutionnelles, contraintes et logiques des acteurs
12.	MBAHONDOUM Jacob	14Y923	- NZHIE ENGONO Jean, PR - DJOUDA FEUDJIO Yves, CC	Politiques sanitaires et stratégies de dépistage, contrôle et prise en charge de la dracunculose (maladie du ver de guinée) en milieu rural au Tchad; une analyse croisée entre les dynamiques institutionnelles et les logiques communautaires
13.	MBULLE Annemie ESONG	/	- NODEM Jean Emet, MC - BIOS NELEM Christian, CC	School and political participation of youths in Cameroon in the university
14.	MOUNGO Jean Claude	09G618	ELLA ELLA Samuel-Béni, MC	Conservation de la réserve du Dja et respect des droits des peuples autochtones. Cas des pygmées Baka de la boucle nord du Dja à l'Est-Cameroun
15.	MVE Blaise-Arnold	08I281	- MIMCHE Honoré, MC - MBA Robert, CC	Besoins non satisfaits de prise en charge des personnes atteintes de l'ulcère de Buruli et du pian au Cameroun
16.	NDJIBA Marie Emma	11G072	- NZHIE ENGONO Jean, Pr. - DJOUDA FEUDJIO Yves Bertrand, CC	Croyances étiologiques, accessibilité au traitement et itinéraires thérapeutiques des malades de l'ulcère de Buruli, de la lèpre et de la filariose lymphatique (éléphantiasis) au Cameroun : réalités, contraintes et leçons socio-anthropologiques
17.	NEZOUNE DOUZOUNKA OBED	/	- NODEM Jean Emet, MC - TEDONGMO TEKO Henri, CC	Potentiel en ressources génétiques et développement des villages autour du Lac-Tchad
18.	NGO SENDE Sarah Sylvie	10F817	- NZHIE NGONO Jean, PR - DJOUDA FEUDJIO Yves, CC	Accessibilité du traitement de la tuberculose et problématique des malades perdus de vue et des échecs thérapeutiques au Cameroun : une approche socio-anthropologique des cas dans les régions du Centre, Est et Extrême-nord
19.	NGO SOHE Catherine	01A139	- ZAMBO BELINGA Joseph-Marie, Pr - NNA NTIMBAN Albert, CC	L'influence des religions sur les pratiques traditionnelles au Cameroun
20.	NGOYAMSA NSANGOU Abdel Karim	11K001	ELLA ELLA Samuel-béni, MC	La décentralisation de la gestion forestière dans la zone CEMAC à l'épreuve du développement local : expérience du Cameroun et de la république démocratique du Congo. Contribution à la sociologie du développement
21.	NONGA Sylvain Simon	10L316	- LEKA ESSOMBA Armand, MC - TEDONGMO TEKO Henri, CC	Politiques de sécurité sanitaire et uniformisation de la consommation des médicaments à Yaoundé
22.	NTAMACK Hierylene Née le 31/03/1987 à Garoua	/	- MIMCHE Honoré, MC - BIOS NELEM Christian, CC	La gouvernance du secteur de l'éducation de base au Cameroun : enjeux, défis et perspectives
23.	OBIA OBIA Tatiana	/	LEKA ESSOMBA Armand, MC	La promotion socioculturelle des femmes atteintes de nanisme au Cameroun
24.	POUNTOUGNIGNI MFENJOU Arouna	12A256	- NZHIE ENGONO Jean, Pr - TEDONGMO TEKO Henri, CC	La construction politique de l'économie numérique en Afrique : cas du Cameroun
25.	Rahis Israel MANAMON	08G400	LEKA ESSOMBA Armand, MC	Ordre, sécurité publique et construction de l'Etat au Tchad
26.	SANDJOL ANKOH SIMEU Michèle	05H716	NZHIE ENGONO Jean, Pr	Vulnérabilité en terre d'exil : analyse de la résilience chez les réfugiés centrafricains à Gadohadzere (région de l'Est Cameroun)
27.	TCHAMI TCHAMEN Valère	/	- NODEM Jean Emet, MC	La prise en charge hospitalière au Cameroun : les rapports agents de santé et patients internes en situation de réforme hospitalière

			- DJOUDA FEUDJIO Yves Bertrand, CC	
28.	TCHUIDJANG KOUAYEP Huguette Nice	091398	LEKA ESSOMBA Armand	Intégration des enfants en difficultés d'apprentissage dans le système éducatif Camerounais : contribution à une sociologie de l'éducation et de l'intégration sociale à partir de l'Ouest Cameroun
29.	YASSEMBETI Charamy- Louise	108245	- SOCPA Antoine, Pr - MBA Robert, CC	Etude des déterminants socioculturels de la mortalité maternelle et néonatale en centrafricaine : cas de l'hôpital de Bimbo dans la Préfecture de l'Ombelle-M'poko



LE RECTEUR DE L'UNIVERSITE DE YAOUNDE I

M. Maurice Aurélien Essy

Annex 9: Progression list

RÉPUBLIQUE DU CAMÉROUN
Paix – Travail – Patrie
UNIVERSITÉ DE YAOUNDÉ I

CENTRE DE RECHERCHE ET DE FORMATION
DOCTORALE EN SCIENCES HUMAINES,
SOCIALES ET ÉDUCATIVES



REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON
Peace – Work – Fatherland
The University of yaounde I

POST GRADUATE SCHOOL FOR THE
SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL
SCIENCES

B. P. : 755 Yaoundé
Email : crfd.shse@univ-yaounde1.cm
Siège : Face Bibliothèque Centrale de l'UYI

Réf : 21-042.7 /UYI/CRFD_SHSE/TTJP

Yaoundé, le 26 AVR 2021

**ATTESTATION DE PARTICIPATION AUX SÉMINAIRES DE LA PREMIÈRE
PHASE DE FORMATION DOCTORALE**

(Activité de la première phase de formation doctorale)

Le Coordonnateur du Centre de Recherche et de Formation Doctorale en Sciences Humaines, Sociales et Éducatives de l'Université de Yaoundé I atteste que les étudiants dont les noms suivent ont participé aux séminaires doctoraux comptant pour la première phase de formation doctorale (première année de doctorat). Lesdits séminaires ont été organisés au cours de l'année académique 2018-2019.

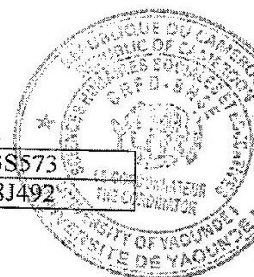
**UNITES DE RECHERCHE ET DE FORMATION DOCTORALES EN SCIENCES
HUMAINES, SOCIALES ET EDUCATIVES**

SECTION : ANTHROPOLOGIE

N°	NOMS ET PRENOMS	MATRICULE
1.	ASSANGA CHELSY NCHONG	14J169
2.	KAMGA LEON	11G009
3.	MBOUKA ABENA P. ELODIE	11L266
4.	TANTO MATILDA MUSAH	10J014

SECTION : HISTOIRE

N°	NOMS ET PRENOMS	MATRICULE
1.	AYUK FERDINAND	06G025
2.	BAHOKEN LEON PAUL	99B187
3.	BAN LYDIA NGU	07J132
4.	BIBANGA CEDRICK DONALD	09L759
5.	BIDIME EPOPA CHARLES	11D439
6.	BILLY ATHUR NGANDJI	07G700
7.	BIMBOBALLU-PRINCE ROGER VICTOR	13S929
8.	CHUBAMOUN HAMZA ALI	07G148
9.	DOMO MEYEWOU SANDRINE	05J260
10.	DONG RIM DANIEL LEDOUX	08H794
11.	ELEMVA ELEMVA ALPHONSE ARSELE	10H420
12.	FAGONGNAM JOSEPHINE SANDRINE	07I409



9.	TSOGO A BEBOURAKA MONIQUE PELAGIE	13S573
10.	ZOM ROGER HIBRAHIME	08J492

SECTION : SOCIOLOGIE

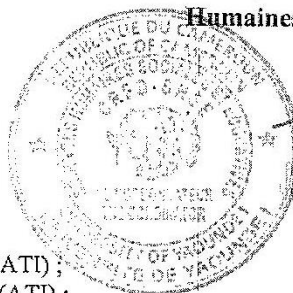
N°	NOMS ET PRENOMS	MATRICULE
1.	ABATE GATIEN	10K026
2.	ADA VANESSA NINELLE	08F545
3.	ANUYA AURELIE VANESSA	11J407
4.	ATOK A ATOK GHISLAIN	08F044
5.	BIOLO MVOGO GERMAIN	08J535
6.	EMOK ENYATH MARCEL	18W660
7.	ESSALA BADEL	09L117
8.	FOCHUE YEMZEU JEAN CLAUDE	12F380
9.	FOSSO WAFO FRANCIS	12D282
10.	KAMSU YIEMO HUGUETTE LAURA	18W550
11.	KELLE KING GABRIEL WALTER	06K106
12.	LAM VICTOR HERVE	11K321
13.	MBAIHONDOUM JACOB	14Y923
14.	MBULLE ANNMARIE ESONG	18W659
15.	MOUNGO JEAN CLAUDE	09G618
16.	MVE BLAISE ARNOLD	08I281
17.	NDJIBA MARIE EMMA	11G072
18.	NEZOUNE DOUZOUKKA OBED	
19.	NGO SENDE SARAH SYLVIE	10F817
20.	NGO SOHE CATHERINE	01A139
21.	NGOUYAMSA NSANGOU ABDEL KARIM	11K001
22.	NONGA SYLVAIN SIMON	10L316
23.	OBIA OBIA TATIANA	18W539
24.	PONTOUGNIGNI MFENJOU AROUNA	12A256
25.	SAGWO GAMBELE BRUNA LINDA	09L706
26.	SANDJOL ANKOH SIMEU MICHELE	05H716
27.	TCHAMI TCHAMEN VALERE FRED	18W543
28.	TCHUIDJANG KOUAYEP HUGUETTE NICE	09J398

Attestation de participation aux séminaires de la première phase de formation doctorale
(première année de doctorat : 2018-2019)

6.	NJIKI IRENE NADINE	14K3423
7.	RENGUE OLIVIER FRANCK	17U7455
8.	ZAM MARTIAL	00I288

En foi de quoi cette Attestation leur est délivrée pour servir et valoir ce que de droit./-

**Le Coordonnateur du Centre de Recherche
et de Formation Doctorale en Sciences
Humaines, Sociales et Éducatives**



Copie :

- Doyen FALSH (ATCR) ;
- Doyen FSE (ATCR) ;
- Coordonnateur URFD/SHS (ATI) ;
- Coordonnateur URFD/SEIE (ATI) ;
- CD ;
- Intéressés ;
- Chrono.-

Attestation de participation aux séminaires de la première phase de formation doctorale
(première année de doctorat : 2018-2019)

Annex 10: Authorisation from the library Buea

UNIVERSITY OF BUEA LIBRARY

UBUEA PEACE-WORK-FATHERLAND

RENEWAL

TEMPORAL PASS External User

This temporal pass is valid till registration with the library is over. This does not allow the student to borrow a document from the library.

Name: MBULLE ANIMARIE ESONG

Matriculation Number: 18W659

Date: 27/04/2021

P/s give access # 27/4/2021

Librarian: [Signature]

Annex 11: Table of some some associations in the University of Yaounde I and Buea.

INSTITUTION \ TYPE OF GROUPING	SOME AUTHORISED GROUPS				
	FACULTY	FACULTY ASSOCIATION	ACADEMIC GROUPINGS	SOME CULTURAL CLUBS	SOME ETHNIC GROUPINGS
YAOUNDE I	Faculty of Letters and Social Sciences	AEFALSH	CETAPHA CPPSA CHGA	Tourism	MASA
	Faculty of Sciences	AEFAS	Club Chimie Club Math	Théâtre	MASU
	Faculty of Medicine and Biomedical Sciences	AEFMSB	Club Anatomie Club Physiologie Club Physique	Fans	BASU
	Ecole Normale Supérieure	AEENS	Club Allemand Club Espagnol	Health	
	Ecole Normale Supérieure Polytechnique de Yaoundé	AEENSPY	Club Genie Civil Club Telecom	Environnemental	
BUEA	University of Buea National Union Students' Association	UBNUSA	/	Environnemental	MASA
	Buea University Medical Students' Association	BMSA		Théâtre	BASU
	Advance School of translators and Interpreters	ASTI		Fans	NOWSA

Source: Field Work

Annex 12: Interview guide for students

A STUDY ON POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF STUDENTS IN CAMEROON: THE CASE OF YAOUNDE I AND BUEA UNIVERSITIES

We are PhD students carrying out a study on the above topic. We wish to get your opinion and stand point in relation to this. There are no correct or wrong answers, so you are free to give your opinions. Your identity shall remain unknown. It will be pretty difficult for us to remember all what shall be discussed here after. With your permission, we wish to record the information as well as take down notes. After the interview, the information shall be transcribed and this material (cassette) destroyed.

IDENTIFICATION OF RESPONDENCE

University.....Faculty.....

Department.....Unit.....

Sex.....Religion.....

Residence.....

CONTEXTUAL FRAME: THE PLACE OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION IN THE UNIVERSITY MILIEU

- In your opinion what is political socialization?
- Do you think university students have to be politically socialized?
- If yes, why do you think so?
- If no why?
- In your view, how should political socialization of students be carried out?

**SECTION I: THE NATURE OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OFFERED BY
UNIVERSITIES TO STUDENTS**

- Were students politically socialized in the university in the past?
- In your opinion what characterised this socialization?
- What do you think led to this and how was this situation resolved?
- How is political socialization carried out in states universities today?
- How does the structural layout of the university reflect this?
- How does the learning content and out door activities reflect political socialization?

SECTION II: STUDENTS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS POLITICAL CULTURE

- What behavioural pattern do students manifest today as far as political culture is concern?
- Why do you think they show up in this manner?
- What do you think is the reason for students' disinterest in this?
- How does this depict their commitment and sense of civic responsibility?
- What do you think needs to be done to enable a change of mind set?
- How will this influence change in the behaviour of students?

**SECTION III: CONCEPTIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF ACTORS IN THE
POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF STUDENTS**

- Who are actors in the university?
- How do they conceive political socialization of students?
- What contributions do they make to political socialization of students?
- Which are the institutions which take part in the process of political socialization of students in the university?
- How do these institutions contribute to this?
- As a student, what contributions do you make in students' political socialization by

the university?

- What contribution do teachers (Professors and doctors) make in the process of political socialization of students in the university?

SECTION IV: THE ROLE OF OTHER AGENTS IN POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

- Which other agents are involved in the political socialization of students?
- What relationship does each of these agents have with the university as an agent of political socialization?
- What role do these agents play in the process of socialization?
- What impact do these have on the political socialization of university students?

SECTION V: THE INFLUENCE OF STUDENTS POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION ON THE SOCIETY

- Does the political socialization of students have an influence on society?
- If yes, what impact does it have?
- How does this happen ?
- If no, why do you think it doesn't?
- In your opinion, what impact does it have on the institution?
- What impact does it have on the external dynamism of school?
- What impact does this have on the political system?
- In your view, what can be done to address this situation?
- Do you have any other thing to add to this topic?

Annex 13: Interview guide for personnel

We are PhD students carrying out a study on the above topic. We wish to understand your opinion and stand point in relation to it. There are no correct or wrong answers, you are free to give your opinions. Your identity shall also remain unknown. It will be pretty difficult for us to remember all what we shall discuss here after. With your permission, we wish to record the information as well as take down notes. After the interview, the information shall be transcribed and this material (cassette) destroyed.

IDENTIFICATION OF RESPONDENCE

University..... Faculty.....
 Department.....Unit.....
 Sex.....Religion.....
 Residence.....

CONTEXTUAL FRAME: THE PLACE OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION IN THE UNIVERSITY MILIEU

- In your opinion, what is political socialization?
- Do you think university students have to be politically socialized?
- If yes, why do you think so?
- According to you what is students' political socialization?
- If no, state your reason?
- In your view how do you think political socialization of students can be done?

SECTION I: NATURE OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OFERED BY THE UNIVERSITY IN TO STUDENTS

- Were students politically socialized in the university in the past?
- In your opinion, what characterised this socialization?
- What do you think led to this and how was the situation resolved?
- How is political socialization carried out in states' universities today?

- How does the structural layout of the university reflect this?
- How does the learning content and out door activities reflect political socialization?

SECTION II: THE STUDENTS STAND POINTS AND THE REASONS FOR THEIR ACTIONS

- What behavioural pattern do you think students manifest today as far as political culture is concern?
- Why do you think they show up in this manner?
- What do you think is the reason for students' disinterest in this?
- How does this depict their commitment and sense of civic responsibility?
- What do you think needs to be done to enable a change of mind set?
- How will this influence change in the behaviour of students?

SECTION III: THE PERCEPTIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF ACTORS ABOUT POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF STUDENTS IN THE UNIVERSITY

- Who are actors in the university?
- In your capacity as a teacher, what perception do you have about the political socialization of students in the university?
- What perception do you have as an administrator on political socialization of students by the university?
- As personnel in the ministry of higher education how do you perceive political socialization of students in the university?
- What perception has the civil society of political socialization of students in the university?
- What perception do politicians have on the political socialization of students in the university?
- What role does each of these actors play in this process?

**SECTION IV: THE INFLUENCE OF STUDENTS POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION
ON THE SOCIETY**

- What impact does this have on the universities?
- Does political socialization of students have an influence on external dynamism of the school?
- If yes, in your opinion what impact does it have?
- How does this happen?
- If no, why do you think it doesn't?
- What impact does it have on the political system?
- In your view, what can be done to address this situation?
- Apart from this, do you have any other thing to add to this topic?

Annex 14: Observation guide (Political Science, Sociology, History)**I- CURRICULUM PROGRAMS**

- Curriculum programs of the university in the above disciplines and subject areas
- How they are structured.
- Whether the content reflect political ideologies and values.
- If so, what exactly is involved?
- If not what exactly needs to be done to attain this goal.

II- UNIVERSITY LAYOUT

- Do you think the layout of the university reflects political socialization?
- How is this, done?
- Does the content in any way expose students to political knowledge?
- How is this done?
- Do you think the knowledge is enough to awaken political interest?

III- CO – CURRICULUM ACTIVITIES

- Which are the co-curriculum activities of the university?
- Does the co - curriculum of the university reflect political socialization?
- If yes, how does this reflect that?
- If no, why do you say so?
- What do you think can be done to reinforce these?

Annex 15: Table 1: Some political courses

COURSE TITLE	SUMMARY OF CONTENT	OBJECTIVE OF STUDY	FIELD OF STUDY
L'Analyse des transferts Internationaux de politiques publiques : un état de l'art	Public policy circulation, transfer and convergence	To explore the impact of external influence through imitation	Political science
The analysis of the Cameroon political system	Analysis of evolution since pre colonial through colonial and post colonial to modern time of globalization.	To acquire knowledge about the Cameroon political system.	Political science.
Sociology of mobilization	To understand the genesis, aims and the management of mobilizations.	Acquire knowledge on movements and their impacts as well as government strategies to manage movements	Sociology and also political science
Geographie politique et géographie stratégique	Interactive geography and politics.	Socio- political and geo-political strategies of conflict management.	Political science and geography
Political communication	Concept, approaches, actors, political communication and social media	Knowledge on political communication	Political science
Sociologie sociologie politique approfondie.	Study of political events	Study of socio-political events eg socio-political crisis of February 2008 and new government in Cameroon.	Political science.

Source: field work

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