IMPLEMENTING EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN CAMEROON
Two Case Studies In Primary Education

by

TOSAM FUL John

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirement for the degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy in the Institute of Education
University of London

December 1988

ABSTRACT

Since the Cameroon nation came into being in 1961, it has been engaged in efforts towards harmonizing two distinctly different educational traditions it inherited from the colonial era, the one, French-oriented, and the other, British-oriented, while at the same time, working towards better quality schools. However, the main thrust towards meeting these objectives thus far, has been in primary education where two main separate and on-going attempts at educational change are being undertaken in both educational traditions in the country.

This research is based on case studies of these two experiences, and attempts to provide a holistic appraisal of the strategies adopted thus far, towards implementing change in Cameroon primary education. The one experience, the Institut de Pédagogie Appliquée à vocation Rurale (IPAR) began in 1969, and is embodied in two projects (IPAR-Yaoundé and IPAR-Buea) which aim at the harmonization and reform of Cameroon primary education, while the other, the Support to Primary Education Project (SPEP), began in 1984, and aims at improvements in the training and support system for primary school teachers in four of the country's ten provinces (one anglophone, and three francophone). The IPAR projects have not yet been implemented in schools, and by design the SPEP does not directly involve schools. The appraisal of these experiences comprises an analysis of their significance in Cameroon primary educational change, and their organization, management and accomplishments thus far.

Three broad perspectives of the concept of institutional development or institutional analysis viz, the intra-, inter-, and extra-institutional analytical perspectives, have been adopted as the analytical framework for appraising the performance of these projects, using an essentially illuminative methodology. In this thesis, the concept of "institution" is used broadly to refer to governmentwide administrative functions including such entities as project management units, while "institutional development" or "institutional analysis" concerns the organisation and management of the various project systems, and the significance of these experiences in Cameroon primary educational change.

The intra-institutional development perspective provides an analysis of the resource allocation (personnel and material) and management of the project unit, the inter-institutional development perspective provides an examination of the influence of other institutions in the administrative bureaucracy on the performance of these projects, while the extra-institutional development perspective provides an analysis of the pertinence of project ideologies in relation to the broader aims of harmonizing and reforming Cameroon primary education. In conclusion, problems of implementing Cameroon educational change epitomized by the two projects are highlighted and discussed, and suggestions made towards thinking about existing and alternative strategies in Cameroon educational change, in general.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter and Section   **Page**

LIST OF MAPS TABLES AND FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To educate, to intervene in the lives of
other human beings is a serious moral
undertaking. If lack of knowledge is
allowed to persist where knowledge could be
obtained, the policy made and the action
undertaken are grossly negligent of concern
for the moral worth of other people ....
Research to improve practice can lead to
finding out facts, to discovering
relations, to solving problems, to dispel
the comforting but misleading conventional
wisdom which often stands in the way of
establishing scientific knowledge.

Gowin and Millman (1974:2)

Some problems are just too complicated for
rational logical solutions. They admit to
insights, not answers.

B.J Weisner
in
Mackay (1977:162)

MAIN ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE THESIS

BEPC	Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle (considered equivalent of the pass at the GCE "O" level certificate)
BREDA	The Regional Office for Educational Development in Africa, UNESCO - (Dakar, Republic of Senegal)
CEPE	Certificat d'Etudes Primaires et éleméntaires
CNE	Centre National d'Education
COP	Chief of Party
DCSE	Department of Construction and School Equipment
DGA	Department of General Administration
DPNE	Department of Primary and Nursery Education
ENI	Ecole Normale d'Instituteur (TTC for Grade I teachers)
ENIA	Ecole Normale d'Instituteur Adjoint (TTC for Grade II teachers)
ENIA-CRR	Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs-adjoints - Centre Provincials de Recyclage
ENS	Ecole Normale Supérieure
FAC	Fonds d'Aide et de Coopération Francaise
FSLC	First School Leaving Certificate
GIP	General Inspectorate of Pedagogy
Gr. I	Grade I - Highest primary school teacher certificate (considered equivalent of the Certificat d'Aptitude Pédagogique d'Instituteur (CAPI))
GTZ	German Agency for Technical Cooperation
GURC	Government of the United Republic of Cameroon, same as Government of the Republic of Cameroon (GRC)
IEDES	Institut d'études pour le développement économique et social
IIEP	International Institute of Educational Planning
INE	Institut National d'Education
IPAR	Institut de Pédagogie Appliquée à vocation Rurale
MESRES	Ministère de la Recherche et de l'Enseignement Supérieure
MINEDUC	Ministry of National Education
MINEP	Ministry of Economic Affairs and Planning
MINEQUIP	Ministry of Equipment
PIC	Project Implementation Committee
PP	Project Paper
ps	primary school
TA	Technical Assistant
TTC	Teacher Training College
ODA	Overseas Development Administration
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PID	Pan African Institute for Development
SEDES	Société d'études pour le développement économique et social
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

US	United States (of America)
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USC	University of Southern California

(Other abbreviations are explained where they occur in the thesis.)

NOTE TO THE READER

(1)   Some of the material used in this study exists only in French. The researcher has undertaken all the translations from French into English himself, and quotations in French are accompanied by his translation into English. They are expressly used especially in cases where the researcher imagines a nuance in meaning in translating from one language to the other is probable.

(2)   In the bibliography, French references are put in bold (enhanced) script.

1 NATURE OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

In October 1961 the present Cameroon bilingual state came into
being. In effect, two parts of the country which had been
separated during the first World War, and subjected to two
distinctly different colonial experiences under the French and
the British, re-united to build a common nation. Thus, the
country inherited two distinct educational traditions from the
colonial era, the one French-oriented, and the other, British-
oriented.

The nation has progressively forged common perspectives in many
sectors in its development thus far. Its efforts towards
building a common and more adapted educational system in the
country are on-going, but progress has been slow. Schools in
the two educational traditions in the country still retain
their distinctive characteristics.

Education in the country is organized under two ministries: the
Ministry of Education (MINEDUC), catering for teacher training
for the primary level, nursery, primary, and secondary
education, while teacher training for secondary schools and
higher education is organized by the Ministry of Higher
Education and Scientific Research (MESRES).

Educational programmes at the nursery, primary and secondary
levels are different in the two educational traditions in the
country. About three quarters of the nursery schools are found
in and around the administrative and economic capitals of the
country, Douala and Yaounde respectively (see 3.5.2). Primary
education in the English-speaking schools which predominate in
the two anglophone provinces of the country lasts seven years,
and six years in the French-speaking schools which predominate
in the country's other eight provinces. Anglophones write

different selection examinations from francophones to enter different types of secondary (general and technical) schools. In either educational tradition, secondary education (general and technical) lasts seven years and consists of two cycles. However, in the British-oriented or anglophone schools, the first cycle for secondary education lasts five years and the second cycle lasts two years, while the first cycle secondary education in the French-oriented or francophone schools lasts four years and three years in the second cycle (see 3.5.4 and 3.5.5).

Generally speaking, Cameroon operates two different sub-systems of education which converge at the post secondary level (professional schools and university education) (see 3.5). The Ministry of National Education operates the two school traditions, each offering different curricula at the nursery, primary and secondary levels, and preparing for different certificates. The duration of schooling varies at the different levels in the two educational traditions. However, in higher (university) education and most professional schools beyond the secondary level, common programmes are offered to everyone, without distinction of particular orientations in the two educational traditions in the country. Thus there is apparently no problem with the duration of the common tertiary-level courses, but this fusion does not dispel the problems inherent in the differences in the two educational traditions in the country. The different educational traditions reflect different value systems and perspectives on educational development.

There have been attempts at integrating the two educational traditions in the country. These attempts include

- the bilingual school experiment,

- the phasing out of the version of teacher training courses

(Grade I, and Grade II courses) adopted for anglophone teacher training centres prior to the creation of a common Ministry of Education in 1972, and replacing them with the version adopted for francophone teacher training colleges (ENIA, and the ENI) (see 3.5.6 and 9.1.2),

- the inclusion of the "Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle" (CAP), a certificate course in technical education in use in francophone schools, to the existing Royal Society of Arts (RSA) and the City and Guilds examinations - London based certificate examinations, and more generally,

- the provision of common courses in professional schools beyond the secondary level and at the University of Yaounde, the sole university in the country.

The bilingual school experiment concerns the operation of two secondary schools in the country, one in anglophone Cameroon in Buea, the "Lycée Bilingue de Buea" (The Bilingual College of Buea - 1st and 2nd cycles), and the other in francophone Cameroon, the "Collège Bilingue de Yaounde" (Bilingual College of Yaounde - 1st cycle only), both operating French-oriented and British-oriented secondary school programmes to two streams of students, the one francophone and the other anglophone. Though there is an effort to teach aspects of both programmes to students in the two streams, the francophone students largely follow French-oriented school programmes and prepare for different certificates from the anglophone students who follow British-oriented school programmes. For example, the francophone students undergo a four-year first cycle secondary education leading to the Brevet certificate, while the anglophone students undergo a five-year first cycle secondary course, leading to the General Certificate of Education (GCE) at the Ordinary ("O") level.

Though the bilingual school experiment has existed for over two decades, relatively few anglophone students write the "Brevet" examination after four years of secondary education, and similarly, it is rare to find cases of francophone students writing the GCE "O" levels after five years of secondary education in these schools. Students of a particular stream tend to prepare only for certificates in that particular educational tradition throughout the secondary school course. The University of Yaounde however, is still largely patterned after the French model of universities in its organization and programmes.

These isolated cases however, can hardly be described in terms of harmonization per se, of the educational traditions in the country, by which concept the researcher means, the process of forging a common system of education in the country, demonstrating a smooth progression from nursery to higher education, offering common programmes of similar duration, and preparing for similar certificates. The attainment of such a harmonized school system would require resolving a number of inherent differences in the two educational traditions, not least, those posed by the different languages of instruction in schools - English for the anglophone schools and French for the francophone schools.

Large scale curriculum reforms have not been undertaken at any level in the educational system. However, the development and monitoring of educational programmes in institutions of learning up to the secondary level are carried out by the General Inspectorate for Pedagogy (GIP) in the Ministry of National Education, which also organizes school inspections, the "journées pédagogiques" (in-service training sessions) for primary school teachers in the field, and recommends textbooks for schools.

The greatest efforts towards harmonization per se of the two educational traditions in the country, and towards the implementation of curriculum reforms in its schools have been at the primary level (see Chapter 4 - the IPAR projects). Though these efforts towards primary educational change have been on-going for nearly a decade and a half, they remain at the level of programme conception and development. Three main projects started at different times and aiming at primary educational change in the two educational traditions in the country represent the said efforts. In fact, two of these projects have a common designation, the "Institut de Pédagogie Appliquée à vocation Rurale" (IPAR) or Institute for the Reform of Primary Education (IPAR-Buea report, 1977), and common objectives, viz, the reform and harmonization of Cameroon primary education. For purposes of analysis, they are considered in this study as one experience - the IPAR experience, while the third project, the Support to Primary Education Project (SPEP), with different objectives in Cameroon primary educational change is considered another experience. This study concerns these two experiences in Cameroon primary educational change.

The IPAR projects are located at Yaounde and Buea and are thus called IPAR-Yaounde and IPAR-Buea projects respectively (see section 4). The IPAR experience began in 1969 with the creation of IPAR-Yaounde. IPAR-Buea was created in 1974. The Support to Primary Education Project (SPEP), began in 1984, and aims at improvements in the training and support system for primary school teachers in four of the country's ten provinces (one anglophone, and three francophone) (see Map 5). The IPAR projects have not yet been implemented in schools, and by design the SPEP does not directly involve schools. Hence the appraisal of these projects will be restricted to the developments made in them thus far, at the level of the project units.

Existing literature on school innovations in developing
countries in the recent past reveals that they often produce
unintended effects, and laid down objectives are often only
partially attained. Various studies have attempted to explain
shortcomings in innovation projects implemented thus far in
developing countries (e.g., Havelock and Huberman, 1977; Hurst,
1983; Hawes and Stephens, in press). Critical reviews on
existing literature on educational and social change, reveal
that few studies come to grips with the concept of power in
either the political and administrative or research and
development phases of national reforms, and present a largely
"technical" assessment of why and how reforms take place. In
fact, Paulston (1976) remarks that "external" factors that
lead to conflict over reform priorities are avoided, with the
result that many reform studies discuss reform policy and goal
statements as fact, and conflicts arising from ideological
differences or the clash of vested interest groups are either
ignored or treated as technical problems.

Furthermore, recent arguments that the central ideas behind
educational innovation are still valid, but that greater
emphasis must be put on the implementation process and
participation of potential adopters, are also critically
reviewed and found to represent no substantive shift from the
"failed" model of innovations (Papagiannis, Klees and Bickel,
1982). However, other writers believe that while the
definition of good education and how to produce it may be a
matter for debate, it is often far easier to recognize bad
education and seek to eliminate it, especially considering that
existing literature relates more to the acceptance or rejection
of projects rather than to programmes and approaches within the
system as a whole (Hawes and Stephens, in press). In search
for alternative approches to understanding educational
innovations, there is a recent trend towards studying problems
encountered with educational policy-making and change, by

adopting the management of institutions as a basis for analysis
(e.g., Kiggundu, 1983; Clune, 1987; Israel, 1987).

Among these new perspectives to examining the performance of
projects is that of institutional analysis (see 2.2.2) adopted
in this thesis as a basis for critically examining the
innovation process.

The need to continuously seek to adapt schools to the changing
needs of society cannot be overemphasized. However, the one
thing that can be said with certainty, is that the path to
social and educational change is not linear. The fact that the
educational systems of France and Britain (England and Wales)
on which the dual Cameroon educational traditions are still
largely patterned, persistently strive to reform at the same
time that African systems are looking for relevance in theirs,
is enough indication that it is idle to think of ready-made
solutions to current imperfections in Cameroon's educational
system.

Indeed, thinking about educational change in Cameroon, like
most other African countries which gained independence in the
early 1960s, has been influenced by collective African thinking
about the sort of curriculum change considered desirable for
African primary schools (e.g., see resolutions of the
conferences: Addis Ababa, 1961; Nairobi, 1968; Lagos, 1976;
Harare, 1982; Yaounde, 1984; and others). A few slogans
suffice to illustrate the changing thinking about African
primary education over the last two decades. The literature
contains such slogans as the "ruralization of education",
"education for self-reliance", "lifelong education", "basic
education", and so on. In spite of these various slogans and
perspectives, the common aim is to achieve a school, better
suited to meeting community and national needs. Many
innovation projects have been attempted, but in the main, most
have turned out to be fads, which have not brought about

significant system-wide reform. The persistence of this syndrome makes it necessary to study the process of educational change towards providing further insights on strategies to improve educational practice.

Regarding the process of change in any educational system Bishop makes the following remark:

> All reforms inevitably clash with certain entrenched attitudes and values. Individuals tend to protect, preserve and promote their own view of the world, their own values, their own mores. In doing so they tend to resist alien views, norms and values. And any innovation, to the extent that it is new, will be alien to an existing system .... The change agent is always faced with the pitfalls of extreme conservatism on the one hand, and extreme radicalism on the other. His task is to steer a sufficiently flexible path to arrive at a dynamic equilibrium between the two extremes. (1986:30)

In fact educationists are divided about the way in which we should approach educational reform (Thompson, 1981:207). On the one hand, one school of thought maintains that the old linear expansion strategies be replaced by transformational approaches based upon an overall conception of educational goals and systems, and a rejection of piecemeal modification. The Faure report (1972:13) for example, maintains that traditional formulae and partial reforms could not meet the unprecedented demand for education arising out of the new tasks and functions to be fulfilled in developing countries. It adds that "timid half measures" have accordingly been rejected because of their very inefficiency. This approach to reform is based on a broad and comprehensive view, embracing all forms of educational provision and seeking to integrate them in the

socio-economic system of the country concerned, in a manner susceptible to bringing about benefits to its society.

On the other hand, there are those who disagree with this view and believe that such a transformation of education systems demands considerable political courage and would entail a difficult and lengthy process of implementation in the face of resistance, often subtle but no less powerful, which such changes inevitably generate. Even historically, they argue, the reform of education in more developed countries of Europe and North America during the last half century has not been achieved through transformational approaches (Thompson, 1981:207-208).

Unfortunately, the efforts made thus far towards primary educational change in Cameroon do not involve comparative studies in the two educational traditions on such issues as the differences in curricula at the different levels and consequently, the profiles of pupils leaving particular stages of education (primary, first cycle secondary education and so on). In fact, little effort has been made thus far, to determine the strengths and weaknesses of the two systems in the effort to forge a common system. An important aspect of this study is to examine to what extent problems encountered in primary educational change in particular and educational change in the country in general can be apolitically resolved. In other words, to what extent are the problems of Cameroon educational change typically educational and technical ? (see section 6.2.3)

Case studies are undertaken on the IPAR and SPEP experiences, in the attempt to provide a holistic appraisal of the project units as change systems, and to assess the significance of the projects in relation to the two main objectives of harmonizing Cameroon primary education and the implementation of school reforms on behalf of better quality schools.

1.2   Focus of the Thesis

1.2.1   Two experiences in Cameroon primary educational change

The appraisal of the IPAR and SPEP experiences in Cameroon
primary educational change represents the focus of this study.
At the time of writing, the IPAR experience is in its
nineteenth year of unspecified duration, and the SPEP is in the
fourth year, of a five-year planned period of intervention.
The work carried out at IPAR-Yaounde, located in francophone
Cameroon and exclusively staffed by francophones, is heavily
influenced by the orientation of primary education in the
francophone primary schools, and similarly, that done in IPAR-
Buea, located in anglophone Cameroon, and exclusively staffed
by anglophones, is largely influenced by the orientations in
the anglophone tradition in primary educational provision. In
the main, the two groups have thus far worked independent of
each other. The work carried out by the two IPARs towards
Cameroon primary school change has not yet been implemented in
primary schools in the country.

A third project, the Support to Primary Education Project
(SPEP), representing the second experience, aims at increasing
opportunities in the supply of primary education and improving
its quality in four out of ten of the country's provinces
(three francophone, and one anglophone) (see Map 6). This is
to be achieved by

- improving upon the pre-training of primary school teachers in
five Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs), two in the Adamaoua
province, and one in each of the other three provinces (see map
6),

- upgrading the professional aptitudes of primary school
  teachers in the field,

- upgrading the professional aptitudes of the academic staff
  and administrators of TTCs and divisional inspectors of
  primary education, and
- improving and expanding the existing facilities (dormitories,
  classrooms and so on) in the TTCs.

By design, the SPEP is not directly involved with schools, and
does not concern changing primary school curricula.   Owing to
delays in implementing many aspects of the project as envisaged
in the project design, its main activities thus far, have been
limited to the organization of seminars, generally comprising
plenary sessions followed by discussion groups (see 2.2.3) on
selected themes (see 8.4.2) for in-service training of the
professional groups mentioned above. The SPEP is described in
more detail in Chapter 7.   The appraisal of these on-going
experiences in Cameroon primary change, are thus limited to an
analysis   of   project   systems   as   institutions: their
organizations, programme conception and development and the
pertinence of project goals.

Daily   life, is less   concerned with planning,   adopting
perspectives and choosing strategies, than with adjusting plans
to circumstances. The day to day organization of educational
institutions today, especially in the developing countries
suggests that the gulf between educational theory and practice
is not narrowing, in spite of the impressive amount of
available literature in the area of planning, implementing and
managing educational change.   Educational problems abound,
especially where there is lack of mutual understanding between
planners   and decision-makers,   with the   result that the
coordination of the activities of both groups is poor.

While proposals towards a new and common curriculum are being
made for Cameroon schools, it is important to lend thought to
Mann's remarks (1976:1), that with hindsight, it is easy to see
that designing and disseminating change is not the equivalent

of implementing change, for often programmes are planned,
curricula developed, teaching/learning units packaged, teachers
trained but the results may still be frustrating, uneven,
unexpected, and temporary. There is increasing evidence to
suggest that the failure of many efforts to effect educational
change is because curriculum development has often been seen at
times as the sole vehicle for reform. A World Bank education
sector policy paper (1980) notes:

> [Educational reform] has too long been confused with
> revision of syllabi and updating topic outlines....
> [Many] projects do not include monitoring and
> evaluation procedures to enable necessary revisions
> to be made.... Overall, changes have been minimal
> [and] may be explained by the fact that plans have
> been ill-conceived, policy has been changed [or
> policy changes are being nurtured], ... in most
> instances failure (is) largely the result of a lack
> of understanding of the nature of educational change
> and its relationship with the socio-economic
> environment ... [for], an awareness of the factors
> that influence educational reform would enable
> planners to assess the feasibility of their proposals
> and revise the scope of reform accordingly....

Most contemporary studies in the evaluation of educational pro-
grammes are goal-oriented or outcomes evaluation. This type of
evaluation was pioneered by Tyler and later perfected through
standardized instruments, group criterion referenced tests, and
microanalysis of learner's behaviour at various times before
and after a programme. It is a current and popular approach to
educational evaluation. Nevertheless, Patton (1978:320)
explains that there are usually two parts to human services

shortfall:

- the failure of implemented programmes to attain desired out-
  comes, and
- the failure to actually implement policy in the form of
  operating programmes.

Indeed he argues that if one were to choose between
implementation information and outcomes information because of
limited evaluation resources, implementation information would
be of greater value because the decision-maker can use it to
make sure that a policy is being put into operation according
to design, or to test the feasibility of that policy. Dalin
(1978:8) argues that there is no short cut to an educational
wonderland, and adds that the temptation today is to look for
scapegoats in the search for causal relationships whereas the
reasons for what actually goes wrong with innovation projects
are extremely complex and cannot be easily remedied by a 'how
to do it manual'. In respect of the argument that projects of
planned change fail because of the nature of centralized
decision-making characterized by a "top-down","centre-
periphery" diffusion pattern, it is increasingly realized
that "decentralization" does not, of itself, make organizations
and systems more innovative (Dalin, 1975:8-9; Hurst,1983:5;
Holmes,1983:31) (see 9.3.2). Dalin warns:

> We have failed to view the school and the educational
> process as part of a complex social system ... failed
> to understand and take into account the complex
> interdependence among the various parts of the system
> ... have not established a 'systematic view' of
> education as a social system ... have tended to argue
> on the basis of comfortable linear relationships ...
> [and] need to come to grips with the dynamics of the
> educational system, the sometimes counter-intuitive

behaviour of this system, if we are to establish
sound and effective reform strategies. (1975:8)

In principle, decision-makers, planners and practitioners in a
given context should work in close collaboration in order to
ascertain the feasibility and worth of programmes of planned
change in relation to current practice before large-scale
implementation. Hindsight is a marvellous teacher indeed, and
in large scale implementations, an expensive one.

The problem of implementing innovations is essentially one of
translating ideas into action (Hurst, 1983:7). Considering
this stance, we cannot conclude that an innovation is
ineffective if it has not been effectively implemented - i.e.
adopted and sustained in practice (Gross et al., 1971). The
knowledge and skills gained by participants at the SPEP
workshops can only be speculative, at least at this stage of
project development, and the IPAR experience still remains a
development which has frozen at the institutional level - hence
the researcher's decision to limit his appraisal of the
projects at the level of the project systems.

1.2.2 Aims

A number of evaluation studies have been attempted before in
Cameroon educational change. Almost all of these have been in
primary education, but none is an in-depth study into both
francophone and anglophone approaches and perceptions on educa-
tional change. Except for one known attempt by Kale (1983) to
examine the process of trialling some of the IPAR-Buea
proposals in eight primary schools and other studies by
Akoulouze (1984a) and Tosam (1984), virtually all the writing
on educational change in the country is limited to reports
based mainly on documentary research with more bias to goal-
oriented evaluation of the IPAR-projects (Bebbe-Njoh, 1977;
Mougoue and Beling, 1983; Essoh, 1978; Ngoue at al., 1978;

Mukam et al., 1986) and virtually no comparative studies carried out at all on the two educational traditions in the country.

The thrust in this study is on examining the process of planning and effecting educational change in Cameroon, epitomized by the reality of the three projects in primary education mentioned above. This includes examining the rationale behind these projects, the services delivered toward their implementation, the efficacy of the management techniques, and their significance in primary educational change in the country.

Lehne (1983:51) notes that research on the interaction among government institutions, vertically from one level to another and horizontally among different organizations at the same level, has tended to be neglected. Often organizations are examined as if they were autonomous agencies whose behaviour is internally determined whereas, the growing volume and complexity of inter-organisational relationships has rendered this approach inaccurate and unproductive. The performance of governmental institutions are only partially a result of the efficiency of the management within them. They are also conditioned by the nature of the decisions taken at other levels in the administrative bureaucracy which influence their work. Indeed, most change situations involve some level of planning, organization, administration, structural arrangements, and ideological orientations which could and occasionally do prove problematic in the change process.

This study is an attempt to examine the problems encountered and strides made thus far in the SPEP and the IPAR experiences, towards thinking about remedial action in them, or towards deciding on alternative approaches to educational change in the country in general.

It is assumed that no government would deliberately undertake costly reform projects that fail to deliver the goods, let alone get started at all. Schaeffer rightly observes, that current practice among foreign donors and indigenous planners alike too often leads too quickly and too directly to project implementation:

> Preparatory work for such projects (feasibility studies, planning missions, etc.) is carried out superficially by visiting teams of experts - well informed (no doubt) in their own area of expertise, somewhat aware (perhaps) of objective data about the target country such as an organizational plan of the ministry and basic educational statistics, but often quite ignorant of its political and social history, the nature of its scientific tradition (both indigenous ' and colonial), its guiding (though often implicit) ideological basis, and its cultural patterns of thought and action. (1981:331)

However the causes of unsuccessful innovations are not obvious in many situations, but do admit to a complex interplay of forces in the process of implementing change. It must be remembered that social structures are created and altered in a balance between the natural tendency to preserve a high degree of stability and the equally natural pressure towards change. The needs of society are changing all the time. Nevertheless, the patterns which these structures develop are very resistant to change, creating a situation where planned change requires that the architects of change devise tactics for moving in a different direction; the simple desire for improvement is not enough.

Furthermore, the relatively linear model used to visualize planned change (e.g., Lippitt et al., 1958), beginning from an awareness of a need for change being developed - "unfreezing"

the current system and ideas, by creating a "problem awareness" - then identifying new information and determining alternative actions (research) which are then integrated into the solution of the problem, and finally "refreezing" the new response to fit into the desired new culture is inadequate in the light of the scale of barriers that are increasingly experienced in innovation projects.

The need to carry out research and conduct context specific studies in various areas which are still highly speculative in existing literature on African school reforms cannot be over-emphasized (Tosam, 1980:133). Reid et al. (1975:224) caution that research per se should only be understood as a strategy among other considerations in implementing educational change, because the process usually takes on a different reality from that which is intended, and consequently, to confine curricula to the drawing board is eccentric if not irresponsible. It is in this frame of thinking that the appraisal of the SPEP and IPAR experiences in Cameroon primary education is undertaken.

1.2.3 Key research questions

The questions centre around two key themes:

(1)   the efficiency of IPAR-Buea project, IPAR-Yaounde project
       and the SPEP (operational institutions) towards achieving
       their laid down goals; and

(2)   the significance of the projects in relation to achieving
       the broader preoccupations in Cameroon primary educational
       change - the harmonization and reform of primary
       education.

Broadly, the main research questions are stated thus:

- How pertinent is the government reform policy of
  'ruralization' towards improving the quality of Cameroon
  primary schools ?

- What is the match and/or mismatch between the government
  expectations in the reform policy of "ruralization" of
  primary education and the limits of the primary school in
  curbing the problem of rural exodus ?

- How effective are the strategies adopted by the IPARs thus
  far, towards bringing about a common primary school from the
  two educational traditions in the country ?

- How efficient are the IPAR-Buea project, the IPAR-Yaounde
  project, and the SPEP operating as project systems ?

- What are the promises of the SPEP in increasing the quantity
  of primary school provision, improving upon the quality of
  primary education, and as a potential generator of human
  resource development in the provinces where it operates ?

- What lessons can be learnt for remedial action in these
  projects, and towards thinking about more effective
  approaches for harmonizing the dual educational traditions
  in the country in general, and implementating more
  meaningful reform programmes or interventions for better
  quality schools in the future ?

1.3 Definition of Terms

Key concepts like, "innovation", "reform" and "harmonization"
need specifying for this study. This is necessary because most
of the available literature on planned educational change
refers mainly to American and European settings in which

different studies use these terms in different ways
(CERI,1973:34). A few definitions suffice to
illustrate the point. An **innovation** is

> an idea for change of practice that is new to some
> group of people, not necessarily absolutely new (e.g.
> cultural borrowing) (Hurst,1981:2);

> any thought, behaviour or thing that is new because
> it is qualitatively different from existing forms
> (Barnett,1943).

Other definitions distinguish between the said "new idea" and
its "operationalisation"; for example,

> a change which involves not only a change in
> materials but also a complex of changes with regard
> to their use (Beal and Bohlen, 1968:55);

Others describe innovations as a process; for example,

> a process that begins with an idea on the part of the
> change agent and ends in its adoption or rejection by
> the potential recipients (Niehoff,1966:40);

Or,

> The entire process of generating a new form of educa-
> tional practice (along with the concept underlying it
> and the materials used to execute it), trying it in
> small scale laboratory settings to get information
> for the purpose of redesigning it, testing it in a
> variety of field settings (to discover what it will
> do under normal conditions), and disseminating it to
> prospective adopters (to inform and aid them in
> adopting it). Adoption, which should accompany

dissemination (dissemination is sending; adoption is receiving), is also included in the definition (Brickell, 1961:61-62).

In the last definition, Brickell proposes what he considers an innovation process should involve, but the idea of 'trying it in small scale laboratory settings' restricts this use of the concept more to industrial than educational settings. Some authors are more specific in their use of the concept of an innovation. Phillips (1975:104) would rather restrict the use of the term "innovation" solely to a "change" brought into existence as a result of discovery, invention, or research and development, as in industry, and would rather use the concept of "renovation" in the educational context, which has a narrower meaning, specifically, 'to improve the existing system with some additions to bring it up to date'. According to him, the concept reform expresses a more substantial change of nature which affects the social and political access of a considerable portion of the population to education or the improvement of their educational status or opportunities.

The IPAR projects have been termed reform projects from their inception and the scale of change contemplated in reaching a common and improved primary system are more far reaching than would be expected of an innovation per se; the latter term understood to represent a relatively smaller scale of change in behaviour or practice. The SPEP is in the third year of its five-year period of intervention, and its activities up to April 1987 had been limited very largely to organizing three or four seminars on a yearly basis for groups of headmasters, primary school teachers in the field, divisional inspectors, and the staff of the five TTCs involved with the project. The intervention may not be termed an innovation in the more familiar usage of the term, but is considered in this thesis as an innovation project - in the sense of Hurst (1981) above.

In fact, varying interpretations of the concepts of reform and harmonization by researchers, decision-makers and practitioners, pose semantic problems which add to the difficulties in implementing educational change in Cameroon. The government reform policy of ruralization for example, needed clarifications (Epote, 1976:132) which led to the UNESCO/UNDP evaluation of the IPAR-Yaounde project in April 1974, though the concept is still vaguely used today (see 5.1.2) and interpreted differently by either IPAR institute. An examination of more recent writings on Cameroon educational change reveals that the concepts of reform and harmonization continue to be used differently (6.2.2 and 6.2.3). For example, Mukam et al. (1986:134) see primary school reform in Cameroon as:

- the need to adapt primary education to the country's economic, social and cultural realities, and

- the need to harmonize the two systems of primary education, with a view to bringing the duration of the courses of study, syllabuses and timetables, teaching methods, and the evaluation systems into uniformity.

The concept of "adaptation" in the above perspective, brings to mind the idea of introducing work-related activities in the curriculum, and "harmonization" is seen as the need to have common organizational structures. In this "reform" perspective, one is left to conjecture where the emphasis is to be given to the quality of educational provision, and the need for more and improved training for teachers (see Final report, 1973; Bergmann and Bude, 1974; Lallez, 1974; Khoi, 1976; Salifou, 1977; IPAR-Buea report, 1977; Essoh, 1978; Bebbe-Njoh, 1979; Tosam, 1980). Generally speaking, Cameroon primary schools still lack well motivated and qualified teachers (Salifou, 1977), and the problem of wastage in the school system (Lallez, 1974; Tcheuma, 1975; Courade, 1977) has not

improved significantly. Efforts towards Cameroon educational change have not gone much beyond the stage of official declarations of intent (Mukam, 1978).

At times the concept of **harmonization** is subsumed in that of **reform**, and the degree to which **official bilingualism** is considered important in perceiving educational change in the country also colours these various perspectives.

Indeed, one is inclined to think that these perceptions abound, partly because the government thus far, has not come forward with a clear policy on the harmonization of the two educational traditions in the country, and partly because as Bebbe-Njoh (1980:30) believes, **"certaines solutions restent fondamentalement affectées par la formation que les uns et les autres ont reçue"** (certain proposed solutions tend to be conditioned by the educational background of the contributor) - i.e., the francophone with a bias towards French-oriented education and the anglophone with a bias towards British-oriented education, resulting in **"ce qu'on s'efforce de faire admettre au partenaire comme étant le résultat d'une réflexion objective s'avère n'être dans bien des cas, que la résurgence d'un aspect de notre conditionnement"** (the tendency to accept as objective, mainly those proposals or views offered by the foreign expert is only one aspect or indication of the difficulty posed by our reality) towards achieving a national solution to the problem.

In fact, though there is a shortage of well trained national researchers to deal with Cameroon problems in educational development (Bebbe-Njoh, 1979:59), the real hurdle is to get a consensus of opinion about what form and direction the harmonization of education in the country should take, in order to provide a clearer vision on the nature of reforms that need to be undertaken to provide better quality primary schools.

Efforts towards primary educational change may be seen as the test ground for orientations towards Cameroon educational change in general, because it is at this level that the government has concentrated its efforts towards large-scale educational change in the country. Furthermore, primary education is an integral part of the educational system and attempts towards harmonizing education at this level without studying the implications for secondary education which is organized differently in the two educational traditions are bound to prove problematic. The primary school's contribution to national unity is seen as

> providing a good command of the two national languages, French and English.... [T]he sense of belonging to the nation is to be promoted by the Cameroonization of the education system, and abandonment of educational contents and structures which are still oriented towards the former colonial powers, and the harmonization of existing structures within the educational system, that is to say the standardization of the whole system in order to remove the remaining differences between the francophone and anglophone provinces ....
>
> Bude (1985:114-115)

However, reconciling the two educational traditions in place is the real problem in Cameroon educational change, because the government cannot talk of the necessity of harmonizing the two educational traditions in the country and at the same time undertake large-scale programmes of change (including quality improvements in schools) which are specific to the one educational tradition in the country and not the other. This seeming impediment underpins the problems in Cameroon educational change, and raises the important question of whether Cameroon can meaningfully work towards better quality schools without first of all resolving the issue of harmonizing

the different educational traditions in the country. In other words, the absence of a clear stance on the issue of harmonization can only be at the expense of improving the quality of education in schools, for the latter depends on the former in the prevailing circumstances.

A West Cameroon Education Policy paper (1963:4) saw 'structural harmonization' as a progressive reduction of the anglophone primary course from eight to seven years in 1963, adjusting the school year to coincide with the secondary and university terms in the rest of the country by 1964, and a further reduction of the primary course to six years from 1965. But, the reasons given for the changes were:

> intensifying the teaching of rural science and manual handicrafts for boys and domestic science for girls at the end of the six year course .... [T]he compression of the eight year academic course will not result in any lessening of the knowledge received, and will have the advantage of making available, at an earlier age, primary school children for further training. The State's investment in them would have then been more than justified. (1963:5)

Primary education in anglophone Cameroon today still lasts seven years, and there is no evidence to indicate that the decision on course duration had any links with improvements in the quality of education to be provided: for example, the reduction of drop-out or repeater rates which increase educational unit costs tremendously, or the supply of post-primary vocational training. No comparisons were made with, or reference made to, the relative quality of education in the francophone schools. With no opportunities for "further training" for the majority of the pupils leaving primary school (IPAR-Buea report, 1977:7), it is apparent that the West Cameroon Education Policy document did not address the plight

of this majority for whom primary education is terminal. Furthermore, no evidence suggests that these changes were connected with the thinking of federal authorities about harmonizing the entire education system (cf. Peltriaux, 1962).

However, Bude (1985:115) suggests that these difficulties largely relate to the fact that political decision-makers are unable to agree on whether the primary school course should last six years as is the case in the francophone system, or seven years, as in the anglophone system. Indeed, discussions on the nature of reforms to be carried out in primary education (cf. MINEDUC reports, 1976 and 1977) were overwhelmed with arguments about the duration of primary schooling, rather than on agreeing on the profile expected of the primary school pupil, and then establishing a common programme towards meeting it. It is apparently more logical to think about the appropriateness of the content or at least the core content of a school programme for a given level, before considering the duration over which it will be taught, considering among other important issues, the pedagogical, psychological and practical requisites for the teaching/learning process, than the other way round.

Indeed it is not inconceivable to have a fairly homogeneous educational system in Cameroon, even if the only dividing factor remains the two languages of instruction. A UNESCO commission which studied the problems of Cameroon educational change in 1962 made proposals to the then federal government which included the idea that 'setting up of joint commissions for the planning of common examinations will be an important stage in the unification of education .... Without it, it would be inevitable that Cameroun's two systems gradually separate' (UNESCO, 1962:52). Common examination initiatives have not yet been attempted and educational trends have not shifted significantly for over two and a half decades. Difficulties in reaching a compromise on the nature of a

harmonized primary school are still based on whether to raise the duration of francophone primary education from six to seven years as agreed upon at the end of a national seminar on Cameroon primary educational reform held in the Ministry of National Education in 1976, or to reduce anglophone primary education from seven to six years - a decision taken in 1977 "sans justification particuliere" (arbitrarily) by IPAR-Yaounde and the GIP (Mukam et al., 1986:135).

Properly situating present problems in Cameroon educational change often requires oscillations from the past to the present. In relation to the question of bilingualism in the country, a West Cameroon Education Policy paper issued in 1963 expressed the view that the question of bilingualism and the introduction of a second foreign language in secondary and post-secondary education did not in any way affect the harmonization of structures of the two educational systems. It reads:

> Unification implies a unified system of education, although Article I of the Constitution implies a duality of official languages. For this reason Government [of West Cameroon] does not object to, and in fact welcomes, such measures as will promote a unity of the two structures of education. The length [duration] of courses, the beginning and end of the academic year, the dates for holidays, (even the basic aims of education in the context of the Federal Republic as a basically agricultural nation) - all these and other structural details can easily and should be harmonized.(1963:3)

This view of harmonization focuses on the unification of "structural" arrangements in the two systems. While it suggests the equal duration of courses at the different levels of education, it does not develop ideas on the issues related

to such change (common structures, a common philosophy to
education, common content, common approaches to teaching and
learning, and common examinations and certificates).

Indeed, harmonization involves more than just structural
arrangements. Akoulouze (1984a:18) sees harmonization of the
two systems of education in terms of "la désintégration de
certains aspects de la culture anglo-saxonne et de la culture
française au profit d'un système plus ou moins mixte"
(dispensing with those aspects of inherited British and French
cultural traditions which are divisive, towards arriving at a
relatively more homogeneous and pluricultural system of
education for Cameroon). He stresses the fact that
harmonization cannot be achieved in terms of some "intégration
negociée" (a negotiated integration) as though of a bargaining
process over a round-table discussion, or by an "intégration
imposée" (the imposition of the one system over the other)
(1984a:19). Harmonization is seen as an all-embracing concept,
that encompasses structural arrangements to address the problem
of values that would be found desirable in a common Cameroon
educational system (including positive values derived from the
foreign educational traditions in the country and from its
national cultures).

On examining the different perspectives to harmonization
offered above, and those of the participants involved in this
study, the researcher is of the view that it is a concept which
should connote more of a process than a product in Cameroon
educational change. It should encompass a preoccupation with
the duration of primary schooling in both educational
traditions, mentioned earlier, which have been unconnected with
reference made to some common-core-content for primary
education, or implications for secondary education, the latter
still organized separately in the two educational traditions.
The harmonization of Cameroon education should reflect a
deliberate and conscious process of change, resulting in a

truly common system of education, offering the same opportunities to every Cameroon, through common programmes of similar duration, and preparing for the same certificates.

In fact, considering the important role education plays in any nation, it is certain that in the Cameroon context, the **harmonization** of the two educational traditions in the country will constitute an important ingredient of **national unity**, which is a vital political goal. However, contributions made by technocrats (researchers and planners) towards the resolution of problems surrounding the harmonization of education in the country will be diffuse and of little value if they do not work in tandem with decision-makers. Furthermore, the varying perspectives to educational change in the country provided by the various contributions on the subject thus far, show that the technocrats themselves need more concerted approaches to the problems of educational change in the country. It is crucial that research findings be generated from comparative studies addressing issues of fundamental difference at the grassroots (e.g., relative teaching/learning patterns in the two educational traditions). Conversely, if the decision-makers (in the political hierachy) overtly or covertly condition research in a manner to maintain the status quo (e.g., inadequate funding or non-use of research findings in decision-making), different interpretations of the key concepts in Cameroon educational change, viz, **harmonization** and **reform** may increase rather than reduce.

2 METHODOLOGY

2.1 Some Ideological and Theoretical Considerations

2.1.1 Educational evaluation: the concept

The word evaluation is often used loosely to encompass many different activities and purposes, but Steinmetz (1983:80) warns that invariably the term raises apprehension that judgements will be made which may affect the social and/or professional status of people, their career plans, their self-esteem, the scope of their authority, and so on. Consequently, the researcher considers it important to clarify his position vis a vis these expectations. In fact, the concept of evaluation has undergone an evolutionary process and continues to do so. Prior to Tyler's use of the term in 1930, the practice and theory of the appraisal of learning was limited to examining and testing. Other familiar names referring to this activity are - quizzing; measuring; appraising; evaluating and assessing, and all invariably refer to ascertaining the educational attainment of students. However, evaluation in recent years has become a term widely used in educational discourse to compare proposed educational programmes with their conception in the light of whatever relevant information or generalizations are appropriate to judge the soundness and practicability of the plan. Evaluation then can take various forms :

- the testing out of curriculum units and their modification in the light of the test results, often given the label of formative evaluation;

- the evaluation of implementation;

- the continuous monitoring of programmes to identify significant changes, either improvements or deterioration:

evaluation of the unintended outcomes of a programme, as well as the identification of the extent to which the intended results are being achieved, and

- "follow-up" evaluation to ascertain the long-term effects as learners to live and work in different environments, some of which are supportive and some otherwise. (Tyler,1983:77)

Though a pioneer of outcomes evaluation, Tyler observes that in the use of evaluation as a means of both understanding an educational programme and improving it, he has come to realize the importance of identifying and appraising factors in the environment that have a significant influence on learning, in addition to the planned curriculum and the activities of the teacher. He stresses the need to evaluate, measure, or describe such environmental matters as the classroom ethic, the learner's expectations, among a variety of other environmental issues.

> As we learn more about the ways in which persons acquire new kinds of behaviour and develop this knowledge, these skills and the attitudes and interests in various situations and the changing environments, I believe our conceptions of the purposes, the procedures, and the appropriate instruments of evaluation will continue to expand as well as to be more sharply focused. (Tyler, 1983:78)

Evaluation studies are of various types. Gowin and Millman (1974:1) in an article on "The Nature of Criticism", maintain that the act of critical appraisal is a process of analysis, breaking down and taking apart what was produced by an act of synthesis by the original author. In this process the critic brings another pair of eyes, another mind, and another point of view to the research. This view is particularly relevant to implementation research where each element in the pattern of

inquiry requires the investigator to select, arrange, modify, and interpret his findings.

Gowin and Millman (1974:2) identify three purposes of criticism of educational research which are useful in thinking about efforts in Cameroon educational change. They maintain,

- that based on the rationale that educational research is an attempt to establish the fundamental and foundational knowledge claims about education, criticism is the attempt to apply the best human thought to test these foundations and especially since research is open-ended, criticism can point to avenues of additional research needed to solidify the foundations, of knowledge,

- that since policies are complex judgements based partly on facts and knowledge claims, and partly on values and value judgements, criticism is instrumental to policy analysis in making explicit the relation between knowledge and value found in educational policies, and

- that in spite of rhetorical claims to the contrary, research has had little effect on educational practice, making criticism important in justifying educational practice, and towards suggesting the role research should play in making practice more efficient, more effective, more humane, and more insightful in its complex operation.

Indeed, "criticism" is used here supposedly, as a means to arriving at practical suggestions derived from existing knowledge and trends in education, to improve practice in particular contexts. However, the concept of "illuminative evaluation" is purposely used in this study rather than "criticism" because the latter could easily be interpreted to have a pejorative connotation. Indeed one could talk of constructive and destructive criticism in educational practice,

in which the former suggests alternative routes to improve practice, whereas the latter stops at the level of pointing out inadequacies in current practice.

2.1.2 Educational change models and assumptions

There are three principal models of educational change: the research development and diffusion (RDD) model, the "social interaction" model, and the "problem-solving" model. Chesler and Worden (1974) have rightly remarked that all planned change efforts imply a commitment to a certain view of reality, and acceptance of certain modes of realizing those ends. Those assumptions constitute the conscious or unconscious bases for selecting specific courses of action and as a result, they precede all tactical decisions. Indeed, if change agents cannot identify those basic assumptions and their implications, they cannot explore the full range of effective strategies of change.

The immense literature on educational change efforts since the 1960s reveals little departure from the research and development model (Miles, 1964). It is still largely in vogue, and concentrates on the process of change without addressing the problem of who determines a system "malfunction" (Oettinger, 1969). The RDD model, at times called the PRDD (P, for Planning) model, is also called the theory-into-practice model. It views the process of change as a rational sequence of phases by which an innovation is invented or discovered, developed, produced and disseminated to the user. In it, research is not so much viewed as an enquiry into specific human problems, but rather as assembling a set of facts and theories which are then turned into ideas from which materials are produced in the development phase. This knowledge is then mass produced and diffused for the targeted clientele for whom it might prove useful.

Though popular, critics of the RDD model, (e.g., Herzog in CERI, 1973), see it as being "naively profession-o-centric" in viewing schools as objects to be manipulated. Systems approaches like the RDD, he insists, fail to recognize that most people are attached to whatever they are doing, because they believe in the value of it, and not necessarily because they are resistant to change. This claim, however, could be misleading. Not everyone in an institution has the same degree of commitment to what its objectives are, and these varying levels of commitment have an effect on its general performance (Israel, 1987).

The social interaction model tends to support five generalizations about innovation diffusion:

- the individual user or adopter belongs to a network of social relations which largely influence his adoption behaviour;

- his place in the network (centrality, peripherality, isolation) is a good predictor of his rate of acceptance of new ideas;
- informal personal contact is a vital part of the influence and adoption process;
- group memberships are major predictors of individual adoption; and,
- the rate of diffusion through a social system is slow at the beginning, followed by a period of rapid diffusion and then by a long late-adopter period. (Dalin, 1974)

The problem-solving model is seen as a patterned sequence of activities beginning with a need which is sensed and articulated by the client system. The need is then translated into a problem statement and diagnosis. Having formulated a problem statement, the client-user is able to conduct a meaningful search and retrieval of ideas and information which

can be used for formulating or selecting the innovation. The potential solution is then tried out and evaluated for effectiveness in satisfying his original need.

Generally speaking, the RDD model stresses the developer, the social interaction model stresses the communicator, and the problem solving model stresses the receiver.

The literature on educational change includes a variety of models (e.g., Bolam, 1975; Havelock and Huberman, 1977; Dalin, 1978). What these models have as common denominator, is the need to understand how forces from the environment influence the process of planned change. Bolam (1975) assesses the particular characteristics of the innovation process; the situation before, during, and after. Havelock and Huberman (1977) present a systems model which looks at the nature of social systems in terms of dynamic processes and critical periods in system development. Generally speaking, these models present various insights toward appraising the two case studies in this research.

2.1.3 Change strategies

A strategy in the context of this discussion is seen as the total project plan designed to meet the laid down change objectives. Within this broad view for executing a project are the tactics used within it for its realization. Some writers see the selection of goals or ends as a strategy (e.g., Hurst, 1983:14) and others see strategies as a generic group of tactics (Zaltman et al., 1977). Strategies should take into account, the nature of the innovation itself, the process of change, the characteristics of the clientele, and the nature of the system adopting the innovation.

Different types of innovations require different types of strategies or their combinations. Watson (1967), however,

notes that all strategies need to take into account, how to cope with forces of resistance that are likely to be put up by the adopter of the innovation. He lists five conditions for any successful attempt at institutional change:

- participants must feel that the project is their own and not wholly devised by outsiders;
- the project must have whole-hearted support of senior officials of the system;
- the project must be in fairly close accord with the values and ideals of participants;
- the participants should experience support, trust, accept- ance and confidence in their relations with one another; and
- participants must feel that their autonomy and security are not threatened.

This is by no means an exhaustive list, but it gives a fair account of a basic minimum of conditions which if considered, could enhance the change process tremendously. It must be noted that the change process evolves, and different tactics will continually be required to cope with new problems. Among the many strategies (e.g., Bennis, Benne and Chin, 1969), those that rely on the imposition of power alter the conditions under which other people act, by limiting their alternatives or by shaping the consequences of their acts. This is typical of the "power-coercive" or "political-administrative" strategies which I explore further, because they are typical of many national education systems. They are exemplified in such things as school legislation, and so on.

Power is an ingredient of all human action, but when used injudiciously or abusively, could impair the process of change appreciably. It is widely used in education systems by way of Ministerial orders or "textes officiels" (used henceforth simply as, textes), as the basis of bureaucratic legality and action in the French administrative tradition. It must

nevertheless be realized that if the intentions are real, innovations or reforms require the acquisition of new knowledge, new skills, new attitudes and new value orientations which cannot be dealt with in a coercive way. Extreme care and sensitivity in using these strategies cannot be overemphasized.

In "political-administrative" strategies for example, ideologies and value differences between interest groups are exposed by the open use of power. Dalin (1974), identifies two major problems here:

- There is the danger of concentrating on the difference between interest groups in the struggle for alteration in power distribution, with the result that energy is diverted from other important problems. Indeed differences in interests can be seen as different relationships to the "material structure" in society and its reward system. However, alterations in power "inside" the education system will probably not alter the basic problems which are common to virtually all individuals working in the system.

- There is often some lack of coherence between "intention" and "reality", for, while they indicate procedures for the formulation and the adoption of innovations, the problems concerning the implementation of these policies are hardly sufficiently addressed.

2.1.4 Evaluation models

There exist a number of evaluation models (e.g., Worthen and Sanders,1973; Popham,1975; Stake,1976). Perhaps the most significant comparisons that can be made among them are those concerning the underlying theoretical assumptions on which they are based. There are two basic epistemological orientations; the "liberal objectivist" and the "subjectivist ethic". Models reflecting the "liberal objectivist" epistemology (for

example, managerial models) are oriented towards accountability, efficiency and quality control as major concerns. Here, evaluation has something of a watch-dog function. The managerial school tends to be based on a common epistemology, labelled one of objectivism, and evaluation information is considered to be scientifically objective. In this method, objective instruments like tests and questionnaires are used and the data are analysed by quantitative techniques, and the results produced with these instruments are appreciably reproducible and can be verified by logical inspection regardless of who uses the techniques. In its extreme form, objectivism in epistemology entirely excludes the non-quantitative, and is often equated with being able to specify and explicate completely all data collection procedures. Indeed, 'reduction into numbers sometimes becomes equated with objectivity and the notion that cause-and-effect is a direct reflection of the world' (House, 1983:51).

On the other hand, subjectivist epistemology that is reflected in intuitionist/pluralist evaluation models (for example, the transaction model), employs a subjectivist ethic for the conduct of investigations which are general rather than specific. The explicitness of detail and externalization of procedures so that others might observe the same thing are not the common denominators. The concept of reproducibility is not the major criterion either. A main difference between the objectivists and the intuitionists lies in the fact that whereas the former rely on explicitness of detail in defining techniques which others can use, the latter rely on training and experience to ensure that truth is served. House (1983:57) explains:

> The subjectivists are less interested in arriving at a proposition that is true (in the generalizable sense) than in relating the evaluation to the particular experience of the audience. They attempt to obtain valid insights within the frame of

> reference of the group for whom they are working ....
> Tacit rather than explicit knowledge is what the
> evaluator seeks. The evaluation is intentionally
> context-bound and findings are interpreted in
> context.

The subjectivist evaluator is more concerned with specific
causal statements which obtain for a particular time and place
(internal validity) than with general causal statements
(external validity) which may be left to the audience. The
subjectivist methodology is sometimes termed naturalistic
(House, 1983:57), because,

- it is based on the experience of the audience,
- is directed more at non-technical audiences (like teachers,
  the general public, politicians),
- uses ordinary language and everyday categories of events,
  and is based more on informal than formal logic.

Thus, the evaluator collects multiple perspectives even though
they may not agree with one another, laying his emphasis more
on the qualitative rather than the quantitative rationale. In
this subjectivist methodology, utility is in terms of the
observer's interests, and theory and practice are blended
together. It differs from the objectivist approach where there
is a rigid separation of observer and facts and highly abstract
theory is separated from application, prediction being the main
goal of the latter. To illustrate this difference further, in
one version of transactional psychology, human perception is
said to depend on three features:

- firstly, that the facts of perception are always presented
  through concrete individuals dealing with concrete
  situations;
- secondly, that perceiving is done by each individual from
  his own unique position, experiences, and needs, including

the scientist-observer; and

- thirdly that each person creates his own psychological environment by attributing aspects of his experience to the environment and consequently, the world as it is experienced is the product of perception, and not the cause of it. (House, 1983:58)

In brief the transactional viewpoint can be described as a dialectical relationship of people and their environment that results in perceptions and insights. Individual perceptions are the focus of the study, and active participation is essential to knowing.

2.1.5 Values and evaluation studies

"I am an evaluator, you are the subject, she is an object" , reflects a situation of denial or rejection of self-reference which is at times less kindly described as a kind of criticism.

(Scriven,1983:230)

Connoisseur-based studies in education pioneered by Guba (1978) are commonly practised by many organizations (e.g., UNESCO, World Bank) whereby the finely developed expertise and insights of persons who have devoted much time and effort to the study of a particular area are exploited to produce an array of detailed information that the audience can then use to form a more insightful analysis than otherwise might be possible. This approach is popular with African governments in almost all strategies in development including education (see World Bank, 1982), but also has the disadvantage that it is dependent on the expertise and qualifications of the particular expert doing the evaluation, leaving much room for subjectivity, bias, and corruption (Webster and Stufflebeam,1983:35). They are most useful in these systems however, because though national governments do attempt policy studies oriented towards guiding institutions and society, 'the main problems are that policy

studies, over and again, are corrupted or subverted by the political environment in which they must be conducted and reported' (1983:32). Objectivity is important if the evaluator's judgement is to be widely accepted, but this does not necessarily mean positivistic certainty.

The evaluator 'must be impartial rather than simply be objective' (House, 1980:91), for, an impartial portrayal of his construction of social reality, presented with critical and reflective qualification will achieve 'qualitative objectivity' (House, 1980).

Indeed, by definition, evaluation should lead us to a considerable sophistication of the rather primitive philosophy of science that has been associated with the social sciences and turns out to be a better model for the social sciences than they have proved to be for it (Scriven,1983:240). As discussed above at 2.1.2, the word evaluation in the title of a book before 1960, referred to the practices of student performance assessment, and later to programme evaluation. An important observation made by Scriven suggests that the almost phobic intensity of the focus on programme evaluation could be partly explained by the fact that funding lay in that direction. He feels that this restricted notion of what evaluation was all about, could be explained by the existence of what he calls valuephobia, 'a pervasive fear of being evaluated', which he takes to be a part of the general human condition - with rare exceptions. This is also applicable to scientists very generally, evaluators among them, in phenomena like "going native" , or succumbing to the pressure of need-affiliation characterized by the development of significant blindness to obvious weaknesses in the programme which they are supposed to be evaluating (1983:230). Evaluation needs to be meticulously carried out and the tools and findings lucidly explicated.

Another perspective from which to examine evaluation is to look at the managerial ideology. It is part of the evaluation imperative to address the question of worth or cost analysis since it is the question that directly concerns society as a whole rather than special interests of the funding agency, and the managers and staff of the programme. The researcher includes this aspect of project analysis in this study in the extra-institutional development perspective of the projects concerned. However, the managerial ideology omits the systematic and objective determination of worth or value whereas there are procedures available to reverse this bias and move towards needs-based rather goal-based evaluation, to what might be called consumer-oriented rather than manager-oriented evaluation.

Indeed Scriven argues that

> there is no such thing as professionalism without a commitment to evaluation of whatever it is that one supervises or produces - and to self-evaluation as well. Yet few professional schools have even the most superficial curriculum commitment to evaluation training of any kind, let alone of professionals. (1983:238)

One is bound to wonder whether this climate persists because as Scriven argues,

> it is entirely typical for evaluators to look mainly in the direction of the intended results, because they know that the client is particularly interested in that direction; they know that not doing a thorough job in that direction will count against them for future contracts or employment, and they know that they typically will be completely off the hook as far as the client is concerned if they report

only on results in that general area. The
possibility of this kind of "lazy evaluation" thus
opens up, and is all too often enough to keep one
busy without a serious search for side effects.
(1983:237)

Finally, it can be said that ideologies are intermediate
between philosophies and models, just as models are
intermediate between ideologies and methodologies. Evaluation
models reflect a certain dichotomy. The rational design of the
Tyler model is admirable, but inadequate in dealing with such
important aspects of education as the unintended outcomes of an
educational activity - e.g. a process of educational change.
Ethnography is impressive for its capacity to incorporate
unintended outcomes and other subtle aspects of the educational
environment but it does not do justice to an assessment of
measurable behaviour. An attempt to reconcile these
discrepancies is made in the Explication Model based upon the
desire to reconcile art and science in anthropology (Koppelman,
1983:350). Again the choice of the term explication is an
attempt to avoid the pejorative aspects of the term evaluation.
The former term has the primary meaning of clarifying,
explaining and interpreting, and the additional meaning of
developing a theory or principle. It incorporates both of the
essential functions of clarifying the present status and
developing ideas leading to results that are more consistent
with the intended goals of the programme. The concerns of this
anthropological approach are phenomenological, and the basic
information gathering technique is systematic observation.

2.1.6 Policy analysis

Though it could be argued that the evolution of educational
policy in its broadest sense is the result of complex political
processes, Glennerster and Hoyle (1973) observe that though the
body of research on education is vast, its impact on policy is

diffuse and difficult to assess.   They blame this situation on the paucity of studies directly focused on policy issues. Policy analysis is the application of rational techniques to policy problems, but to get a balanced view of the former, requires understanding the nature and context of the latter.

The Oxford Dictionary calls policy analysis, the science and art of government. It probably suffices to state here that definitions abound. Since Dror (1968) attempted to put forward some criteria for defining the boundaries of the concept, various other contributions in the field have been registered (e.g., Coleman,1972). Carley (1983:25) emphasizes the need for the policy analyst who probably unlike the political scientist, must be careful and explicit about what values and whose values are injected into the analytic process.

With the understanding that human value judgements reflect an enormous diversity of political, moral, philosophical and aesthetic orientations towards some notion of what contributes to the quality of life, the idea of policy analysis adopted in this study is not to pretend to take some unrealistic portion of the decision maker's "political" role but to see what rational, analytic processes could be applied to a policy problem. Mishan (1974:91) remarks that if a government called upon an economist to undertake a cost-benefit study, it presumably expected him to apply economic principles and only economic principles, but such an analysis based wholly on rational critera, is just one useful technique in the service of social decision and not by itself socially decisive or a substitute for policy.

Carley (1980:63) identifies at least three important dimensions to be considered in most policy making and

implementation;

- equity, or the distribution of benefits, costs and
  opportunities among society,
- bureaucratic maintenance , and
- programme achievement.

Of these, programme achievement is almost always described in
terms of measures of effectiveness or efficiency, and these
terms unfortunately have a wide variety of meanings in the
available literature. In practice this makes it difficult to
generalize across a variety of studies, and hinders
communication, particularly, between economists and policy
analysts from other disciplines (Carley, 1980:63). The need
for other interdisciplinary approaches and more holistic views
on the subject cannot be overemphasized. Effectiveness studies
usually undertaken within the context of evaluation research
require that objectives be specified, and be generally amenable
to quantification. But as Brand (1975) warns:

> It may be illogical to believe that quantifiable
> information is any more relevant to decision making
> than unquantifiable information. Even when the
> objectives are amenable to quantification the choice
> of the measures of success, or indicators, may be a
> value-laden process.

Clifford (1978:155) argues that one of the most common and
telling criticisms of rational analysis, is that it postures
under the guise of neutrality when in fact value sets and
assumptions of the researchers tacitly guide both policy
definitions and analysis. This notion has led some people to
suggest that the concept of neutrality 'serves primarily as a
cover-up to protect the social scientist from moral self-
scrutiny and moral question by others (Ladd,1975:180). Kramer
(1975) recognizes this problem, and feels the pretence of

value-neutral objectivity must be discarded and the people most able to do so are the analysts themselves. This could be achieved, he thinks, by firstly promoting communication between analyst and decision maker to break down as much as possible the means-ends role dichotomy, and to encourage understanding of the values and limitations of the techniques, and secondly, by institutionalizing alongside any analytic operation, a kind of intellectual pluralism. This would entail **formalized debate** among different analysts, thus offering various perspectives of the problem at hand. Thirdly, the need is underlined, for institutional or 'task responsibility' to be complemented by a moral responsibility on the part of the analysts (and those who make use of their services) to make explicit the value judgements within the research.

This moral responsibility cannot be abrogated to someone else's responsibility. The role of the analyst should not be limited to that of the technician, nor should it be argued that it is the job of the politician to point out the value judgements (Carley, 1980:71). A number of writers (e.g., Gordon et al. (1977) think that the rational method of policy analysis is a deviation from reality and consequently should be abandoned in preference to an implementation perspective. Indeed, Carley (1980:68) believes that as a necessary adjunct to rational analysis, an implementation approach brings policy-making models that much closer to the complex reality it is. He adds that the value of implementation research is as indisputable as are the limitations of rational analysis, but the dismissal of rationality is an over-reaction.

A final problem needs mentioning: that of the difference between problem assessment and project assessment, for no technique can assess the usefulness of a particular project, if indeed the project is only one of a number of otherwise unexplored options related to a larger problem (Carley, 1980:84). Primary education for example, is not an isolated

phenomenon in the educational system, but an integral part of it. The solution of its problems cannot be divorced from those of the rest of the education system.

2.2   The Case Study Approach in the Thesis

2.2.1 Rationale for choice: an epistemological stance

Goal-achievement and evaluation-implementation are perfectly compatible. This study examines the processes of project development in the various project systems under study. Difficulties encountered in effecting change in national education systems have been widely documented (e.g., Havelock and Huberman, 1977; Fullan, 1982). Various perspectives can be adopted in examining an innovation process. The one adopted for this study involves a shift from the technological focus (on the innovation itself), to the political and cultural contexts (the innovation-in-context and process of implementation).

In education, as in other areas of human endeavour, evaluations are carried out for the purpose of improving practice. Thus, evaluation is itself a social activity, occurring within a social context, embodying different interests and purposes, and more often than not, charged with political import. The primary purpose of this research is to provide a basis for decision-making; a framework in which informed practical judgements can be made. Two factors of prime importance determine the nature of the approach adopted:

- the purpose, and
- the specific audience or reference group from whose viewpoint the evaluation is undertaken.

In fact, evaluation resources are often more effectively used to gather information to improve project performance than to

assess project impact, making it important for every project to have an in-built evaluation component in its intervention (Searle, 1985).

In educational evaluation, theories of knowledge have an important bearing on what is evaluated, and on the activity of evaluation itself. It is important to make the contrast between evaluation that is directed towards effectiveness, productivity and accountability on the one hand, and evaluation that is directed towards improved awareness, quality of understanding and freedom of choice on the other. However, depending on the purpose of the evaluation, it is not inconceivable that an evaluation should reflect for example, elements of effectiveness, albeit of a qualitative nature, and the quality of understanding of a process of change. In fact, both the ends and means of this activity are epistemological in character and are largely determined by the underlying theory of knowledge implicitly or explicitly adopted.

Educational evaluation can be seen as a rational process in which the particular educational materials, activities or institutions are interpreted, appraised and judged in the light of criteria appropriate to specified contexts. Thus, it presupposes an existing framework of knowledge out of which an interpretative act or cognitive appraisal is made. In the case of examining the process of Cameroon primary change, it will also require some appreciable understanding of what is being evaluated. In effect, we can evaluate something only in the light of what we understand or take it to be, and appraise only those features of which we have some knowledge, however limited or partial that knowledge may be (Kemmis, 1971). The more thorough the understanding, the more illuminating the evaluation is likely to be.

Different models of evaluation have emerged from the dominant and competing views of social science characterized as

positivist and interpretive respectively (see 2.1.4). What underpins any approach to evaluation is a set of epistemological assumptions that may or may not be explicitly recognized by the proponents of that particular approach. However, these assumptions have been frequently overlooked by those who espouse some of the traditional models of evaluation which assume that criteria of educational success or failure are unproblematic and can be judged in terms of measured student behaviour or organizational effectiveness.

The influence of positivism has been dominant until very recently. Relativism and interpretative evaluation have proven useful in the social sciences where typically positivist approaches have not been very insightful. However, relativistic approaches are not without shortcomings. The main features of the positivist view of scientific knowledge are:

- that direct observation of perceived things and processes provide the ultimate link between scientific knowledge of the world and the world itself;

- that the reality of the world of which we have knowledge is independent of the observer;

- that there are observational terms which are themselves theory-independent units of meaning;

- that the actual practice of science - involving the process of justification, the testing and validation of theories and hypotheses - is a rational process; and

- that scientific knowledge is cumulative and progressive.

(Codd, 1984:62)

An evaluation model which relies solely on quantitative methods however, involving a straightforward match between objectives

and outcomes of an institution is inadequate in studying environmental factors affecting the innovation process. Habermas (1971) explains that when the "facts" of a situation are properly construed, they can never be fully isolated from the human interests and values on the basis of which they are inevitably selected and assembled. It is argued that scientific knowledge is a product of the social activity of scientific enquiry (Kuhn, 1970), but the 'new' sociologists of education will have to remember that school curricula comprise knowledge that has been legitimated by powerful groups sharing common interests. As such, to say that knowledge has been legitimated, is to say only that it has been accepted by a social group having the power to grant such approval. It does not necessarily follow that the knowledge is valid, for, validation requires standards of truth and objectivity. A process approach to evaluation of the development of every project is important to guide action.

In fact, some of the problems of relativism encountered with approaches to educational evaluation based upon the interpretative paradigm, and continuing discontent with the inflexibility of the positivist managerial approaches in educational evaluation, have led to the perspective of "evaluation as illumination", based upon the subjective interpretation of experience. It is important to note here that while illuminative evaluation has been successful in countering the most manipulative and oppressive features of the mainly managerial models, it should be more than merely the giving of opinions. It is even more important that the evaluator 'be impartial rather than simply objective' (House, 1980:93), for, the extent to which he achieves 'qualitative objectivity' (House,1980), will depend on the critical and reflective qualification that the evaluator gives to the construction of the social reality he presents.

Evaluation as illumination, is the form of evaluation which follows. It presupposes an epistemological pluralism in which personal and socially constructed meanings assume particular prominence.

The researcher has chosen the case study, as the approach to appraising the process of primary educational change because it is down-to-earth, and epistemologically in harmony with the reader's experience. The characteristics of the method are more suited to expansionist than reductionist pursuits. In fact the study has less to do with the wanton validation of laws as it is to attempt to explain some of the inertia that has characterized particularly the IPAR projects, despite the enormous amount of resources (human and material) devoted to them in the continuing endeavour to effect educational change at this level.

It is simplistic to think that educational change is always the result of educational research, because the potential for the latter in innovation is only an aspect (and probably not the most important one) of the wide spectrum present in transformation, making it imperative for a greater effort to be made to understand how research manifests itself in the process of planned educational change. As Vielle (1981:315) contends:

> Innovation of itself is not good or bad, progressive or regressive; whatever character it takes on will depend on the general orientation of the desired change. Such an orientation or purpose of a research project depends on the very game of interests, on the needs and desires of individuals and groups who play a part in research or gain some benefit from it .... [N]eutrality of scientific research is a myth or, to say the least, an ideal that is difficult to reach.

Indeed, projects can be undertaken at the right moment, and
continue for long periods, but the opportunity of every project
is relative and its historical momentum may be conditioned by
such factors as the political climate, the permeability of
target groups (teachers, inspectors of schools, and others) to
the new ideas, by the availability of funds for research and so
on. The span could modify the conditions for its "opportunity"
(Vielle, 1981:317). Fetterman reminds us that

> research is not above politics, it is a part of poli-
> tics. [However], choosing between static or
> homeostatic models reinforces the status quo ....
> Viewing the programme as a symbolic manifestation of
> social and cultural change can be illuminating ....
> When programmes are seen only as total abstractions,
> human beings are forgotten. (1986:219)

The researcher subscribes to a view, which Scriven (1983)
holds, that few people are valuephobic about the suggestion
they are less than perfect, need some improvement; but to be
told they are incompetent or even far worse than others, is
less palatable. The researcher sees perspectivism, which
accommodates multiple accounts of reality as perspectives from
which we build up a true picture, and not as a set of true
pictures of different and inconsistent realities, as the most
suitable approach to understanding the process of Cameroon
educational change.

In this model, pluralistic criteria are introduced by
soliciting the judgements of various people involved in the
programme. The data are weighted intuitively by the evaluator
and by the audience of the evaluation. This
intuitionist/pluralist model takes intuitive tacit knowledge
derived from professional experience and participation by both
the practitioners and the public as the basis of ethics and

knowledge (House, 1983:50). Indeed, Medawar, a Nobel Prize winner and experimental scientist, argued:

> the generative act in science is imaginative guesswork .... "The scientific method," as it is sometimes called, is a potentiation of commonsense .... More generally, criticism is the most powerful weapon in any methodology of science; it is the scientist's only assurance that he need not persist in error .... If an experiment does not hold out the possibility of causing one to revise one's views, it is hard to see why it should be done at all.
>
> Medawar (1979:93-94)

2.2.2 Analytical framework: the Institutional Development (ID) model

It is important to note that the appraisal of the SPEP and the IPAR experiences is mainly concerned with examining the characteristics and performance of the project systems, and the significance of the projects in Cameroon primary educational change. This includes an analysis of factors external to the project systems which influence their performance. Thus, there is a concern:

- for pertinence of objectives, inputs, processes and underlying platform of values characteristic of the change environment (the Cameroon educational context),

- for how objectives may be redefined or even abandoned, than whether or not they were attained,

- for understanding and describing some of the complex interplay of factors in the educational and social environment that condition the change process.

Though the IPAR experience is an integral view of the IPAR-Yaounde and IPAR-Buea projects, the projects differ in their organization, strategies, resource allocation (material and personnel), scope of work covered, and indeed, in their project environments. Considering these dissimilarities in the IPAR projects and the fact that they differ from the SPEP, it is not the purpose of this study to identify elements of comparability across projects as though of a one-one correspondence.

However, each project system in this research has been visualized in terms of an institution, and the researcher has adopted three broad perspectives of the concept of "institutional development" or "institutional analysis" (e.g., World Bank, 1985; Israel, 1987), viz, the intra-, inter-, and extra-institutional development perspectives, as the analytical frame for appraising the two experiences in Cameroon educational change.

The use of the concepts "institution" and "institutional development" are further developed hereunder. In this thesis, the former refers more generally to governmentwide administrative functions (e.g., Israel, 1987:11), while the latter, concerns the organization and management of various project systems, and an examination of the pertinence of project goals towards Cameroon primary educational change.

The intra-institutional development perspective provides an analysis of the resource allocation (personnel and material) and management of the project unit, the inter-institutional development perspective provides an examination of the influence of other institutions in the administrative bureaucracy on the performance of these projects, while the extra-institutional development perspective provides an analysis of the pertinence of project ideologies in relation to the broader aims of harmonization and reforms in Cameroon primary education.

Generally speaking, problems concerning the performance of various institutions have been dealt with by many authors especially in the specialized field of management science (e.g., Campbell et al., 1970; Timsit, 1976; Kiggundu, 1983). The literature on "institutional development" as a model for studying projects is not new, but its particular application to studying innovation programmes in education is of relatively recent vintage.

The researcher's use of the concept is synonymous with institution building and is defined as the process of improving an institution's ability to make effective use of the human and financial resources available in achieving its laid down goals. The broad concept of "institution" encompasses entities at the local or community level, project management units, line agencies in the central government, and so on (Israel, 1987:11).

Indeed the concept of institutional development has expanded since the growth and change in the educational systems of Sub-Saharan Africa during the 1960s and 1970s met with serious problems in the 1980s, regarding how to sustain these expanding systems of education. The crisis in which most countries in this region found themselves and indeed still find themselves, led the World Bank to carry out a study in 1982, which concluded that in part, the problems were financial; in part they were institutional; but, in the final analysis, the failure lay in resource management and planning (World Bank, 1985).

Thus, it was imagined that what was needed, was not yet another set of external recommendations to the countries on how to

chart their development, but rather

(a) an understanding of why these countries, after decades of
    Bank lending and other external aid, still appeared to be
    in need of considerable external participation in the
    analysis of their problems, in the planning and
    implementation of development in the sector and in the
    efficient management of education and training, and

(b) some idea of steps to be taken to build up strong
    permanent national capacity in this area. (World Bank,
    1985:i)

Institutional development is concerned with management systems,
including monitoring and evaluation; organizational structure
and changes; planning, staffing and personnel policies; staff
training; financial performance (management, and planning,
budgeting, accounting, and auditing); maintenance; and
procurement. Not least is the coordination of the various
activities involved. (Israel, 1988:12)

Organizational development techniques (Bennis, Benne and Chin,
1969:72) aim at harmonizing conflicts between the formal
organization (as represented by management and the supervisory
hierarchy) and the informal or living organization of actual
employees towards a greater awareness of their own potentials,
desires, ambitions, relationships with others, attitudes to the
organization, as well as modifying management objectives and
methods in order to maximize harmony of intent and practices
between the employer and employee. At the level of the
institution (government service, research corps, and so on) the
employer will be seen as the decision-maker, and the employees,
those who are answerable to him.

The performance of various functions in institutions operate
through organizational processes of decision-making and action.

Though an intellectual understanding of managerial functions is no guarantee that a manager will perform effectively, Paul (1977:90) believes there are four types of skills that the public manager must learn. These are planning, analytical, organizational, and integrative skills which the performance of different managerial functions demand in varying combinations. Planning skills are needed not only in the area of long-term planning, but also in all other areas of project implementation.

Analytical capabilities are a prerequisite in practically all managerial functions, and organizational and integrative skills are most important in project implementation (service delivery, logistics, production) (Paul, 1977:91). By and large, the skills needed in operationalizing these processes can only be attained through experience. Siffin (1977:49) argues that it is hard to dispute the premordial premise that effective administration mechanisms are important to national development. In fact, he remarks that failures in public management education and training in the developing countries and disappointments have probably taught the Bank more than its successes. Of special relevance to donors and recipients alike in the planning and execution of programmes of change, Siffin observes:

> We have come a long way from the self-assured export and import of conventional administrative ideas and techniques. As a consequence, one-time importers and exporters have come closer together. The so-called developed countries have moved beyond systems maintenance administration into efforts to guide and manage social change .... We should therefore build the content and apply the portents of development administration, and make more sensible use of conventional public administration, as we face futures marked by blooming demands for the

coordination and integration of efforts, for the adroit and effective setting and service of social goals, and for more audacious and auspicious public interventions in the terms of human existence. (1977:60)

These views are particularly pertinent in visualizing contemporary trends in institutional development in developing countries. Coombe rightly draws attention to the fact that within ministries of education, the mutual dependence of the specialist planners (experts) and others is often obscured or interrupted by lines of authority and bureaucratic organization. He observes:

Far from being a seamless continuum, planning activity is boxed and packaged by department, fragmented according to a score of different job specifications. The concept of integral planning implies a counter-bureaucratic perspective, in the sense that it affirms the mutual dependence of all participants in the planning process, regardless of their job title or departmental affiliation ... [it] requires collaboration as an essential condition, and presupposes a global or holistic outlook on the education process. (1988:1)

However, Coombe has no illusions. Such important and desirable institutional changes are 'unlikely to occur either spontaneously or quickly', without real commitment, new communication channels, new vocabularies, new modes of discourse, and the establishment of a satisfactory level of professional respect and confidence (Coombe, 1988:2).

Institutional development concerns the establishment, strengthening or enhancement of the capacity of agencies or institutions to perform their assigned functions efficiently.

This involves the provision of a system with an unequivocal mandate, goals and objectives, the necessary physical facilities (buildings, equipment and furniture), personnel of sufficient calibre and in the required numbers, a rational organization, well thought out procedures and the necessary authority and financial resources; it also means facilitating the continuous evaluation, maintenance and updating of this overall system (World Bank, 1985:i). The establishment of a project is not complete at the level of its organization and management at the project unit; it will have to include arrangements for horizontal and vertical coordination, communication and collaboration, and allow for flexible implementation strategies (Verspoor, 1985). There is then the need to study the influence of other institutions in the administrative bureaucracy or in the project environment which affect its performance - hence the reason for both an intra-, and inter-institutional appraisal of the projects.

The effectiveness of a project could be seen in terms of how well it is doing relative to its own set of standards. The criteria include its capacity to define and agree on its appropriate operational objectives. However, effectiveness can also be measured in terms of standards that are external to the institution, like its contributions to societal systems. In this particular case, the contributions are towards change in the entire educational system of which primary education is only an integral component.

Furthermore, the concept of efficiency refers only to the way in which the resources available are used to achieve the objectives established, without regard to whether the objectives in question are the right ones or not. Since the efficiency of an institution is technically a measure of the ratio of its output to input, it is possible to have an inefficient institution that is relatively effective if it achieves the right objectives, even though at a high cost.

Conversely, an institution could be considered efficient from an input-output perspective, while pursuing the wrong objectives (Israel, 1987:12). For this reason, the researcher saw the need to include an <u>extra-institutional perspective</u> to the appraisal of the SPEP and IPAR projects.

The intra-, inter-, and extra- institutional analysis of the two experiences in Cameroon primary change provide a holistic view of the effort made thus far at that level.

2.2.3 Collection of field data

The field data collection for this research was done in two phases: from January 2nd 1984 to February 26th 1984, and between February 6th and the 22nd April 1987. During the first phase, the BREDA/UNESCO bureau in Dakar, Senegal, requested that the researcher undertake an evaluation of the aspect of IPAR reform activities aiming at integrating activities in pre-vocational education in the primary curriculum, which resulted in a report entitled: <u>VILLAGE TECHNOLOGY: an initiation into appropriate technologies towards professional and technical education in Cameroon primary Schools</u> (see Tosam, 1984). During the second phase, he revisited the IPAR projects to appraise the experience as a whole, and this time, included the SPEP, to provide a holistic appraisal of the on-going efforts towards effecting primary educational change in the country.

During the intervals separating both field trips, new faces had entered the research scene. For example, there were three successive Ministers of Education within the interim, the

Director of IPAR-Yaounde had been changed, and the GIP reorganized. This provided an opportunity to obtain views on the evolution of the IPAR projects from those officials who had been interviewed during the first phase of the data gathering

process, and others who had newly joined the projects or influenced them from the administrative bureaucracy.

At the beginning of each session of field work, the first visits were to acquaint the researcher with the status of the projects, to collect and/or make copies of any relevant literature that he had access to, and to determine who were going to be interviewed. The choice of participants was in a manner to obtain views from people involved in the different aspects of the projects. Other interviewees were identified during the process of interviewing the initial group of informants.

Research participants came from a wide range of professional groups, from classroom teachers, headmasters, inspectors of education at the provincial and central level, to researchers and lecturers at the Ecoles Normales Supérieures (ENS) (at Bambili and Yaounde) and Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences of the University of Yaounde. What they all had in common was that they were civil servants, and generally speaking, belonged to the country's elite.

Research participants included Cameroon nationals and a number of foreign experts. All those of the latter group belonged to the SPEP. Cameroonians formed the majority of the research participants and could be easily separated into two main groups: those who could only give interviews in either French (mainly researchers from IPAR-Yaounde and inspectors at the GIP) or English (mainly researchers at IPAR-Buea). However, this was not problematic since the researcher is bilingual and works in both languages.

Since participants in the research represented quite a cross-section of an important and influential body of opinion, the depth interview was found more appropriate than other methods in this research as the main information gathering technique.

The researcher was aware of the importance of gaining theoretical sensitivity, to enter the research setting with as few predetermined ideas as possible, in order to be able to record events and detect happenings the way they are.

There are various approaches to the interview, and these can be categorized as unstructured, semi-structured, or fully structured, but, it must be remembered that these terms refer more to the procedure of the interview itself, than to the considerations which must be taken into account prior to the interview. However, care was taken towards adequately defining, categorizing, recording and coding the responses for drawing inferences from them - the process of theory building.

The "depth interview", at times known as a "focused" or "individual" interview, in practice could represent a variety of approaches, ranging from posing questions in a supposedly totally non-directive manner, to varying the exact wording of questions in a more probing manner than would be possible with the formal questionnaire. Between these two extremes there is an abyss in practice and therefore in theory about the purpose and nature of the interview (Jones, 1985:45). In relatively broad terms, each interviewee was introduced to the research topic and my reasons for being interested in the topic were explained. This procedure was maintained even when introductory outlines of the research had been handed well in advance to the interviewees, just in case they had not been read or found reassuring enough.

The interview structure was not fixed by predetermined questions, but the researcher had key research themes surrounding for example, the concepts of "reform", "harmonization", and "ruralization" of the IPAR projects, and "quality improvements", "educational access" and "human resource development" of the SPEP, on which leading questions were posed to the research participant to engage in a

conversation. The nature of the leading question depended on the status of the participant in the project, and the essence was to provide him or her with freedom to introduce materials that were not anticipated by the researcher. For example, if the research participant started by asking researcher the question - "What do you want to know about the project ?", the researcher responded that it was mainly to find out whether the conduct of the project ran into problems of any kind, and to study the nature of such problems towards understanding how they affect the educational change process. As the conversations came alive, it was occasionally necessary to rephrase and reflect back to the informant what he or she seems to be expressing and to summarize the remarks as a check on understanding.

The degree of directiveness provided by the researcher depended on the interviewing situation. Some tips in handling the interview situation were gained from a study on the analysis on interviewers' behaviour (Dohrenwend and Richardson, 1956) on a six point scale ranging from non-interference in the direction of the conversation with the interviewee to introducing a new topic.

Group interviews, or "group discussions" were also an important information gathering technique. Two SPEP seminars organized between February and April 1987 provided an excellent opportunity for individual and group interviews to be conducted among people of the same professional groups (headmasters, directors of TTCs, and so on). The rationale behind using this technique was that human problems have a social dimension and people are to be understood not only partly through their own internal workings as individuals, but also, partly through their relationships and interactions with others. As Hedges (1985) explains, watching how people react to something tells more than if they talk about the subject in abstract. This view was confirmed, for example, in a group discussion

involving four headmasters of primary schools. As a method of breaking in the discussions, the researcher asked them whether they thought their schools were rural or urban schools. The different views each had about what the difference between an urban and a rural school were, brought them to the conclusion that the concept of "rural school" was relative to the speaker's understanding of what characteristics made up a rural or urban school, and such attributes changed with the degree of development of the school environment. As one headmaster at some point joked:

> ... It could take four years for a school opened in an influential politician's area of origin to become an urban school, whereas a rural school like mine opened in an area without any strong backing in government could remain rural for over twenty years.

Funny, it may seem to many a reader, one is left with the important fact that relying on statistics recorded about, say, the urban and rural schools in a particular administrative region not regularly updated, could lead an investigator (researcher) to erroneous correlations if he did not not employ means to verify his data, or better still, go to the field to discover whether the reality of the environment had changed or not.

With a tape recorder and a notebook, the researcher adopted "grounded theory" (see Glaser and Strauss, 1967) as the approach to the field research on the two experiences under investigation. In this approach, the field research involves the grounded modification of theory, with theory being an essential part of the process of doing research. Theory becomes a developing entity rather than a perfected product. Grounded theory is generated and developed from data. Indeed,

Merton (1968) maintains that

> to see empirical research as merely testing or verifying
> hypotheses is to return to a model of research that fails
> to describe what actually occurs, as it omits several
> aspects of the research process ... a passive role to the
> process to the research enterprise.

The appropriateness of "grounded theory" in institutional
development or analysis adopted for this study lies in the fact
that, in contrast to providing a mere descriptive study,
interactionism (see, Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Schatzman and
Strauss, 1973) was used to generate theory in the process of
conducting the research. The objective was to discover not
only the diversity of activities and goals of the various
projects, but also the assortment of internal processes, their
relationships to one another, and the consequences that derive
therefrom. The essence was to see whether the generated
theories fit, work and were relevant in making inferences from
the projects about the process of Cameroon educational change.
In short, the essence was to understand both what a given
project system (or institution) is, and how it is as it is.
The focus was on the attitudes, and opinions of the research
participants and theorizing was through their concepts and
understanding of the activities they were involved in or
referring to.

Indeed, the comparison of the "word" with the "act" is a
process of concurrent validation. The researcher attempted to
achieve this element of validity by using a notebook to
occasionally jot down categories emerging as interviews
proceeded, while taping the interview itself using a small but
sensitive tape recorder placed on a table between the
interviewee and himself. The recordings were to prove very
useful in the analytical phase of the research. With this
arrangement, there was enough opportunity to take account of

non-verbal data, such as facial expressions, signs of apprehension, doubt or uncertainty, and so on, which otherwise would not be possible if notes were taken down throughout the period of the interview.

The essence of using this technique is to use behaviour as a way of validating attitudes and even opinions which can be highly situational. If for some reason the researcher felt that some resposes were highly conditioned by the values of the participant (anglophone or francophone) they were not simply accepted but tested in various ways through probes and further questioning around the same theme. For example, it was not enough to take as fact that the IPAR experience was not making headway as one researcher put it, "because of the effects of neo-imperialistic policies of **la France d'outre-mer** (France overseas) towards the continued dependency of its former states ... " or the view of yet another researcher, that **"cette affaire de l'agriculture dans les écoles comme ruralization est une idée trop anglo-saxonne"** (the idea of introducing agriculture in schools in the name of ruralization is very much a British idea). These statements are too broad, do not focus on the research theme per se, and admit to some emotional impulsion in the responses. In both situations the researcher asked in various ways how the participant felt the situation could be resolved. The spontaneous response was that the answer rested with the decision-makers. But when asked to imagine what they as individuals would do, if they found themselves in the shoes of these decision-makers, the conversations got into a more reflective mood.

It is important perhaps, to note that a better interpersonal relationship seems to have been created this way and offered the interviewee a more relaxed atmosphere for the depth interviews. Generally speaking, interviewees were not wary of having their voices taped, since the researcher promised keeping the identity of his informants anonymous in the writing

up of the research. In effect, the reality of the field was let to unfold in as unobtrusive a manner as could be possible. The researcher introduced the themes for discussions and momentarily re-focused the discussions when apparently the interviewee began to digress from the central themes.

As much as possible, the researcher stayed among project participants, and made note of issues emerging as important to project participants in the conduct of their discussions, which were later followed through in "individual" and "group" interviewing where possible. As an illustration, during the SPEP seminars held in Bamenda between February and March 1987, the plenary sessions were followed by group discussions, each of about five to six participants, some of them in the church congregation-room where the plenary sessions were held, and others in an adjoining open space to it. The topic being discussed by primary school headmasters was - "Establishing a model curriculum". The researcher joined one of the groups and a lively discussion ensued:

- "Why is this theme important when we all know it is the responsibility of the Ministry [of Education] to provide school programmes ?" one of the seminarists asked, looking at his colleagues. "We are not expected to teach what we like in our schools ?" he insisted.

- A second participant asked the first speaker: "What do you think should be done to the children since the Ministry does not have a specific programme for primary schools, and some teachers are working from outmoded schemes of work which go as far back as the colonial period ?"

- The answer to this question still pending, a third participant smilingly added, "It is years today they [at the central services] are talking about change and common

primary school syllabuses, and while waiting I have seen
many of my pupils leave schools and become men ... one
cannot wait for ever, in the same country one child is
supposed to take ten years to complete first cycle secondary
education without failure from primary education
[francophone] and the other twelve years without failure
[anglophone], to obtain another certificate considered its
equivalent .... Where are we with the harmonization
affair ?"

At this point he was reminded by yet another participant, the
rapporteur, that the theme for discussion was not the
harmonization of education in the country, but the
establishment of "a model curriculum for the primary school".
It was necessary to get back to the theme of the seminar,
because he had not written anything for the group report to be
read at the beginning of the next plenary session in another
twenty minutes. These reports were read from the floor and
handed to the chairperson for each plenary session, sitting at
the front stage of the church hall, flanked by a rapporteur and
the Minister of Education's representative whose role was to
inform the participants about the policies and realities of the
Ministry of National Education regarding matters arising from
the deliberations. For example, a proposition made by an
experienced teacher and lecturer from the floor, and widely
approved by shouts of "Yeah, Yeah !" from the rest of the
audience, was to organize a next SPEP meeting to design a
common primary school syllabus for all anglophone primary
schools. The organizing Technical Assistant explained that a
SPEP seminar was inappropriate to carry out such a task, and
furthermore, the government had set up the IPARs to work on a
common Cameroon primary syllabus which was in progress. It was
clear that the non-existence of a common and up-dated syllabus
preoccupied the headmasters' minds and the concept of
harmonization was evoked. These were later discussed during a
group interview arranged by the researcher with a group of four

headmasters back at their hotel at the end of the day's SPEP
activities.

As many properties of the categories as possible were generated
from the data obtained, slowly "shape" emerged in response to
the constant variable: change. It was crucial to discover the
influences which shaped the attitudes revealed and the opinions
of the interviewees on the concept of primary educational
change in particular, and towards change in the entire
educational system in general.

It is important to underline the fact that the researcher's
observations of the various project activities were mainly
limited to sitting among participants during two SPEP seminars,
and switching discussion groups, one group each day, over a
seven-day period covering both seminars, organized between
March 16 -19th 1987, and March 23rd. to 27th 1987. These were
two out of four SPEP seminars representing its main activities
for the project year November 1986 - November 1987 (see section
7.5.2). Each group discussion lasted about thirty minutes.

Also, sample lessons in agriculture each lasting less than
forty minutes, delivered by primary school teachers based at
IPAR-Buea, to visiting pupils of a given class from a pilot
school in the vicinity of the demonstration farm at Mile 17, a
location situated at a radius of about a kilometre from the
IPAR-Buea institute, were observed on two occasions during the
first phase of the data collecting process on the IPAR
projects. IPAR-Yaounde had no involvement with pilot schools
during either phase of the field work. IPAR-Buea researchers
did not visit schools for lack of resources (including lack of
transport facilities), the directorate explained. Indeed,
during the second phase of field work, the activities of the
IPAR project staff were limited to office work.

Thus, the researcher had easy access to the IPAR researchers for interviewing, and the SPEP research participants were interviewed individually, during opportune moments like intervals on the SPEP programme schedule, and in groups, at their hotel lounges at the end of a day's seminar activities.

An important early source of information was a five-day workshop the researcher organized in February 1984 at IPAR-Buea with UNESCO financial assistance, which brought together the Director of the institute and four researchers involved in the "Village Technology" project referred to earlier in this section, two headteachers (one lady and one man) from an IPAR-Buea pilot school, and two primary school teachers based at the IPAR-Buea institute, who did the teaching at the IPAR-Buea demonstration farm at Mile 17.

In brief, the themes discussed during these workshops concerned the IPAR-Buea proposals on agricultural education and handicrafts to be integrated into the primary school programmes. Essentially, the feasibility of the proposals was discussed. The researcher had earlier studied the document at home and identified the key themes of the proposals therein, which were discussed by the participants at the round-table which lasted five working days (from a Monday to Friday). Each working day beginning at eight o'clock in the morning was taken up by a minimum of five hours of lively discussions. Throughout the exercise, the researcher maintained the function of chairperson, while at the same time taking down notes. This was possible because the views of various participants were given spontaneously and in reaction to proposals given by an earlier speaker, for example. However, the researcher moderated the discussions with occasional probes to develop on themes that emerged as important in the discussions or to introduce new themes which seemed important but were not sufficiently addressed. For example, it was easy to agree on the fact that work-related activities should be introduced in

primary schools, but few considerations were given to the place and significance they would have in the existing and quite overloaded primary school time-table, its prospects of being examined and tactics to have pupils intrisically motivated to pursue these activities. Someone else was elected rapporteur with whose notes the researcher compared and where necessary, updated his at the end of each day.

The researcher was aware of the need to use tact to solicit the impressions of every participant on the various themes identified by both the participants and him as significant in appraising the IPAR-Buea proposals and their personal impressions on how they thought they could be modified.

The interesting discussions that ensued, eventually goaded the researcher towards conducting this study - a more holistic appraisal of the efforts made towards the harmonization of the dual and conflicting educational traditions in the country, and towards quality improvements for better Cameroon primary schools.

Also interviewed were officials in the General Inspectorate of Pedagogy (GIP) in the Ministry of National Education who have considerable influence on what goes on in the primary schools (syllabuses, recommendation of textbooks for schools, school inspections and so on), officials in the Department of Primary and Nursery Education, in the Department of Professional and Technical Education in the Ministry of National Education, researchers at the CNE, and educationists in the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research.

2.2.4 Analysis of field data

Various methods for analysing interviews have been used by a number of researchers: some, using cognitive maps (for example, Jones,1981; Eden, Smithin and Wiltshire, 1980) and examining

social phenomena along a microscopic (acts) - macroscopic
(setting) continuum or typological analysis (e.g., Lofland,
1971), and using sequential analysis (Becker and Geer, 1982).
But as Jones (1985:69) observes, different people will
inevitably find various ways of managing and retaining
complexity in data derived from interviews, but some
categorical determination of "best" method seams quite
inappropriate. The key issue here was to know whether the
results did fit, made sense and were true to the understanding
of ordinary actors in the everyday world (e.g., Psthas,
1973:12).

The method of data analysis used in this research is one of
constant comparison (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) of categories of
data derived from the various interviews depicting the realitiy
of the project activities as seen by the research participants.
After some four or five interviews with participants in each
project, the researcher had a feel of the pattern the rest of
the responses might take, and from these, categories of
information significant in their experiences were built and
developed upon or amended as the other interviews proceeded.
This was a fairly systematic way of assessing the massive data
collected.

In more detail, the analytical process involved listening to
each tape at least twice to discover a pattern in the themes
raised or found significant and elaborated upon by the research
participants, and the third time over, making selective
jottings of pertinent issues or categories significant in the
research participants' views of the project activities.
Judging from these selective jottings (Smith, 1981), together
with an examination of the categories identified in my note
book while the interviews were in progress, provided the final
frame from which extrapolations were made about the process of
primary educational change. The theory in this case is
"grounded" in the concepts and theorizing of the people it is

about, and consequently is likely to fit and work as the basis for explanation and prediction (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The very process of deciding "what is", and what is relevant and significant in "what is", involves selective interpretation and conceptualisation. Bulmer (1982:38) observes that there is constant interplay between the observation of realities and the formation of concepts, between research and theorizing.

In all, 27 respondents were involved in the first field exercise, and 41 respondents in the second. Fifteen of these people were involved in both. A list of those who took part in this study is found in Annex 1. This list does not include those who for undisclosed reasons asked not to be featured in the report though their opinions form part of the field data. Attempts to use pseudonyms have failed elsewhere (for example, see Platt, 1976:201-2). Some researchers even believe that it is "obvious" to keep the names and even places of projects anonymous in making critical assessments of case studies in innovation projects (e.g., see Havelock and Huberman, 1977:10). It is hoped then, that the reader will be able to use these research findings in a constructive way.

2.3 Limitations of the Case Studies

2.3.1 Comment

Institutional development provides a useful framework for studying the efforts made through the SPEP, IPAR-Buea project and IPAR-Yaounde project towards Cameroon primary educational change. Many research participants in the study (IPAR researchers in the main) thought the institutional development perspective to examining efforts in Cameroon educational change was new and seemed exciting. A researcher at IPAR-Buea

remarked:

> It is time we looked for other ways of evaluating
> educational efforts in this country. Input/output
> measures do not tell us how we operate .... We need
> to know who is doing what and whether he is equipped
> with the necessary tools and support to carry out the
> tasks .... If you only look at the results and do
> not care to find out how we work - the conditions and
> so on, an outsider will never know why there is so
> much talk about reform and nothing much is happening
> (Interview, researcher - IPAR-Buea, 26/02/84)

The appraisal of these projects necessitated the adoption of
the case study as approach and the use of "grounded theory",
the "interview" being the main information gathering technique.
In spite of the suitability of the approach for the study, it
admits to a number of limitations.

A better understanding of the various qualitative traditions
offers hope of a richer and fuller understanding of education
and of a more effective delivery of educational services.
Indeed, qualitative research traditions offer varied ways to
study naturally occurring human behaviour and perceptions. In
them, attempts have to be made to make research theoretically
meaningful, and to fit the findings into a "generalized model"
which the researcher can build from existing theory, or from
developing new theoretical ideas (Becker, 1958). However,
regardless of the discipline or the methods used for data
collection and analysis in all scientific inquiry, the
reliability and validity of findings are important.
"Reliability" refers to the extent to which studies or
scientific findings can be replicated, while "validity" is
concerned with the accuracy of these findings or a
demonstration that the propositions generated, refined or
tested match the causal conditions which obtain in human life.

Establishing validity requires the extent to which conclusions effectively represent empirical reality and assessing whether constructs devised by the researcher represent or measure the categories of human experience that occur (e.g., Hansen, 1979). In fact, problems of reliability and validity are shared by ethnographers and experimenters alike, albeit defined in special ways.

A common criticism levelled against qualitative investigations (e.g., Kennedy, 1984) of which the case study is an aspect, is that they fail to adhere to the canons of validity and reliability. Though some researchers ignore criticism that ethnographic research is regarded as unreliable and lacking in validity and generalizability, others have responded by codifying their techniques for comprehensibility across research disciplines and traditions (e.g., Hansen, 1979), but the essence I suppose, is to see in what way ethnographic research and positivistic research contribute to scientific progress - and these contributions lie in their differences. By admitting into the research frame the subjective experiences of both participants and investigator, ethnography provides a depth of understanding in such a study, lacking in other approaches to investigation. However, ignoring threats to credibility weakens the results of any research, whatever its purpose.

2.3.2 The interview

A criticism that may be levelled against the interview is that its reliability is low, though its validity is very reasonable. The interview is an artificial situation, particularly in its emphasis on verbal procedures. One is faced with a situation where inferences are made based on information at least one step from reality - where the "nitty gritty" takes place.

However, a real threat to natural validity is that the researcher had to rely mainly on verbal testimony regarding behaviour rather than on direct observation of behaviour. Consequently, the quality of the data depended on the quality of the participants' testimonies that are shaped not only by their concern for social desirability, but also by qualities such as their insightfulness, their articulateness, and their openness. The comparison of the word with the act is important. Unfortunately during both phases of the field data collection, IPAR-Yaounde had no involvement with schools and IPAR-Buea did not have any significant involvement either (see 5.4.2).

Though the ethnographic design for this research was appropriate in studying the process of educational change in the country, it must be admitted that it is a complicated problem when dealing with naturalistic behaviour (people's attitudes and opinions), to establish reliability in such research. Unique social situations cannot be reconstructed precisely to produce identical results. Furthermore, it must be admitted that the ethnographic process is personalistic, and no ethnographer works just like another. Reliability is enhanced by describing precisely what was done.

There are possible and probable effects of the observer's presence on the nature of the data gathered (Schwartz and Schwartz, 1955). The very presence of the investigator on the scene is obtrusive of the inquiry itself, and can alter testimony and even the behaviour of the informants in relation to how interests are perceived and understood by the latter. In fact some informants can and do modify their postures or roles, to demonstrate the rationality of their own conceptual and decision-making behaviour, while others might just adopt the roles of cynics.

Though "observation" as a research tool was not significantly used in this study (see 2.2.3), an interview given to one of the teachers accompanying his pupils to the IPAR-Buea demonstration farm for his impressions on the lesson just delivered, remarked that 'naturally one has to prepare and deliver the lesson best when there is a visitor like you around ... but, I think the children learn some things from these lessons ... but, not a lot realy ....

(Interview, pilot school teacher - Buea, 14/02/84)

Another problem is that of attempting to avoid entanglement by assuming a position of neutrality. This can cause informants to infer indifference on the part of the researcher and if this situation prevails during the interviewing, it may seriously affect the quality of the data (e.g., Wax, 1971). Similarly, informants may probably not lie, but may omit or forget relevant data or misrepresent their claims. Some of these probable effects cancel out if they are not corroborated by other informants. The tape recordings were analysed after the interviews.

A further problem is that of construct validity. It is important to demonstrate that the categories used by the researcher reflect the way participants experience reality, and actually are supported by the data, and also, to ascertain that cross-group applications of constructs are the same. In fact natural language could be replete with ambiguities, poorly conceived metaphors, innuendos, and incomplete sentences. In the event where the investigator uses one definition to ask questions while the participant uses another to answer them, misinterpretations of testimony are bound to follow. For example, the concept of "harmonization" was found to mean slightly different things to different individuals in the Cameroon educational scene (see, 1.3 and 6.2.3).

As mentioned earlier, research participants were selected among project staff based on the significance of the roles they played in the projects, and others from outside the project systems (university lecturers and inspectors of education) who would have informed opinions about the projects and what they thought about primary educational change in general (see annex 1). However, it must be understood that different informants represent different groups of constituents, and their very choice precludes access to other people who may have different views. The researcher attempted to reduce threats to reliability posed by informant bias, by describing those who provided the data and the decision for his choice (see 2.2.3).

2.3.3 Data analysis

Generally speaking, every analyst forms impressions of central tendencies and prevalences, and because these impressions are personally formalized, they pose problems of validity. Some researchers have tried to remedy this shortcoming by codifying techniques for data analysis (Pelto and Pelto, 1978), efforts to generate models for the analytical process (e.g. Smith, 1979), comparative examination (Goetz and LeCompte, 1981), analytical induction (e.g., Mehan, 1979), enumerative systems (e.g., McCall, 1969), and standardized protocols (e.g., Flanders, 1970). A known problem with reliability of qualitative data, is the identification of general strategies for the analytical processes which may at times be seen as 'vague, intuitive and personalistic' (Goetz and LeCompte, 1982). Detailed reporting however, adopted in this study, will encourage both the analyst and the reader to think about the probable validity rather than either accepting every datum at face value or using intuitive hunches to judge the validity of claims.

Educational evaluators are constantly concerned with basic questions about validity and reliability, and the general

applicability of ethnographic evaluation. Reviews of research on the politics of education, for instance, criticize the work they examine as descriptive, and complain that research findings they encounter are not cumulative (Lehne, 1983:52). Others have proposed that a remedy to this problem is to accept some general theory of politics such as systems theory to guide research (e.g., Wirt, 1970). However, they in their turn have been criticized (e.g., Peterson & Williams, 1972; Ziegler, 1972) on the grounds that general models of politics are so inclusive as to be tautological, and that systems theory in particular has often provided "window dressing" rather than guidance.

The late 1970s, and early 1980s have witnessed the growth of explicit anthropological theory and ethnoscience in educational enquiry. However, real fear remains that attempts to provide explicit anthropological theory may result in compelling researchers to force square data into round theories. When the data do not fit the theory, the researcher must look for a new theory. Fetterman (1986:216) makes the point that although theory can be instructive, it can also serve ideological purposes, thus, closing the evaluator's eyes to the larger socio-political picture before us. Moreover, under some circumstances an academic (basic research) orientation may conflict sharply with practical requirements.

Another important problem with the ethnographic design is to establish which baseline data remain stable over time, and which data change. However, revisiting the IPAR sites on two occasions and discussing the same reform proposals, albeit in greater depth after a three-year period, provided the opportunity to establish the pertinence of deductions made after the first field trip - hence enhance the validity of the findings.

2.3.4 The case study and the subjectivist tradition

The case study is strong in its attention to the subtlety and complexity of innovation in that it recognizes the complexity and embeddedness of social truths. Cohen and Manion (1970) see case studies as representing a step to action, because they begin in a world of action and contribute to it. Their insights may be directly interpreted and put into use for the purposes of within-institutional feedback, formative evaluation, and indeed educational policy-making.

On examining the characteristic differences between the objectivist and subjectivist paradigms provided by Guba (see Table 1), one realizes that this study pertains more to the subjectivist tradition. This study is focused on the process of implementing innovations from an institutional perspective, but does not make in-depth examinations of the materials that

Table 1: Main characteristic differences between the
        subjectivist and objectivist paradigms

DIMENSION	OBJECTIVIST	SUBJECTIVIST
Philosophical base	logical positivism	phenomenology
Inquiry paradigm	experimental physics	ethnography
Purpose	verification	discovery
Stance	reductionist	emergent
Style	intervention	selection
Value structure	singular	plural
Setting	laboratory	nature
Content	unrelated	relevant
Scope	molecular	modular

Source: Guba (1978)

have been produced in the projects thus far. It is very much a system perspective to educational change. The use of the most valuable features of both qualitative and quantitative data, was contemplated for this research, but the decision to carry out a typically qualitative study was made on the basis that here we are involved with projects which are yet on-going, and whose potentially measurable products are few at this stage in their development. Furthermore, since the aim of the researcher was to meet key project informants at project sites, and to use the **grounded theory** approach to conduct the fieldwork, questionnaires for example were not found particularly useful here.

3   BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY: C A M E R O O N

3.1   Physical Setting

3.1.1 Topography

The Cameroon territory resembles an irregular triangle (see Map 1), with its base resting approximately on the line of latitude

Map 1: CAMEROON: Position in Africa
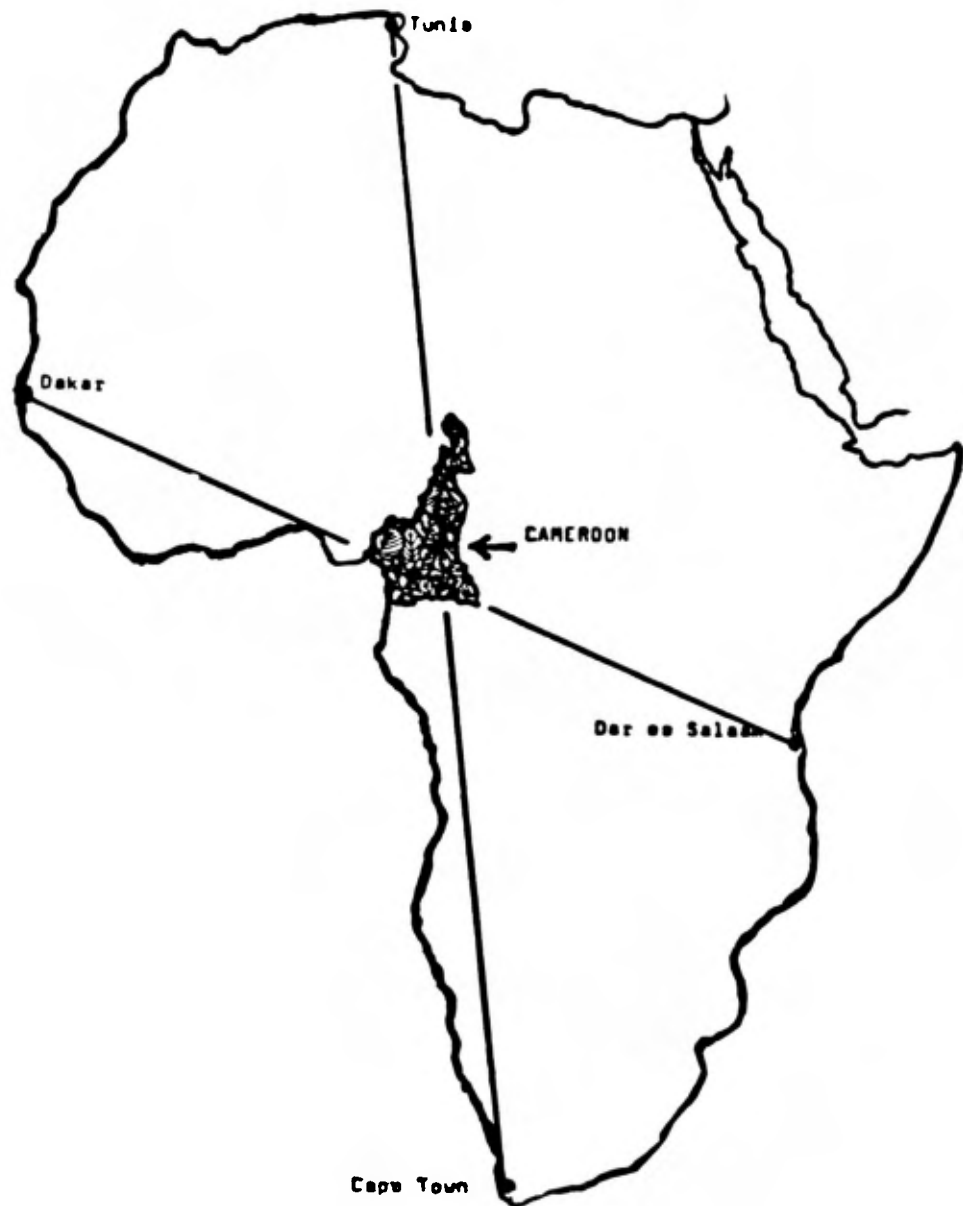
two degrees north, and tapering northwards from the Bight of Biafra to an apex touching lake Chad and the fringes of the Sahara desert. It occupies a central position on the African continent, described by Clarke (1980:1) as halfway between Dakar (Senegal) and Dar es Salaam (Tanzania), and halfway between Algiers (Algeria) and Cape Town (South Africa) - or simply, as lying between West and Central Africa (British Council, 1984:1). It covers a total area of some 185 720 square miles and has common boundaries with Nigeria, Chad, the Central African Republic, the Congo, Gabon, and Equatorial Guinea. In the south-west it has a 124 mile coastline which makes it an important strategic crossroads for Chad and the Central African Republic which do not have any access to the sea. This coastline includes three sea ports at Limbe, Tiko and Douala, and is dominated by mount Cameroon (13,352 feet), an active volcano and the highest mountain in West and Central Africa.

The water supply is generous with long rainy seasons and the presence of several navigable rivers. There is plenty of arable land (see Table 2).

Table 2: Land Use, 1978 ('000 hectares)

===

Arable land	6,800
Land under permanent crops	590
Permanent meadows and pastures	8,300
Forests and woodlands	30,000
Other Land	1,254
Inland waters	600
T O T A L	47,544

===

Source: FAO (1978), Production Yearbook

Generally speaking, the country can be divided into four
geographic zones, based on dominant topographic and vegetative
features (see map 2).

Map 2:   CAMEROON: topography

ZONE 1: shore, mountain, forest,
        and grassy plateaux
ZONE 2: forest area
ZONE 3: grassy plateaux
ZONE 4: savannah or steppe
        lands

3.1.2 Climate

The climate of Cameroon varies from a seasonal equatorial climate in the south with two rainy seasons and two moderately dry seasons of unequal duration, through the savannah climate with one dry and one wet season, to the relatively hotter and drier climate of the Sahel to the far north. Indeed at the foot of mount Cameroon lies Debundscha, an area with one of the highest recorded rainfalls in the world (400 inches yearly) (Rubin, 1971:5). Temperatures increase as one moves from south to north.

3.2 Human Setting

3.2.1 Population

Growth

The population of Cameroon in 1986 was estimated to be 10,446,000 assuming a growth rate of 3.1 per cent (Sixth Plan, 1986-1991:5) and could reach 40 million by the year 2025 (British Council,1984:1). The rate of population increase in urban areas outweighs that in the rural areas. Estimates showed that about 36 per cent of the population in 1986 lived in urban areas, and that by the year 1991 when the estimated population will be over 12 million, some 40 per cent of them will be urban dwellers. The largest and most populous city in the country is Douala (900 000 in 1976), the economic capital. It has many trading and industrial centres, and an international air and sea port. The second largest city is the administrative capital, Yaounde, located about 150 miles east of Douala, in a more central part of the country. During the period covering the Sixth Plan (1986-1991) the population growth is estimated to be 5.53 per cent for urban centres and 1.83 per cent for the rural areas.

Distribution

In relation to total land area, the population of Cameroon is very patchily distributed (see Map. 3). Of its ten administrative provinces, the most densely populated are the

Map 3: CAMEROON: Population distribution by province (1986)

Image redacted due to third party rights or other legal issues

Map is estimated from statistics in the Sixth Plan (1986-1991)

West, North-West, and the Far North, with population densities ranging between 246 and 128 inhabitants per square mile in that order. Together, they represent about three fifths of the total population of the country. The South-West and Central provinces have about 84 and 64 people per square mile respectively, while the rest of the provinces are sparsely populated, averaging 18 people per square mile. However, within the country, the population is in constant flux. Internal migration is due mainly to the flow from rural to urban areas, especially to Douala and Yaounde, where some 70 per cent of the population are migrants of both sexes, and are less than 25 years of age (VIth Plan,1986-1991:5).

3.2.2 Ethnic groups and languages

The ethnic and linguistic situation in Cameroon is very complex. Le Vine (1971:45) estimates that there are more than 236 identifiable linguistic groupings in Cameroon. Of these, 136 are found in francophone Cameroon and 100 in anglophone Cameroon. Tadadjeu (1985:179) describes these linguistic groupings as "non-intercomprehensible language-units" and believes that even if urbanization were generalized, it was scientifically impossible to see a point on the time horizon when less than 50 languages would be spoken in Cameroon. Language and culture are closely linked, and every language group has a cultural identity. In Cameroon, it is probably more realistic to talk of a rich cultural mosaic which characterizes its people. Rubin (1971:9) remarks that by virtue of its geographic position, Cameroon embraces several of the cultural groups according to which African peoples have been classified.

Attempts to classify the different ethnic groupings on linguistic or cultural characteristics have provoked disagreements among ethnographers (Rubin, 1971:9). A narrower

basis for description suggests possible links between distinct ethnic blocs and other similar groups according to linguistic or territorial criteria (Le Vine, 1964). For example, Le Vine makes the distinction between the Semitic Muslims of the north (Arabic, Chadic or Fulani) and the other ethnic groups of that area (the Kanuri and Sao people).

The ethnic groups of northern Cameroon (Adamaoua, North, and Far North provinces) relate to the Chadic, Western Sudan, or Hamitic blocs. As a consequence of a Fulani invasion from the north of the country in the nineteenth century, many of the settlers (mainly, the Kanuri and Sao) were driven into isolated communities on the plains or in the mountains, where they joined others settled farmers. The Fulani, believed to have originated from the Senegal valley, and not related to the Hausas of Nigeria (Le Vine,1964), settled largely along the Benoue river valley. Today, they predominate in the capital towns of the three northernmost provinces. The Fulanis, or Peuls, as they are more commonly known, are in the main, livestock farmers, whereas the majority of non-muslim groupings are agriculturalists. By and large, it could be said that in comparison with the south of the country, the majority of the population of northern Cameroon felt relatively less of the colonial impact. Rubin (1971:12) remarks:

> The Fulani hierarchical, centralized power structure was subordinated to colonial government by Britain and France; but the Emir and the Lamibe (traditional rulers of the northern provinces) were able to retain a great deal of their authority under the colonial systems, and remained key figures in the systems of indirect rule which persisted until foreign control was very nearly at an end.

The peoples at the coast include the Guinea Coastal, Western Atlantic or Nigritic groups: people allied to those of the

Congo, with Bantu or Bantoid languages. The central and
southern parts of the country are populated by the Bantu,
Bantoid, or semi-Bantu, as well as the Pygmies who have
occupied the southern forested areas for thousands of years
with, until very recently, little change in their way of
living. Predominant among these ethnic groups are the Beti-
Pahouin group of Bantus (including the Ewondos, Boulous and
Fangs) who speak dialects of a common language stock.
Generally speaking, they adopted

> a segmentary pattern of traditional political
> organization based on a loose-knit and non-
> hierarchical clan structure [which] underwent
> substantial modification during the period of French
> rule. Chiefs [traditional rulers] were integrated
> into the system of government, and became
> functionaries of the system. (Rubin,1971:18)

Finally, a very broad category of people who predominate in
much of the western parts of the country are the Tikar - an
omnibus term to designate a great number of rather small,
ethnically related ethnic groups whose languages form a core
linguistic stock, though many of them are not necessarily
mutually intelligible. Nevertheless, there exist lingue
franche, not least, "Pidgin", which is commonly spoken among
this group. Notwithstanding the distinctive similarities in
traditional-political organization and nature of economic
activities, the larger groupings tended to develop separately.
These divisions were reinforced especially under British rule,
by the creation of administrative units based on traditional
distinctiveness (for example, the predominant Kom, Nso, and
Bali tribes of the hinterland of the North-West province).

The bridge between the Tikar of the anglophone regions of
Cameroon and the ubiquitous Bamileke (Tikar) of francophone

Cameroon in the west, is formed by the Bamoun, who are off-shoots of the two ethnic entities (Rubin, 1971:14). In spite of this origin, the Bamoun are better known as a strong centralized kingdom with a culture reinforced by the invention of a written script for their language by the turn of the twentieth century. The Bamoun always maintained religious and cultural solidarity which made them little influenced by missionary activity during the period of colonial rule - a defiance which led the French to depose their traditional ruler, Sultan Njoya, though their traditional political system remained intact.

3.3 A Brief Political History

Without going into immense historical detail, this section aims at setting the scene for a deeper appreciation of the way political developments within the country have shaped and continue to shape the nature and pace of change (including educational change).

The name Cameroon (English appellation) or Cameroun (French appellation) derives from the Portuguese word Cameroes, meaning prawns. In 1472, the Portuguese explorer, Fernando Poo, sailed up the river Wouri estuary and found that it was infested with prawns, and named it **Rio dos Cameroes** - River of Prawns. Since then, variations of this name have been used by different political groups at different periods, to designate the territory: Kamerun, by the Germans (1884-1914); the French Cameroun and the British Northern and Southern Cameroons (1914-1916); the Federal Republic of Cameroon (October 1961 - June 1972); the United Republic of Cameroon (June 1972 - February 1984) (see Map 4); and the Republic of Cameroon* since the last change.

The country is run as a 'one party participatory democracy' in which the President is both head of state, and head of

government, with overriding powers over the legislature, executive, judiciary, and local administration. First (1980:19-20) remarks that this system of government was adopted by most African countries at independence, on the argument that

> in the post-colonial era, once the colonialists had gone, there was no remaining division between rulers and ruled, and therefore no need for conflicting parties. Provision in the political system for a formal "opposition" would have meant straining to find a real basis of opposition for the sake of preserving an the imported model of democracy ....
>
> The multiparty system was repudiated as open to manipulation and misuse by regional and tribal interests or by neo-colonialist pressures.

The single-party state, it was argued, was

> designed to serve the interests of the party, which were at the same time the interests of the political governing elite and, it was claimed, of the people as a whole.

Cameroon has experienced both multi and single party systems and had upheavals in both. Nevertheless, the evolution of political thought and consequently, of planning development in its broadest sense can be reflected in a number of events. In the days of a multi-party system, by Ahidjo, then head of the

---

* The appellation "Republic of Cameroon" (since 1984), denoting the current bilingual state. The same name however was given to the French-speaking part of the country when it became independent in January 1960 - "République du Cameroun" (in French)

newly independent francophone Cameroon made an historic visit
to Buea in July 1960 during which Foncha, leader of the
dominant party in anglophone Cameroon mused:

> Our people are eagerly listening to what we have to
> say about their future .... All that we shall
> pronounce after our meeting will be an outline of
> what the set up of a United Cameroon government will
> look like .... It will be like that of divided
> brothers who have regained their liberty and returned
> home to their fatherland. Stark (1980:180)

Hence, the bilingual state of Cameroon was formed in October
1961, and on April 20, 1962, Ahidjo, the country's first
President, addressed the nation over radio to explain his
position:

> We should understand that the era of micro-parties
> and ideological quarrels based on slogans void of
> content is over. Ideologies certainly respectable in
> themselves are apt to end by missing the national
> ideal. It is therefore of urgent necessity that we
> should rally round one ideal, rally round one
> programme .... I am firmly convinced that the
> Cameroonian masses ardently desire this union which
> is indispensable for national reconstruction. To mar
> it, for reasons of self-interest and personal
> ambition, would be to undermine the building of our
> state. (Lusignan,1969:127)

Map 4: CAMEROON: Political Mutations in February 1961

The sheer number of political parties that existed before and after Re-unification was evidence that various political leaders differed widely in the opinions they held, not least about the shape of the new nation to be formed. As Rubin

(1971:2) notes:

> The result was an increasing degree of divergence
> between the territory under French administration and
> that under British rule. Even the growth of
> nationalism, which was directed towards the
> elimination of foreign rule, involved differences in
> approach in each of the territories ....

At a conference held on July 1961 (Foumban Conference) which
laid down the earliest foundations for the bilingual state to
be, it was decided among other things, that primary education
was going to be a concern for the federated state legislatures,
whereas, secondary and technical education would be federal
concerns. With hindsight, it is imaginable that the early
politicians could have better understood the underlying
differences in the two traditions they had inherited from the
colonial era and arrived at relatively more elaborate
strategies for harmonizing them, if they had allowed themselves
more time in discussing their separate proposals for the nation
they were about to form. Five days were devoted to working out
constitutional proposals, though only 95 minutes were taken up
in formal session were taken up by delegations from the two
states, to iron out the agenda for the new state to be created
(Rubin, 1971:114).

By and large, it could be said that the workings of the
short-lived Federation (1961-1972) were not clearly understood
by all Cameroon politicians. One incident illustrates this
point. The then Prime Minister of West Cameroon (anglophone)
in October 1966, Jua, reacted as follows to an article written
in a local paper, to the effect that there were proposals to
reconstitute certain administrative regions to incorporate

parts of both anglophone and francophone Cameroon :

> It must be emphasized that the Federal Republic of Cameroon is a federation of two states with different backgrounds, cultures and traditions .... Any exercise, therefore, that is designed to alter this arrangement as speculated by the Mirror [the local newspaper] will clearly shake the basis on which the entire Federation rests and will throw our present system of government into complete disarray .... Ours is a democratic republic, [and] a matter of such far-reaching significance and consequence cannot be conceived and executed in secret without the full knowledge and concurrence of the people of West Cameroon through their accredited representatives, to wit, the West Cameroon government. (Stark, 1980:120)

The then Federal President, Ahidjo, immediately retorted that there was a single Cameroon in which its citizens had the same rights and the same duties. He added:

> We freely estimated that it was necessary to create a federation between the two states, and to create federal institutions. But that does not permit us to say that there are two Camerooian nations. (Stark, 1980:120)

A succession of political developments were to follow. Through a referendum in May. 1972, a single nation-state, the United Republic of Cameroon was formed. This move among other things, brightened the prospects of some veritable harmonization of the two sub-systems. Indeed federalism had for long been considered by a number of Cameroonians an inappropriate form of re-unification (e.g., the Catholic weekly, L'Effort Camerounais, November 30, 1958; and March 19, 1961). However, the harmonization of the French-oriented and British-oriented

traditions in the . country is progressive. Where marked
differences occur in certain structures (e.g., the legal and
educational traditions), the process of change has been slow.

3.4 The Economy

3.4.1 Evolutionary trend (overview)

With a population of over 8 million in 1978, Cameroon had a GDP
of $3,700 million, and a near five-fold increase in constant-
price G.D.P. from 179,000 million francs CFA in 1965/66 to an
estimated 825,000 million francs CFA in 1978. This economic
trend has remained fairly steady in the recent past (see, Table
3), though drought and unfavourable prices in the world market
have rendered the contribution of the primary sector
(agriculture being Cameroon's economic mainstay) to the GDP
unimpressive.

Table 3: Evolution of G.D.P. between 1981/82 and 1983/84

Aggregates	1981/82 %	1982/83 %	1983/84 %
Primary sector	27.0	23.2	22.0
Secondary sector	30.3	33.1	34.6
Tertiary sector	29.4	30.2	30.0
Public services	06.2	06.6	06.6
Non-profit organizations plus wages of domestic servants	01.3	01.3	01.4
Import duties and taxes	05.8	05.6	05.4
T O T A L	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fifth Plan (1986-1991), p. 11.

Cameroon is a member of the Central African Customs and Economic Union (UDEAC) which links together Gabon, the Congo, the Central African Republic, and Equatorial Guinea. For a long time, Cameroon has followed a relatively "centrist and experimentalist political economic policy" described as one of "planned liberalism". In the main, this has involved a realistic calculation of the opportunities for economic expansion, and determining of the basis on which it is to be accomplished (Rubin,1971:169; Green,1981:229). France still remains Cameroon's major trading partner, though in recent years it has diversified its international economic relations, to increase Cameroon government involvement in, and control over economic development.

Since 1971/72, increasing effort has been made to reduce the country's dependence on foreign investments, by encouraging indigenous initiative through two institutions; the one technically assisting "small and medium-sized enterprises" (CAPME), and the other, providing loans for these enterprises (FOGAPE). However, central economic planning still remains more a support for private productive investment than an alternative system of development.

Agriculture

About one third of Cameroonian G.D.P. today is derived from agriculture, fishing and forestry which employ about three quarters of the working population. Though oil has gradually become Cameroon's first export product in value, cocoa, coffee and timber continue to occupy a prominent role in its export revenue, oil being an exhaustible commodity. Primary products from this sector, including some processed forms, made up about 69 per cent of its exports by value in 1979, with cocoa and coffee accounting for 51 per cent of this amount. Its other minor exports are cotton, rubber, oil seeds and bananas.

In value terms, about 40 per cent of the production in the
agricultural sector is exported, the remaining 60 per cent
consisting essentially of primary foodstuffs consumed without
further processing. There is some consumer manufacturing
(mainly in textiles and cigarettes), and in construction
materials (e.g., lumber), and agricultural processing (e.g.,
palm oil, coffee, sugar). In the overall, only about 25 per
cent of food production is marketed, the rest is consumed by
the growers. As a result of the decreasing population actively
involved in agriculture, the Cameroon government envisages not
only further improvements in farming methods and the provision
of incentives (increasing the prices paid to farmers,
particularly coffee farmers who already have subsidies for the
payment of fertilizers and phytosanitary products), but to
engage in large-scale agricultural mechanization in order to
cope with the demands of a rapidly increasing population (VIth
Plan, 1986:71-72).

Industry

Industry (excluding artisanal production) and power both
account for about a quarter of the GDP, and industry meets
about one-half of the final consumer demand for manufactured
goods. Generally speaking, industry is not yet deeply
integrated into the economic structure of the country, and does
not have appreciable spread effects. In this "easy import
substitution" phase (Green, 1981:230), its growth is dependent
on primary export expansion and on the growth of foreign-
financed investment activities in other sectors.

The Cameroon government gives priority to industrial
development aimed at national and regional markets as a means
to accelerating growth. Over the last couple of years, this
has embodied both structurally broader and interventionist
industrial strategies (e.g., an integrated pulp and paper mill,
the expansion of cement and aluminium products production, and

self sufficiency in sugar), thus, linking the raw materials and manufacturing sectors, and broadening the intermediate goods sub-sector with other activities (e.g., oil refining, fertilizer production). Other activities include a tannery at Ngaoundere (centre for livestock farming).

Power

About a decade ago, 95 per cent of Cameroon's annual power generation of some 1,100 million kw., was provided by a dam at Edea, and 80 per cent of this output was consumed on the spot by the smelter of an aluminium complex (ALUCAM). In the course of the past decade, its output has been boosted by two further dams (Song Loulou, and Lagdo), stepping up the power capacity by 322,000 kw.

Mining

The exploitation of crude oil off the Cameroon coast at Limbe, where the government has a refinery thus far represents its main thrust in mining. It exported its first consignment of crude oil in 1978 and produced 1,800,000 tons of it in 1979, which earned an estimated 56,300 million francs CFA. Indeed since 1977/78 the country has benefited from increasing oil extraction expected to plateau at about eight million tonnes per year (British Council, 1984:6). Other off-shore strikes of oil and gas have been found (Wouri estuary, Kribi) but have not yet been exploited. Since the 1960s, huge deposits of bauxite have been known to exist in Cameroon (Minim Martap) but are not yet exploited. Iron ore has also been found at Kribi.

Generally speaking, the mining industry is at its infancy and on the average, accounts for less than 10 per cent of the GDP, and over 20 per cent of exports by value. In 1979/80, the export of crude oil represented 28.14 per cent of the country's total exports by value, causing considerable shift in the

structure of exports when compared with the situation in
1976/77 when this statistic was non-existent in export
earnings. The export value of staple products, for example
fell from 61.06 per cent to 44.18 per cent in 1979/80 (see
Table 4). Mineral prospecting continues in the country with
gas, petrol, iron, bauxite and gold being for the moment, the
known minerals with some potential for Cameroon's industrial
future.

Table 4: Structure of exports by value 1976/77 and 1979/80

Products	1976-77 %	1979-80 %
Staple products:		
- cocoa	17.60	13.58
- coffee	32.22	22.95
- rubber	02.37	00.54
- bananas	03.22	01.80
- tobacco	02.73	01.10
- cotton fibre	02.40	03.61
- palm oil	00.54	00.60
All staple products	61.06	44.18
Crude oil	——	28.14
Timber	11.40	11.16
Unwrought aluminium and by-products	03.00	03.37
Cocoa by-products	09.10	06.97
Others	15.44	06.18
T O T A L	100.00	100.00

Source: Fifth Plan (1981 - 1986)

Transport

The tertiary sector contributes about half of the G.D.P. The Vth Plan (1981-1986) witnessed the increased building of tarred roads linking some of the country's main urban centres (e.g. Douala - Yaounde, Yaounde - Bafoussam stretches). The bulk of the Cameroon railway system consists of some 800 miles of the Trans-Cameroonian railway, linking Douala in the south, and Ngaoundere in the north. Cameroon has three ports at Bonaberi (Douala), Tiko and Limbe. The port at Douala accounts for some 90 per cent of Cameroonian port traffic. It also has an airlines company -Cameroon Airlines, providing a number of services internally and internationally.

Foreign trade

The Cameroon economy is still largely dependent on foreign trade. Exports plus imports total some two-fifths of GDP, and over half monetary GDP. The taxes levied on them account for about two-thirds of the government revenue. The majority of manufactured goods, especially capital goods with some exception in building materials are imported. Cameroon industrial sector is still heavily dependent on imported raw materials for its upkeep. The balance of trade and payments tended to weaken after 1974 as the external balance position deteriorated dramatically. Oil, food and manufactured import price escalated while export prices retreated (Green, 1981:231). From 1979, oil earnings began to relieve the traditionally serious import constraints. By the first quarter of 1980, merchandise trade was nearly in balance with France's total share of imports maintained at four per cent. Trade between Cameroon and its UDEAC partners continues to thrive, though integrated regional industrial development remains a largely unattained objective.

Finance and investment

The Cameroon currency, the franc CFA, is the equivalent of one-fifieth of the French franc. Cameroon currency is managed by a joint organization comprising Cameroon, the successor states to French equatorial Africa, and France (BEAC). With headquarters in Yaounde, it is jointly Franco-African in management and operates very closely with the Bank of France, which de facto guarantees the convertibility of the CFA franc in return for acceptable monetary, credit, and exchange-control policies on the part of franc CFA using states.

However, in the development finance field, Cameroon operates two institutions; the Cameroon Development Bank, and the National Investment Company (SNI). It also has a number of commercial banks operating on its soil.

3.4.2 Economic prospects

The Cameroon economy has grown significantly since 1961, though it only experienced favourable structural change after 1977 with the advent of oil. However, it remains dependent on primary exports and largely on foreign investment activities to sustain its growth. Over the past decade, Cameroon has benefited from increasing oil extraction which is expected to plateau at about eight million tonnes per year. At least in the recent past, the revenue derived from it has greatly cushioned the country against fluctuations in the world prices for her main agricultural exports (cocoa and coffee). Potentially, Cameroon has a considerable source of cheap hydroelectric power, and opportunities for agricultural expansion. Though a member of the UDEAC, the present pattern of economic growth can only permit a small volume of trade within the continent. With large-scale and diversified industrial development still a long-term prospect, it is presently hard to see the African countries which would be

ready to buy say, timber, tea, cocoa, coffee or bananas from one another, or that can extract and process the ores and minerals hidden in its subsoil. Nevertheless, infrastructural improvements continue in the processing of domestic raw materials, and the prospect of increasing exploitation of its mineral wealth makes the economic outlook promising.

The economic growth of a country is crucial to its development, but indeed it is the nature of that growth, including the judicious distribution and management of its available wealth that is essential to its harmonious development. In fact, according to World Bank figures, in the least developed countries (LDCs), the poorest 40 per cent get only 16 per cent of the total income. In a typical developing country, the poorest 40 per cent get only 12 per cent of the income. It is rather the sheer magnitude of goods and services available for distribution in the rich states which account for the vastly higher average standard of living in these countries - not a more even distribution of wealth (King, 1986:209).

The rich - poor divide does not only apply in relation to the rich states of the "North" who have 90 per cent of the world's industrial capacity and those of the "South". This situation holds as much within states (King, 1986:187). A study on educational development in Cameroon in relation to social differentiation and regional disparities led Martin (1978) to similar conclusions. He re-iterated the view that the development/underdevelopment dialectic did not only operate between nations, it also operated between the regions of a country. The international dimension of this dialectic no doubt has a definite influence on the inter-regional dialectic, but this only exposes part of the real problem. Martin explains:

> It is obvious that there is a functional linkage
> between developed and underdeveloped regions: the

advanced regions drain off the backward regions'
human and material resources, with the result that
the gap between them widens, just as it had done
during the colonial period .... Since independence,
another factor has begun to operate, particularly in
the area of education, and this is the internal
dynamic of the national social formations structures,
and here the influence shaping this is the nation
state. (1978:96-97)

Colonial economic activity almost exclusively favoured the
development of ports and plantations along the coastal areas
and only crept slowly into the hinterland. Missionary activity
tended to have spread similarly. The areas where these
economic developments and missionary activity were

Table 5: CAMEROON: Comparison of the illiteracy rate at 10
             years plus and rate of urbanization by
             province, and at national level (1976)

Source: Cameroon population census (1976)

Figure 1: CAMEROON: Comparison of illiteracy rate at 10 years plus and the rate of urbanization and by province, and at the national level (1976)*
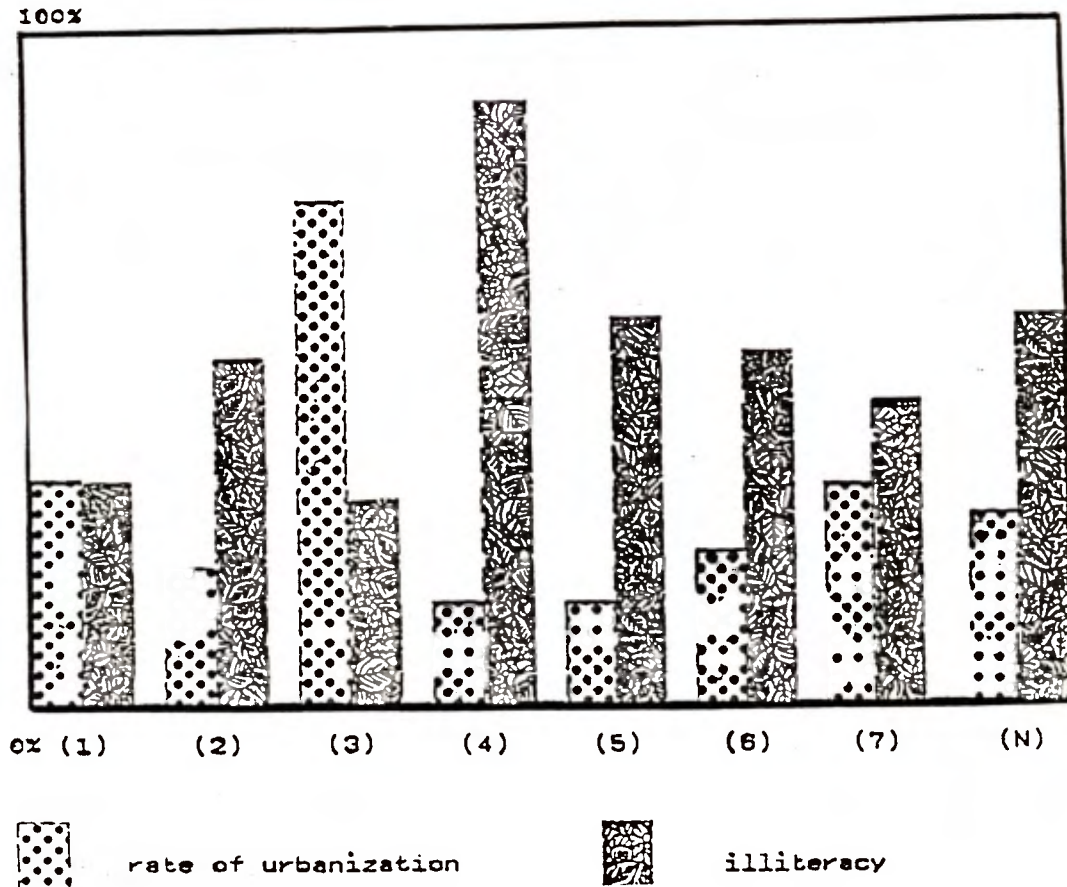
concentrated, correspondingly witnessed the first schools and became centres with the highest literacy rates in the country. After independence however, literacy centres have tended to increase with the rate of urbanization of the country's provinces (see Table 5). A more vivid pictorial representation of this reality is depicted in Figure 1. The early schools were seen as menaces to existing tribal society and

----

* It is important to note that the concept of **literacy** here, concerns the ability to read and write either French or English i.e., "literacy" in koranic education (see Santerre, 1971) in Muslim areas, is not considered in the representation.

organization in many ways (Wilson, 1966:14), but there is hardly any ethnic group in the country today which has not awakened to its new realities. Generally speaking, early economic developments and the building of schools started in the coastal areas and spread slowly to the hinterland, bringing with them, winds of change that were to blow right across the country, providing a new calculus to living.

Indeed, to rationalize social demand and supply of educational facilities (including the building of new schools) largely on the basis of increasing demand for new schools in areas of population build-up (e.g., Atangana - M. et al., 1984:27), is a necessary but not sufficient strategy in long-term planning in Cameroon national educational development, especially considering for example, existing inequalities in educational provision in the country (e.g., Martin, 1978). Furthermore, since the country's main employment opportunities seem to lie in agriculture, an economic stronghold, the problem of rural exodus is seen by the Cameroon government as problematic in its efforts in national development. However, the phenomenon may only be curbed by adopting overall planning strategies (including educational planning), which seek to supply rural areas with adequate facilities like good quality schools, which indeed many rural parents seek for their children in towns. In fact, both public and private secondary schools are almost exclusively built in townships or urban centres, making it impulsive for parents in rural areas to arrange to have their children attend them. Plans for economic growth in Cameroon may be improved by lending thought to findings from research and studies linking economic growth with education, and agricultural productivity (see 4.3.2, 6.2.3 and 9.3.3).

3.5   The Cameroon Education System: a contemporary outlook

3.5.1 A comment

Education, schooling and training are sometimes seen
differently by different writers on education (e.g., Wilson,
1971; Peters and Hirst, 1970). The point has been made earlier
on (see 1.1 and 3.4.2) that the concept of education in this
thesis implies the formal education and training that is
associated with Cameroon schools (excluding Koranic schools).
When the concept of an **education system** is used for a
particular country, often it evokes some homogeneous pattern in
its structures, organization, administration, curricular, and
evaluation practices that characterize it. In this strict
sense, one cannot talk of **the** Cameroon education system,
because it operates two concurrent sub-systems of education
inspired by two distinctively different educational traditions;
the one French-oriented, and the other British-oriented, which
are fused together at post secondary education.

Right from the early days of nationhood, the country's
political leaders started thinking about how to harmonize these
two educational traditions (see Unesco report, 1962; Rubin,
1971), in order to render the school more efficient and
effective in national development. Since 1964 for example, the
academic year for all educational institutions in the country
runs from September to June, and consists of three terms. Each
term is separated by a holiday; the longest stretching between
July and September. Education in the country is organized
under a common Ministry of National Education with its central
offices in the capital, Yaounde. The Minister of National
Education is represented at the provinces by, Provincial
Delegates for Education who monitor and control the educational
establishments at this level. Generally speaking however, no
significant departures have been made from the two models
inherited from the colonial era.

In these circumstances, I have thought it more insightful to describe the Cameroon educational scene* according to the educational traditions in the country so that the reader may better appreciate the strategies adopted thus far, towards reforming and harmonizing the dual system of education.

3.5.2 Nursery education

About three quarters of all the nursery schools in the country (74.3 per cent) in 1984/85 were in and around the economic and administrative capitals, Douala and Yaounde respectively. The rural population largely does not have access to this type of education yet, and this keeps them a priori at a disadvantage in the highly selective school system. By and large, the teachers in these schools have no pedagogic training ("nursery aiders"). Nursery schools are generally poorly equipped, especially the public ones (Fifth Plan, p.309). In the main, nursery school teachers are women.

Anglophone

In 1984, a total of about 2,500 children attended nursery schools in the two anglophone provinces of the country: 900 in the North-West in eight schools, and 1,600 of them in 11 government schools and a few private schools in the South-West

---

* Otherwise where stated, the statistics used in section 3.5 are drawn from three sources:

(1)   The British Council (1984),
(2)   The Cameroon Fifth Plan (1981-1986) and Sixth Plan (1986-1991), and
(3)   The "Direction de la Statistique et de la Comptabilité Nationale".

province. Children are admitted at between three and four years of age. The fees set by the government varied between 4,000 - 5,000 francs CFA per annum. Nursery education in this part of the country lasts two years.

Francophone

In 1977 there were about 600 government and 120 private (mostly Catholic) francophone nursery schools totalling some 62,000 children: 50,000 in public schools taught by 1,400 teachers.

These schools generally have two classes, the lower, for children aged 4 - 5 years, and the higher for five to six year olds. The fee levied by the government is 3,500 francs CFA, though private schools usually charge more than twice this amount. Generally speaking, the orientations of programmes in nursery education in the two educational traditions in the country are different.

3.5.3 Primary education

Some general characteristics

- The participation rate in primary education in reality is about 57 per cent (1984)*, and universal primary education is most unlikely before the end of the century.

----

* The official government estimate for the participation rate in primary education for 1983/84 is 74 per cent, a figure which reduces to about 57 per cent, when computed excluding Koranic schools from the formal school system per se (British Council, 1984:8).

- The average teacher-pupil ratio is 1:50. However, overcrowding is not uncommon, especially in the cities where classes of 100 pupils and more can be found.

- The efficiency of the system is rather low, with more than 50 per cent of the teachers unqualified, and an overall drop-out rate of about 28 per cent.

- The average time taken by a child to complete either the 6 or 7 year primary course is 10 years.

- The average classroom-pupil ratio is 1:52 with about 50 per cent of the classrooms (30,325) in non-permanent or semi-permanent buildings.

- The emphasis is to prepare for the entrance examination into secondary schools even though only a small percentage finally have access to it. The proportion of primary school children in the first grade who gain access to secondary education is about 35 per cent.

Structure

A representation of the spread of the school population (excluding nursery education) at the various levels is shown in Table 6, below. There exist stark differences in primary educational provision in anglophone and francophone schools (see Table 7). At the end of primary education two public examinations are written:

- the first school leaving certificate (FSLC) foranglophones, and the **Certificat d'Etudes Primaires** (CEP) for francophones, both exams being set and marked differently by

Table 6: Enrolment by educational sector for 1984/85
(excluding nursery education)

Image redacted due to third party rights or other legal issues

Source: Sixth Plan (1986-1991)

different examining panels in the Ministry of National
Education; and

- different competitive selection examinations for entry into
either anglophone or francophone secondary schools.

Anglophone

In 1981/82 there were 535 primary schools in the North-West
province with a total enrolment of 183,366 pupils and 3,283
teachers; 245 of these public (i.e. government), and the rest
private (i.e. mission or lay). In the South West province,

Table 7: Structure of primary education in anglophone and francophone Cameroon

Official age (years)	Year of schooling	Primary education (anglophone)		Primary education (francophone)
		Before 1965/66	After 1965/66	
5	1 ┐ Infant		class 1	"cours d'Initiation"
6	2 ┘ section		class 2	"cours préparatoire"
7	3 ┐		class 3	"cours élémentaire" 1
8	4 │ Junior		class 4	"cours élémentaire" 2
9	5 │ section		class 5	"cours moyen" 1
10	6 ┘		class 6	"cours moyen" 2
				=====*=====
11	7 ┐ Senior		class 7	(6 years)
12	8 ┘ section		====*=== (7 years)	

=====*=====

(8 years)

===*===   End of primary education

there were 337 schools with a total enrolment of about 137,625 pupils; 185 of them government. In 1983, more than 81 per cent of pupils who sat the FSLC passed (22,855 graduates).

Generally speaking, a traditional separate subject curriculum is used in the schools which still largely bears the stamp of pre-independence curricula. Subtle changes in outlook tend to be introduced, less by revision of syllabuses than the recommendation of new text books available on the open market, through "official book lists" for schools prepared by the General Inspectorate for Pedagogy (GIP). Prior to 1965, primary education lasted 8 years, and was arbitrarily reduced to 7 years thereafter. The medium of instruction is English, with French introduced as a subject in the fifth year in a minority of public schools. Primary education is free for government schools but fee paying for the private schools.

Francophone

In 1981/82, there were 4,276 primary schools in which 1,122,737 pupils were enroled in the 8 francophone provinces. The primary school course lasts 6 years. In 1983, about 47 per cent of those who sat the "Certificat d'Etudes Primaires Elémentaire" (CEP) - (Primary School Leaving Certificate) passed (85, 561 pupils).

Some characteristic differences in anglophone and francophone primary education

- the duration of the primary school for anglophones is seven years, while that for the francophones is six years, with recent developments in francophone schools (mainly in Douala and Yaounde) (see 9.1.1) to eventually reduce it to five years.

- the content of primary school programmes differ in the two educational traditions. Thus different certificate examinations are written, the one for the anglophones (FSLC), and the other (CEPE), for the francophones.

- There is an important contribution by the private sector (mainly, missions) in primary educational provision in the country (30 per cent in 1981/82). However, unlike in francophone Cameroon where only a relatively small proportion of primary schools are private, in anglophone Cameroon, private education accounts for about half of the total provision of primary schools.

- The wearing of school uniforms is part and parcel of the anglophone tradition in education. Francophone children attend school in any dress of their liking.

- Generally, anglophone schools operate a one shift system, with schools opening at 8 a.m and closing by 2 p.m (the junior section leaving earlier in the day), while the francophone schools operate a two-shift system, starting at 8 a.m and breaking at noon, to resume at 2.30 p.m, and then to close at 5.30 p.m.

- Anglophone and francophone children prepare for different entrance examinations into different secondary schools (see 3.5.5 and 3.5.6).

3.5.4 Post primary vocational education

The Ministry of National Education runs a number of vocational post primary institutions. These are essentially vocational schools where no formal examinations are taken. They are the "Sections Artisanales Rurales" (SARs) and the "Sections Ménagères" (SMs). These units are organised in the same manner for both anglophone and francophone Cameroon under the same appellation. They operate similar but not identical programmes. The former type mainly provide training in brickwork, carpentry and joinery, while the latter type provide courses for girls in domestic science (e.g., child care, cookery, laundry, housewifery, and some sewing). There also

exist domestic science units for girls, which are either attached to primary schools or exist independently, and teach home craft (mainly needle work) to girls from schools in the neighbourhood. The capacity of these units is very low indeed compared to the potential clientele. In 1979, there were a total of 12 SARs and SMs in all of anglophone Cameroon, with a combined enrolment of 755.

In 1979/80 there were 3,948 trainees in 70 SARs in francophone Cameroon, and 1,031 in 48 SMs.

3.5.5 Secondary education (General)

Enrolment figures in secondary grammar (general) education for the entire country between 1973/74 and 1983/84 increased from 82,660 to 216,000, representing an increase of 163 per cent. In spite of this increase, repeating is rife and the drop-out rate is high. There is greater demand than existing structures can provide.

Anglophone

In 1984, the North-West province had twenty-six grammar schools, seven of them government schools. In all, they enroled 12,990 students. Nine of them offered sixth form education (three government). The South-West province had twenty five such schools, seven of them government, with a total enrolment of 11,178 students. There were six schools offering sixth form education (three of them government). The first cycle of secondary education lasting five years, prepares for G.C.E "O" levels while sixth-form studies lasting a further two years prepares students for the G.C.E. "A" level examinations. Prior to 1977, these examinations were set and marked in London. In August 1978, they were set in Cameroon for the first time and moderated by the University of London.

In June 1982, local syllabuses were already in use, and the G.C.E has since been set and marked in Cameroon.

Francophone

There are three types of institutions for general secondary education: the Collège d'Enseignement Général (CEG), the Collège d'Enseignement Secondaire (CES), and the Lycee. The first two are of the first cycle, and offer four-year courses leading to the Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle (BEPC). There is no apparent distinction between the two; the appellation tending to depend on the location. The second cycle is only found in the Lycees, and lasts three years, leading to the Baccalaureate (equivalent of the "A" level). In Cameroon the baccalaureate can only be sat on condition that the candidate passed the "Probatoire" examination which is taken in the last but one year of the second cycle. The same appellation, Lycee, is used for an institution even if it operated only a second cycle, or had both first and second cycles.

After an average of about 4.9 years, only about 50 per cent of those who reach the final class of the first cycle obtain the Brevet. There is no maximum age for taking the BEPC, but government regulations stipulate the minimum age to be sixteen. Similarly, by ministerial order, the minimum age for taking the Probatoire is eighteen. The minimum age for taking the "baccalauréat" is nineteen, and the maximum age is twenty one.

Some characteristic differences in anglophone and francophone secondary (general) education

- Whereas there are minimum and maximum age restrictions stipulated by the government for writing francophone secondary certificate examinations, there are no age restrictions to write the Cameroon anglophone certificate examinations, the GCE. However, the maximum age for access to the University of Cameroon for all Cameroonians is twenty

five.

- after ten years of schooling without failure beginning at
  the primary school, the francophone writes his first cycle
  secondary school certificate examination leading to the
  "Brevet" which is considered by the public service to be
  the equivalent of four passes at the GCE "O" level which the
  anglophone writes at the end of his first cycle secondary
  education without failure after twelve years of schooling.

- the programmes in various disciplines for secondary
  education in the two educational traditions are different
  from each other.

- second cycle secondary education (the sixth form) lasts two
  years for anglophone Cameroonians while it lasts three years
  for francophone Cameroonians.

3.5.6 Secondary education (Technical)

During the period 1973/74 to 1983/84 the enrolment in secondary
technical schools increased more than three times, from 24,000
to 74,886.   The private sector provides for about three-
quarters of the educational provision in this area.

As mentioned earlier (3.5.3) in each educational tradition,
different examinations are written for selecting pupils into
types of secondary schools (both general and technical).

However, it is important to note that since private education
is largely in the hands of the private sector, the proprietors
of such schools have a fair amount of latitude in the way the
schools are run. Generally speaking, these schools have a
stronger footing in francophone than in anglophone Cameroon.
However, the curricula in the majority of these schools in both

educational traditions are geared more theoretical than practical. Based on 1983/84 figures, the average teacher-pupil ratio is 1:30 and the number of pupils per class is 1:46. In the urban areas, this ratio is at times as high as 1:80 and more.

Anglophone

In 1984 the North-West had 19 technical schools (two government) with an enrolment of 6,022 students, while the South-West had 16 such schools (four government), with an enrolment of 6,929 students. The pupil increase over the last six years in this sector for both provinces is 400 per cent. In the main, these schools prepare their students for the City and Guilds Intermediate examinations (London based), or the "Certificat d'Aptitude Professionelle" (CAP) - a certificate examination based on a technical education programme adopted from francophone schools and presented in English. Some of the practical subjects taught are technical drawing, carpentry, motor mechanics, electricity, building and construction for boys, and home economics/domestic science for girls. Among these, there are a number of commercial schools which prepare their students for the Royal Society of Arts (RSA) Stage 2 or Stage 3, or GCE "A" levels.

Francophone

First cycle education in industrial and commercial subjects is offered in the Collège d'Enseignement Technique (CETI) - denoted CETIG (for boys), and CETIF (for girls). The CETIs prepare students in a four-year course leading to the Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle (CAP). The main aim of these courses is to prepare students for direct employment. The Lycee Technique provides technical and commercial training leading to the Brevet de Techicien Technique (BTT) - (technician's diploma) or to the Baccalaureate Technique. In

1981/82, there was total enrolment of 59,290 students, with slightly over a third (16,970) enrolled in 27 government technical institutions. In the same year, the enrolment in another technical unit, the "Ecole Ménagère" running a three-year course had fallen from 522 students in 1975/76 to a mere 21. The reason for this drop was that more than 90 per cent of graduates did not succeed in finding jobs in their specializations (British Council, 1984:11).

3.5.7 Higher education

The maximum age to gain access into the University of Yaounde, the only university in the country is twenty five. However, citizens could study in university institutions outside the country and the certificates are considered in their recruitment and/or upgrading in the country's public service.

Higher education comprises the faculties (law and economic sciences, letters, and sciences) of the University of Yaounde founded in 1962, and a number of other professional institutions (see Table 8). Enrolment figures at the tertiary (university) level increased from about 5,500 students in 1973/74 to 12,200 in 1983/84 (122 per cent increase). However, in 1979, a measure was taken to expel those who failed on two occasions to proceed to the next class in either of the first two years of university education. With increasing recognition for the need to train in the sciences, the enrolment in the Faculty of Sciences increased from 1,330 in 1979/80 to 3,263 in 1984/85. However, this shift in enrolment figures has neither been accompanied by a corresponding increase in the number of classrooms or science laboratories, nor in the number of lecturers in this area, resulting in overcrowding and the many pedagogical and other functional problems that underlie such unfavourable teaching/learning conditions. The Faculty of Law and Economic Sciences remains the largest in the university

with nearly 45 per cent of the total student population at any one time.

Table 8: Enrolment trend at the University of Yaounde 1980/81-1984/85

	1980/81	1981/82	1982/83	1983/84	1984/85
- Faculty of Sciences	1,504	1,627	2,227	2,919	3,263
- Faculty of Letters and Social Sciences	1,630	1,650	1,870	1,930	2,297
- Faculty of Law and Economic Sciences	4,925	5,456	5,664	5,281	6,324
- Advanced Teachers' Training School	823	869	905	1,040	1,135
- Advanced School of Engineering	246	233	224	246	267
- The International School of Journalism	73	52	65	73	72
- Institute of International relations	42	50	39	35	30
- University Centre for Medical Studies	319	310	312	194	321
T O T A L	9,562	10,247	11,306	11,718	13,709

Source: 6th Plan (1986-1991)

Among the specialized schools, enrolment at the Ecole Normale Superieure (ENS) - The Advanced School for Teacher Education increased from 661 in 1978/79 to 1,240 in 1983/84. However, an annual turn-out of some 200 teachers per annum remains far short of the average of some 700 teachers needed yearly, especially in Mathematics and Physics (Njeuma, 1986:137). A government policy to decentralize (deconcentrate) the

University of Yaounde in 1976, has led to the creation of University Centres in Buea (for translators and interpreters), at Douala (for teacher training in technical education and business studies), at Dschang (for training agricultural engineers and other agricultural cadres), and at Ngaoundere (for technology).

3.5.8 Finance

During the first three years of the 5th Five-Year Development Plan (1981-1986), 225.2 billion francs CFA was spent on education (18.2 per cent of the national budget) and 74.7 per cent of this sum was recurrent expenditure. Although higher education represented only 0.6 per cent of the total school population, it consumed 22.5 per cent of the total recurrent expenditure (37.8 billion francs CFA). The total capital investment in education was 12.4 per cent, with 50.7 per cent of the total (57 billion) spent in higher education, 18.4 per cent on secondary general education, 5.2 per cent on technical education, 10.8 per cent on primary and nursery education which caters for 84 per cent of the total school population, and 1.9 per cent devoted to teacher training. Njeuma (1986) sees this distribution as a result of

> the internal social pressures on the system rather than the relative priorities of government in each sector.... [T]here are considerable social pressures to expand on general [secondary] education, which people consider more prestigious, than on technical education on which the nation's technological development so much depends. Since foreign aid donors have appeared more inclined to invest in technical education than in general education which is considered to produce job-seekers rather than job creators, government has tended to leave the development of this sector to foreign aid.

4 LITERATURE REVIEW ON CAMEROON PRIMARY EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

4.1 Introduction

An attempt to appraise educational development in Cameroon in general, and contemporary trends in primary educational change in particular, will not be very insightful without reference made to historical and political developments that have shaped them. Furthermore, since international thinking and co-operation have played, and continue to play a significant role in the country's educational development, the author has decided to undertake the following literature review against the background of national and international thinking and action on primary educational change.

It starts off with a bird's eye of the international situation in primary education, with some emphasis laid on the contemporary trends in British and French trends in primary education from which the traditions in Cameroon primary education derive, then develops the theme of human resource development with relevance to planning perspectives in primary school change in the developing countries, and finally explores historical and contemporary perspectives of Cameroon primary educational change.

4.2 Primary Education: an international overview

The education sector is strategic in planning development in the nations of the world today. International cooperation in this area, is not surprisingly quite intense, especially in relation to educational development and change in the developing countries. In this respect, there has been much co-operation between African countries, and their European partners, especially the former metropoles. In respect of Cameroon, Britain and France continue to provide important support in the way of technical assistance in the development

of the dual educational system it inherited from the colonial era.

Particularly in respect of education, the nature of such support has been examined by many educationists and researchers. It is often seen in terms of "dependency", which in broad terms analyses the unequal relationships that exist in the field of educational co-operation between the countries of the "centre" (mainly North America and Europe or 'North'), and those of the "periphery" (Third World or 'South'), resulting in the perpetuation or reproduction of ill-adapted models of education systems and practices from the former in the latter.

These issues form an important part of continuing reflections on educational development and change in the developing countries (e.g., Amin, 1972; Palma, 1978; Treffgarne, 1984; Eckstein and Noah, 1985; Velloso, 1985).

Interpretations of these educational currents differ and encompass all aspects of the educational system (contents, methods, structures and even objectives) (Sander, 1985). Some writers refer to a school of dependency (e.g., Palma, 1978; Velloso, 1985) rather than a single dependency theory. However, whether one argues the case for a single theory, a family of theories or simply a paradigm, the dependency relationship just described, is popularly used by writers in education and researchers in comparative education to explain the obstacles of development of poor regions and countries (Eckstein and Noah, 1985). Despite the apparent appeal of the argument against dependency, contemporary world trends (especially economic and technological dominance) and barriers to fundamental change in the South, indicate that educational 'co-operation' between North and South will increase rather than decrease in the foreseeable future.

As result of these centre - periphery relations, perspectives of trends in primary education in Europe and in African countries, will be illuminating, both to donors and the Cameroon government, in thinking about primary change in the country.

In the conclusion of a report on the situation of research into primary education in Europe, Wolfgang (1985:7) for example, notes that in past educational policies of many European countries, primary education had received a lesser degree of attention than education in the other sectors, but developments in recent years shows a marked interest and effort in education at this level. For example, "the new deal" perspective to European primary education underlines the fact, that though social and cultural changes directly affect the 13-18 or 20 age-group, it must be remembered,

- that primary education is an integral part of the educational system, and hence is affected by many changes affecting the system as a whole;

- that primary education is directly confronted with the challenge of identifying and developing a child's full potential at the very stage when the fundamental mechanisms governing the organization of behaviour and thought are being established. Furthermore, the initial signs of future strengths and weaknesses in pupils emerge during primary education. (Council of Europe, 1988:15)

In Europe, the need for change and innovation at the primary school level is often legitimated by referring to changes of a socio-economical nature and to changes in other parts of the educational system (kindergarten; secondary) (Vandenberghe, 1988:151). Particular attention is paid to the aims of the primary school, to the initial and in-service training of teachers (Vandenberghe, 1984), and to the need for continuity

between pre-school, primary school and secondary school (Petite, 1986).

However, Kopmels (1988) notes that growing public interest in school as a means of solving problems of society, require that primary schools be accountable in an unprecedented manner and degree. He notes:

> Increasingly, public expectations of primary schools are leading to an ever broadening range of curriculum demands, for example health education, microtechnology, consumer education, education for industry, and so on. Teachers are confronted with all these new demands while, of course they still have to deal with long-established but no longer sufficient, "Basics" [reading, writing, arithmetic]. [Indeed] society demands, [but] schools have to choose and decide what can be taught meaningfully to their children and in which way this has to be done. (in Council of Europe, 1988:166)

However, most of the projects related to the renewal of primary schools were conceived as large-scale innovation projects, characterized by their multidimensionality. The reality in the field however, reflects a situation where most local schools and teachers set themselves certain reductions, engaging themselves with one or two innovations 'out of the whole bundle of innovations' (Van den Berg and Vandenberghe, 1987).

The "new" objectives of the primary school formulated in most European conference reports, are:

- to ensure, in addition to the acquisition of the fundamental skills, the awakening and development of all skills,

attitudes and knowledge necessary for the development of the
child's capabilities and his well balanced life in society;
- to lay the foundations of knowledge and skills in order to
  ensure the success of future studies;
- to teach a child how to learn and thus, prepare him for a
  life-long process of education;
- to help the child acquire an active attitude towards
  problems and help him adapt to new situations quickly;
- to promote a critical attitude towards events and the
  media;
- to develop his reflective ability and his curiosity, self-
  reliance, creativity, a sense of responsibility and
  eagerness to learn. (Council of Europe, 1988:167)

The reality of primary educational programmes in different
European countries vary. In France, for example, Best
(1985:33-34) remarks that the aims of primary education are not
clearly defined, and that 'the opinion most widely held is that
its sole object is to serve as a preparation for secondary
school'. Indeed, primary education in France is still
organized and administered as though the secondary school
entrance examination had not been abolished, she adds.

On the other hand, there has been significant development in
thinking about primary education in Britain since the 1950s,
especially in relation to the "progressive view" to primary
education (e.g., Blenkin and Kelly, 1987). The greatest
statement on the progressive view of education is found in the
writings of John Dewey, who refashioned its foundations by
placing it in the context of a social philosophy expressly
designed for the twentieth century. In his epistemological
position, knowledge is seen as a state of continuous evolution
and truth, as a matter of 'what works' or what particular set
of hypotheses best explains current human experience. However,
in spite of the popularity of progressivism, Blenkin and Kelly,
remark that 'it may even be the case that the curriculum of the

primary school has of late been influenced too much by considerations of a purely psychological kind, and that other important dimensions have often been ignored'. (1987:20)

Nonetheless, the advantages of child-centred education cannot be overemphasized. What is important to remember however, is that teachers have to be seen as 'resources of potential' (Hawes and Stephens, in press), and should use their professional knowledge and imagination to choose methods which would fit the particular teaching conditions in which they operate. In Cameroon, for example, overcrowded classrooms are not uncommon especially in primary schools in city areas (i.e., from 50 pupils per teacher onwards). In such situations, methods of teaching which may be suitable to smaller classes (say 20 pupils), will not be appropriate.

Generally speaking, in Europe universal primary education has been attained for most nations, and education at this level is transitional for all pupils. In Cameroon, like in many other African countries however, school systems are highly selective, and primary education is the only formal education received by the majority of children who have the opportunity to attend school. Thus, the role of the primary school in providing basic numeracy and literacy skills in African countries is very important in national development.

However, in thinking about education and change in primary schools, the role played by the teacher is determining. In fact, failure to understand the relationship between teachers and the school improvement process, can result in a corresponding failure to improve the level of education provided in schools. Writing about education in the industrialized countries, Fullan (1982) for example, stresses the need for a deeper understanding of the subjective world of teachers (who are increasingly less valued by society than before, making some alienated from the profession), and the

need to improve their professional skills through continuous in-service training programmes for maximal effectiveness (Joyce and Showers, 1980).

Similar efforts to provide in-service training for teachers in Africa are attempted by a number of countries, but, if they have to learn from the in-service training experiences in the OECD countries, 'the significant differences between the two groups as well as the concerns they share in common, must be borne in mind' (Bolam, 1983:139). In addition to some of the differences mentioned earlier, the contexts differ socially, politically, economically and professionally. Furthermore, while the OECD policy-makers and practitioners are pre-occupied with the problems caused by contraction due to falling birth rates and the dramatically reduced demand for teachers, precisely the reverse is true for most African countries. Also, while a vast majority of teachers in the former countries have had a full programme of initial training, the African countries are faced with the task of providing initial training for untrained teachers who are already in service. Nevertheless, the experiences and practices in OECD countries in in-service training would have a great deal to offer African countries, if they are suitably interpreted and adapted (Bolam, 1983:140).

The rapid population growth rate in Africa has increased progressively since the 1960s, and today is the highest in the developing world, with nearly half of its present population under 15 years of age. Over the same period, the industrialized countries have had a considerable decline in birth-rate, well below the level needed to replace their present generations (e.g. France and the United Kingdom). The rapid rate of population growth in African countries in recent years, has greatly broadened the base of the age pyramid appreciably. Hawes et al. (1986:10-11) isolate three main

implications for such growth:

- a very high dependency ratio results which increases the burden on working adults (every 100 adults having to cater for 122 "minors" dependent on them by the year 2000);

- the prospects of adequately feeding the growing population are not very favourable considering the alarming evidence of long-term decline in per capita food production;

- the population growth rates carry a disturbing message for those who are struggling to eliminate illiteracy and extend primary education (let alone secondary education) to all children.

With regard to these differences in demographic trends, the transitional character of primary education in the European countries compared to its terminal character in Sub-Saharan African countries, realistic planning and development in primary education in the latter countries would be expected to reflect differences in aims and the adoption of suitable approaches towards meeting them.

Indeed, the high birth rate simply means, an ever increasing presence of children with learning needs, and eventually employment needs in adulthood. Various solutions have been attempted, depending on how skilful African governments are in working out their priorities in development. Often faced with limited resources, there is frequent tension between what governments want to do, and what they consider politically feasible or advantageous - a process where decision-making is not only what comes out of a debate on educational issues, but of the perennial jostling for attention between education and other sectors (Hawes et al.,1986). As we have seen earlier (see 3.5.8), in Cameroon for example, the distribution of capital expenditure on education for the period 1981 to 1984

represented 12.4 per cent of the government's capital
expenditure for that period, but according to the distribution
at the various levels of the country's educational sector, 50.6
per cent of this amount was spent on higher education, 18.4 per
cent on secondary general education, 5.2 per cent on technical
education, 1.9 per cent on teacher training for the primary
level, and 10.8 per cent on primary and nursery education. It
is evident from the distribution, that 'these proportions
reflect more the internal social pressures on the system rather
than the relative priorities of government in each sector'
(Njeuma, 1986:138). Problems of equity and the distribution of
economic wealth have been raised earlier (see 3.4.2).

Solutions to such policy issues depend on the kind of
development that the leadership in a country seeks to promote.
Simmons (1980: 3-4) notes that if a country's main goal is
economic growth, planners, using the results of economic
profitability studies, might urge a reduction in public
spending on higher education and upper secondary, and increase
the proportion of spending on both primary education and
professional training for rural development. But, he points
out that with such a decision, the political leadership is not
likely to receive the support he needs from the middle and
upper income groups whose children would be denied access to
schooling deemed appropriate for their socio-economic status.
This leads to the awkward situation where

> usually, we are told by economists and other experts
> that some economic growth has to be sacrificed to
> achieve greater social equality. In education, we
> find that for most countries both the growth and the
> equality argument urge investment in primary
> education, while the more powerful interest groups
> urge expansion in higher education. Thus, we have the
> arguments for growth and equity arrayed together
> against the arguments of privilege. The educational

dilemma of investment in higher versus primary education mirrors the political dilemma of how much growth and equity have to be <u>sacrificed</u> to maintain political stability. (Simmons, 1980:4)

While encouragement may be derived from the substantial progress already made in African education, there are no illusions about the magnitude of the problems ahead. Hawes et al., (1986:21-22) observe that much passivity and dependency, is still engendered by educational systems. This is sometimes reinforced by curricula, often by methodology and very frequently by patterns of selection and certification.

This "passivity and dependency" however, are difficult to explain by simple causal relationships, but relate to policy decisions that guide educational practice. However, decisive policy choices can only be made in the face of reliable data. Various perspectives have been offered on education and indigenous development in Africa (e.g. Omo-Fadaka, 1982), the concept of basic education for rural development (e.g. Raymaekers and Bacquelaine, 1985) and on linking education and work (e.g. Dumont, 1977; Sinclair, 1977; Hallak and Caillods, 1980; King, 1980; Lillis, 1981; Isaksson, 1982; Little, 1986), but most of these ideas are limiting in various ways. Many remain unduly theoretical and offer more promises than practical solutions to the macro-problems.

Carnoy (1986) explores two opposed conceptions of education during periods of economic crisis, which indeed have been a continuing reality in most African countries. The first is economic and deals with the difficulty of generating resources for education because of poor economic growth, and the other, is seen in political-ideological terms. In the face of these circumstances, the decision to reform education evokes a much wider debate concerning <u>efficiency</u> and <u>democracy</u> in education. Here, one notices an inherent conflict between schooling's role

in preparing labour for a modernizing economy (the investment,
economic efficiency, or productive function of schooling and
its role in equalizing opportunity and providing for social
mobility (the equity or legitimating function of schooling.It
is for these reasons, that current educational expansion will
continue to require political acumen as well as technical
expertise (Carnoy,1986; Bray and Coombe, 1987).

With particular reference to projects in primary education, the
Bank has noted from a random survey of the projects it funds,
that though educational components have generally been related
to Government plans and policies, greater care is needed to
elaborate their goals and objectives and to ensure that such
components fit well within national long-range development
plans.

4.3   The Process of Cameroon Primary Educational Change

4.3.1 Educational change and the Cameroon primary school:
the concept

The educational system of any country will always need
innovations, since the needs of the society which it serves are
similarly changing. Implementing educational change however,
is quite a complex process. In many countries with one
educational tradition for all its citizens, this concerns
implementing educational innovations or reforms towards
providing better quality schools (see 9.1). In the Cameroon
reality, problems of educational change are two-fold. They
concern both the harmonization of two distinctly different
educational traditions in the country, and effecting quality
improvements in its schools.

The preoccupation of most African governments with providing
more relevant schools is evident in resolutions made at a
number of international meetings. At the Nairobi Conference

(1968) laid fresh and increased emphasis on the quality of education. Recommendations were made concerning the reform of primary education with special reference given to its role in rural development, 'although the priority accorded to secondary education had to be maintained' (UNESCO,1976). Indeed, at the time of the Lagos Conference (1976), many African governments were already devoting some 20 to 25 per cent of their national expenditures on education. Today however, schools are still inefficient, and are characterized by high rates of repetition and dropout.

The pressure exerted upon African education systems by the rate of population growth, indicated that the children who had no access to school, together with the masses dropping out of school prematurely, were going to swell the ranks of illiterates whose numbers had increased by 19 million between 1961 and 1970. (UNESCO, 1976:13)

In Harare in 1982, a meeting of Ministers of Education and those responsible for planning in African Member States, saw the need to establish a close link between the provision of more schooling and the goal of self-reliance. Emphasis was also laid on 'the acceptance of environmental education in its different aspects, and the introduction of productive work into school curricula' (UNESCO,1982:15). However, the strive to provide more relevant content in school curricula is only part of the problem of quality improvements in schools.

The phenomenon of failures, repeaters, and drop-outs prevalent in schools in the developing countries are not solely attributable to the poor quality of educational provision and the often alleged "incompatibility" of the teaching and education structures retained by the Third World countries on the educational models of the centre. The root cause of difficulties encountered in attempts at universal primary

education for example, lies in the socio-economic conditions of the populations concerned (Avakov and Zagefka, 1980:185).

Probably many innovation programmes fail because they tend to be too ambitious. Although sociologists in the sixties assigned to education the two fundamental roles of socialization/adaptation and that of transmitting knowledge, economists placed emphasis on the latter, whilst at the same time assigning to education the role of a "third factor" affecting growth and development. Avakov and Zagefka (1980:181) maintain that

> the adaptation and socializing role, the role of social "reproduction", the role of supplying manpower and skills - none of this helps to provide a theory, primarily explanatory, of the social process which education is in its various institutional forms; even if the need, not to say the 'omnipresence' of this process, is highly prized by all, it is interpreted in different ways. Education can be considered a consumer good, with the individual as its central justification, and at the same time, as a capital good where society, in the narrow economic sense, is central.

Decision-makers face many dilemmas in making policy choices about the path to change. Both the growth and equity arguments urge investment in primary education, but most powerful groups urge expansion of higher education. Often, these arguments for growth are arrayed together against those for privilege. The problem of emphasizing either "higher" or "primary" education, mirrors the political dilemma of how growth and/or equity at times gets sacrificed to maintain political stability (Simmons, 1980:3-4).

Nevertheless, faced with scarce resources and other priorities in development, it is irresponsible to make heavy investments in innovation programmes without a real political commitment to change. The prerequisites of educational development are not only of economic, social and cultural order; they are also political (UNESCO,1976:14). In fact, a significant theme emerging from the Lagos Conference (1976) was a recognition of the fact that educational development could no longer be seen in isolation, for it was clear that many educational problems had to find their solutions outside the boundaries of the educational sector.

Generally speaking, ideologies of education reflect current and dominant political, religious and socio-economic perspectives of the structure and organization of the society which they legitimate. Thus, there is broad consistency between these ideologies and practices within schools (Marriot, 1985:12). In fact, political developments in Cameroon dictate in a significant manner, the conduct of and developments in Cameroon education. Trends in Cameroon educational development since 1961 reveal that the harmonization of the country's dual educational traditions has proven problematic and will require more imagination or commitment on the part of decision-makers than has been the case in the past. In fact, major political developments in the country like the formation of a unitary state in 1972 and the creation of a common Ministry of National Education that same year, provide a more susceptible climate for system-wide change than had existed during the Cameroon Federation (1961-1972), but progress towards reaching a common system has been slow.

Under federal government arrangements primary education was under the control of the federated states, while education at the other levels was the concern of federal authorities (Rubin, 1971:110) As early as 1962 however, on behalf of the Cameroon

government, a UNESCO team of experts undertook studies in the country's educational structures and noted:

> [O]ne of the most urgent problems facing the government of the Federal Republic is the working out of a whole new teaching system which will harmoniously combine the two educational systems of East, and West Cameroon .... It will comprise curriculum and textbook reforms, adapting education to the environment and cultural traditions and social aspirations and new trends of an independent country. It will also endeavour to devise the teaching methods necessary for the carrying out of the reforms and ensuring the best use of available resources and for seeing that the reforms serve the ends of national unification and cohesion. (UNESCO report, 1962:2)

However, **textes** (government policy) on how harmonization will be achieved do not exist. The concept has been open to various interpretations and proven problematic (see 1.3). As Havelock and Huberman (1977) have noted, the fabric of society is intricately complex, and as such, innovators need to have at least some clear notion of its characteristics. Those who are involved with the harmonization of Cameroon education would a priori be expected to be conversant with the two educational traditions in the country. Indeed one cannot claim to know where he is going to, if he dies not know where he is coming from.

Indeed it is easy to decree that reforms and harmonization be effected in the educational system. It is also possible to focus on the HOW - question, about a change process, without paying attention to the WHY - question, and WHERE the innovation is taking us to. Immediately we address all the three questions, we are faced with a political problem, and from that point, any model of change built on an assumption of

neutrality, rationality and consensus about the change process becomes unrealistic (CERI, 1973). Indeed an apolitical interpretation of the process is a mere "professionalization" of the matter and veils the realities. There are bound to be conflicts in a change situation, where there are differences in values, and interests, especially where privileges are at stake.

Often, political-administrative strategies adopted for effecting change in educational systems (Bennis, Benne and Chin, 1969), lack coherence between "intention" and "reality" (CERI, 1973:51). They indicate procedures for the formulation and adoption of innovations, but often one is left with the problems of implementing these policies.

The need to examine innovation projects with wider perspectives than programme planning, development and implementation, to include the influence of environmental factors is increasingly recognized (e.g., Papagiannis et al., 1982). By and large, a broader theoretical base than has been relied on in the past is needed to explain why innovations projects often end up with many unintended outcomes.

It is idle indeed, to imagine that striving for relevance in education can be seen in terms of diagnosing the problems of that system, as one would the symptoms of an ailment, and then implementating an innovation programme, as one would administer a clinically prepared and prescribed drug which may erase the ailment outright. In fact, even in medical practice, the symptoms of an ailment may be well diagnosed and a tested drug administered, but the patient's system may reject or react negatively to the drug for all sorts of reasons.

Pre-fabricated innovation projects which have been attempted elsewhere with some success for example, may not forcibly produce similar results in seemingly similar economic

environments for many reasons (including bureaucratic, political and cultural realities). Usually, in good medical practice however, alternative drugs continue to be tried until some alleviation is obtained. Similarly, depending on the nature of the educational problem addressed, innovation projects may not provide significant results in the short term. But if on-going evaluation which in principle should be built into every project indicated that the course of action was not worthwhile, then there will be need to reorientate the project or stop it altogether and try out alternatives.

The minor changes that have been made in Cameroon primary education since the colonial era include a greater emphasis on Cameroon geography and history. In the main, schools still mimic the British or French models of education. It has been underlined earlier, that the process of transmission of knowledge, whether through education or training, is conditioned by those who control it. Problems of implementing innovations occur whether they are endogenous or exogenous. Most change behaviour however, tends to be exogenous – that is, we usually try to borrow and adapt ideas when the necessary knowledge and skills to invent new schemes in specialized fields is absent. For this reason, many people tend to think that innovation projects fail because they are foreign. As Hurst (1983:7) remarks:

> Unfortunately the prevalence of exogenous change has led many people to conclude that the difficulties encountered in putting "imported" ideas into effect are due to the idea that the ideas are borrowed ones .... Problems of 'goodness of fit' between the idea and the context or milieu in which it is to be enacted, also arise with home grown ideas. The latter are not intrinsically superior.

The delegates at the Harare Conference (1982) enumerated several difficulties relating to the organization of schools curricula, contents and methods, teaching materials, workshops, laboratories and the training of qualified teachers. However, problems of a political drivative, often determining in effecting meaningful educational change are hardly highlighted in these meetings.

The path to educational change is not linear. Unlike many policy makers and researchers who still believe that the central ideas behind educational innovation are still valid, and that greater emphasis put on the implementation process would produce some substantive shift from the "failed" model of innovation, others argue that the innovation process actively extends and creates a "technological" ideology (e.g., Papagiannis et al., 1982:245), providing the illusion of change, not its substance. Levin (1976:23) for instance, argues that the educational system corresponds to the social, economic, and political institutions of the society, and that the only way to obtain significant changes in the educational functions and relations is to forge changes in the overall social, economic, and political relationships that characterize the polity. As a major corollary:

> No educational reforms will succeed if they violate the major tenets of our social, economic, and political system; and in any stable (non revolutionary) society the educational system will always be applied toward serving the role of cultural transmission and preserving the status quo despite the emergence of academic debates and utopian visions on the issue. (1976:23-24)

Whether one subscribes to the school of "developmentalist theorists" or that of "dependency theorists" the common denominator in both perspectives is the fact that we need also

to look beyond the school, to explain the performances within
it. In fact, educationists are divided about the way in which
we should approach educational reform. On the one hand, one
school of thought maintains that approaches be based upon an
overall conception of educational goals and systems, and that
"timid half measures" have accordingly been rejected because of
their very inefficiency (Faure, 1972). Members of this school
of thought, believe in adopting a broad and comprehensive view,
embracing all forms of educational provision integratedin the
socio-economic system in some manner, to bring maximum benefits
to the society concerned. On the other hand, there are those
who disagree with this view and believe that such a
transformation of education systems demands considerable
political courage and would entail a difficult and lengthy
process of implementation in the face of resistance, often
subtle but no less powerful, which such changes inevitably
generate (Thompson, 1981:207-208). In the circumstances, one
could argue that the stance adopted in particular situations
would depend on the scale of educational change envisaged.

4.3.2 Educational change and the Cameroon primary school:
        towards quality improvements

A human resource development perspective

The theory of human capital was a recognition of the critical
role which education ,and human resources had to play in the
process of economic growth and overall national development.
The importance of education as an investment in human beings
was a core concept that was something of a revolution in
economic thought. The shift in economic thinking, was from
that of the creation of wealth to the development of the
capacity to create wealth (Shultz, 1961). This capacity, it
was argued, resided in the people of the country. Once it was
acquired, the creation of wealth itself then became incidental.

These views influenced thinking about strategies to be adopted for national development in the newly independent African countries in the 1960s. In fact, right up to the end of the First Development Decade in 1970, a single model dominated the thinking and effort of African countries, development agencies and aid donors alike. Generally speaking, received wisdom had it that all societies followed a fixed path of evolution, from hunting and gathering, through agriculture, to industry, and finally to a high-technology, leisure-centred post-industrial society (Harrison,1986:23). However, since education at the secondary level was (in the 1970s) and still is (in the 1980s) very low, it is still widely believed by many African leaders, that national development could be accelerated by giving absolute priority to its expansion and improvement, in order to train people in the high-level manpower requirements needed for developing the modern sector of the economy, and, as a means to channel candidates for even further vocational and professional training at the level of the university.

This theme rang through the delegates of the Addis Ababa meeting in 1961 and left them largely convinced that education was a gainful economic investment through which general economic and social progress could be achieved. But, the new rulers did not have funds to transform their countries overnight, so, with the advice of visiting experts, they started on a small scale, hoping that the dynamism of the economic sector, and the income it would generate could rapidly spread to cover the entire societies in a 'trickle down effect' (Harrison, 1986:24).

However, it was realized both at Addis Ababa and increasingly thereafter, that the aspirations of the developing countries to accelerate general national development, could only be achieved by depending both on external assistance and on massive internal investment in educational development.

The atmosphere suddenly changed in the 'advanced' or industrialized countries in the late sixties and early seventies with rising unemployment, crime, and general disenchantment in young people as Western economic growth rates slowed. The impending oil price rises and subsequent energy shortage was threatening, precipitating economic recession world-wide. At the same time, in spite of national and international development efforts in the developing countries, poverty and inequality were actually increasing in many, if not in most of them (Harrison, 1986:25).

This conjuncture formed the background to a new approach to thinking about development which became almost a new orthodoxy by the end of the decade. The Nairobi conference (1976) marked a turning point in the development of education in Africa. Though the Addis Ababa Plan contained recommendations concerning educational reforms at various levels in national systems, greater attention had been paid to quantitative enrolment targets and the striving to attain universal primary education by the year 1980. At the Nairobi conference, however, it was realized that Africa-wide universal primary education was an unlikely prospect, and it was concluded that one of the main impediments was the high rates of wastage of national education systems. One of the major recommendations was,

> that a start be made, in all African States, on an
> all-round and complete reform of educational systems,
> with the effective participation of the masses, in
> order to adapt those systems to the real problems and
> preoccupations of the community, establishing precise
> educational objectives in keeping with available
> capacity. (UNESCO report, 1976:35)

However, while stressing the importance which primary reforms should receive, it was underlined that the priority that had been accorded to secondary education be maintained (UNESCO report, 1976:13). Perspectives of educational planning in developing countries have continued to evolve in the 1980s. The common use of the term "educational planning" is increasingly re-examined, and contemporary trends reveal a shift away from the vague notion of macro-planning towards the consideration of specific educational policies, along with the instruments to implement such policies (Psacharopoulos, 1985).

Educational change and the Cameroon primary school: a historical perspective

Cameroon has had a triple colonial experience. First, came the Germans between 1884 to 1914. They were driven out of the territory by combined French and English military forces, who according to an agreement signed on the 4th March 1916, split the territory into two parts, the British occupying an area a little over one-fifth of the total and the French occupying the rest. The Germans left behind four public schools located at Victoria, Douala, Yaounde and Garoua. The rest were private mission schools (Kitchen, 1962). As a result perhaps, of the little educational effort made by the Germans in Cameroon, there is no trace of German influence in Cameroon education today.

The history of French colonial education in Cameroon has been documented, particularly, the role played by the Christian missions in educational provision right up to the close of the colonial era (e.g., Marchand, 1975; Njiale, 1984). Also, the history of British colonial education in Cameroon has been appreciably covered (e.g., Gwei, 1975). Before exploring in some detail the various policy issues which determined education in these periods, it is important to know what the basic differences in French and British colonial policies were.

Assimilation was the traditional colonial French doctrine, based on the somewhat paradoxical assumptions of the universal equality of man and the superiority of European civilization. The ultimate goal of colonization in assimilationist terms, was the political, social, and cultural integration of the colonial peoples into the French nation. At the dawn of the twentieth century, however, this policy was replaced by that of association (Blakemore, 1970:87-88). The latter policy underlines two fundamental principles:

- the commitment to mass education, but, only when local authorities felt that this would not alienate pupils from their own society, and

- the contribution to be made by education to the indigenous people by increasing their productivity and helping them to realize the full economic potential of their territory, through improved agricultural methods, modern health practices, and spoken French as a _lingua franca_.

The policy of indirect rule adopted by the British on the other hand, did not produce clear guidelines for education in its colonies for a long time. However, the British colonial office in 1925 came up with a policy based on the following principle:

> Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples [of Africa], conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution. Its aim is to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, whatever it may be, and to promote the

advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of [indigenous] industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of the ideas of citizenship and service. (in Bray et al, 1986:116)

Education in anglophone Cameroon was organized alongside that of Nigeria between 1926 and 1954, the period separating the first Nigerian education code (influenced by the 1925 policy cited above), and anglophone Cameroon political autonomy. The introduction of agricultural education in the primary school and teacher training curricula in the Southern Cameroons in the late 1930s (Tansam, 1987:16) is evidence of the implementation of the said policy.

In 1937, the first autonomous body to handle educational matters in francophone Cameroon was the "Service de l'Enseignement" (Department of Education). From this platform, the French inspector Albert Arnaud attempted the first reforms aimed at adapting education in francophone Cameroon to the agricultural realities of the country (Marchand, 1974).

In 1938, francophone Cameroon undertook the greatest thrust in attempts to link the activities of the school with those of the local community, and to integrate the school graduate in his local milieu. While the morning lessons were similar in content, structure, and pedagogic methods to the programmes implemented in the metropole (1921-1924), there were in addition, eleven hours devoted to manual work every week, carried out in the afternoons. To these agricultural aspects, were included animal husbandry and handicrafts.

The reforms were later dropped mainly because general education was neglected at the expense of practical training, and was blamed for making pupils work like labourers on vast fields,

and often at the profit of the school monitor (Official report, MINEDUC archives, cited in Marchand, 1974:548).

Whereas inconsistencies of adapted texts and curricula marked French educational policy, British colonial education in Africa between 1920 and 1939 grew largely from a slow and grudging realization that educational advance and Indirect Rule were incompatible. Though the effects of this policy were to reduce the 'disintegrating and unsettling effects of education', the results produced a mixture of other effects, some positive, others quixotic, and many harmful (Gifford and Weiskel, 1971:699). In spite of attempts to prevent the African child from being removed from his environment, the general trend was to see primary schooling, even when very rudimentary, as 'the path to opportunities outside the village' (Gifford and Weiskel, 1971:703).

In 1945 however, metropolitan policy was directed towards granting the colonies increased autonomy through administrative devolution. With this new leverage, the demands articulated by nascent political parties in French areas stressed the desire for immediate parity with the French system in examination and certificates. The agricultural reforms that had been going on since 1938 towards rendering the school more relevant to local conditions were abandoned in that very year, with preference given to exactly the same school programmes as those practised in metropolitan France: two weekly periods devoted to "travaux pratiques" (practical work) taken up either in drawing exercises or sewing for girls.

In fact, despite claims of success in adapting French courses of instruction (reference made to local events, places, problems and geography) to the needs of the African, Buell (1928) argues that their underlying intent was to inculcate a deep and abiding respect for French civilization and its accomplishments in West Africa. The texts were written in such

a way as to encourage Africans to deny the validity of their own cultural traditions and to admire instead those of the French. Thus, they could be considered more "assimilative" in their overall effect than a straightforward metropolitan curriculum might have been, because they encouraged Africans to measure all experience against the norm of French culture. In short, while the adapted curriculum began to teach the African about his own milieu, it reminded him continuously that everything about his environment was inferior to France and the French way of life (Gifford and Weiskel, 1971:697).

By and large, efforts to adapt education to rural life and to prepare for wage employment simultaneously proved difficult to implement. A ten-year development plan was established in francophone Cameroon in 1947, to carry through qualitative and quantitative improvements in educational provision in its schools. With these efforts came the introduction of aspects of nature study, hygiene and physical education in francophone Cameroon primary schools in 1950, to add on to the French programmes taught.

In anglophone Cameroon, political devolution was achieved in 1954, as a result of the formation of the Nigerian Federation (the Lyttleton Constitution of October 1st 1954) in which anglophone Cameroon had a quasi-Federal status. Its first education policy drawn in 1955, stressed, "the fullest developments of the potentialities of the individual child", in order to enable him to play a full and enlightened part in the affairs of the community in which he lived, raising the standards of primary education by doubling the output of trained teachers, and the provision of advanced training in agricultural techniques and skills (Southern Cameroons Policy for Education, 1955). Particularly in respect of agricultural education, this was the continuation of an already established tradition (cf. Tansam, 1987).

Francophone Cameroon achieved political autonomy in 1957. In 1958, anglophone Cameroon adopted a syllabus for primary schools which was revised in 1965 and implemented in 1966 in response to the then anglophone government desire to render the primary school programme more relevant to its needs (West Cameroon Education Policy Paper, 1963). Correspondingly, it hoped to increase its proportion of trained teachers from 33 per cent in 1962/63 to 100 per cent by 1970. However, the government had to work on probabilities because it had to rely on federal government subventions to finance its educational system. The 1963 policy paper notes:

> It is, however, Government's intention and earnest desire to invest in education to the limit of its financial resources, and teachers, whilst exercising patience, because of the magnitude of the financial commitment involved, must strive to place the incentives in the right places. (1963:5)

Until 1963, the curriculum for the primary school in francophone Cameroon, largely remained the same as that followed in French schools. However, in that year, a new need was felt to reintroduce agricultural activities in schools with the hope to curb the rural exodus of youth into the cities, and to emphasize teaching of the Cameroon environment. But as Marchand (1974) notes, the renewal of teaching of agricultural manual work was a mere repetition of the colonial programmes which had been found difficult to operate.

These difficulties included the lack of appropriate equipment, and the non-existence of open spaces for gardens and farms in city-schools, the negative attitudes created by those teachers who used manual work to punish pupils, and most importantly, the lack of appropriate training of teachers to handle this activity (Beling-Nkoumba, 1967).

The Ministry of National Education formed in 1972, became responsible for all primary education and primary teacher training colleges in 1973, and the reforms begun in the anglophone primary schools mentioned above were discontinued. Nevertheless, it is significant to note that in the circumstances which prevailed then, the West Cameroon government was increasingly financially incapable of managing its educational system, and depended heavily on federal government subventions to support it.

Since the re-unification of the two territories in 1961, the IPAR experience (see section 5), reflects the only major government effort made thus far, towards harmonizing and bringing more relevance to its educational system, albeit virtually frozen at the level of programme development at the project units.

While it is implied that harmonization is an important aspect of the process of Cameroon educational change which the IPARs should work towards achieving, the Cameroon reform ideology of ruralization revolves around the idea that schools can be used as a vehicle for the development of the largely rural country. Foster and Sheffield (1973) observe that this vision of schools as a primary vehicle for development, is rather an act of faith and is not related to any solid empirical evidence and in many respects has fallen short of initial expectations and hope. Similarly, Coverdale (1974) observes that experience has repeatedly shown that a revision of the rural school programme, to include agricultural aspects in country areas is not, by itself, the means of solving the problems of rural development.

Indeed, the special problems of remote rural schools are well known (e.g. Dove, 1981). Not only has educational growth failed to achieve greater equity in the distribution of income, goods, and status, it seems in many cases to have contributed

to reproducing and even consolidating the inequalities already existing in a given society (e.g., Foster, 1980; Coulby, 1984).

A number of studies have been carried out on the link between education and productivity. Empirical studies investigating the relationship between African primary school attendance and its contribution to increasing rural productivity reveals contradictory findings (Colclough and Hallack, 1975). Even in cases where positive correlations between increased primary schooling and agricultural productivity levels have been found, the former has only been one factor out of a package of measures that would produce increased producitivity in rural areas (Bude, 1985). Thus, education is only seen as an "accelerator" or catalyst in agricultural production in developing countries and only becomes effective when used as a strategy in conjunction with other changes in the rural economy which enhance its transformation.

However, Khoi (1976) notes that illiteracy does not necessarily constitute an obstacle to the increase of production and the introduction of innovations. However, he remarks that when the problem of production involves more than just the application of new techniques, to include new forms of organization which are to be introduced, like the management of a co-operative or running accounts which require functional literacy for example, the absence of basic numeracy and literacy skills becomes problematic. Indeed, the peasant farmer needs to be able to read the scale of a balance to ascertain that the proper price is paid for his produce when he takes it to the co-operative or the open market for sale.

Bude, one of the researchers who worked on the IPAR-Buea project from its inception, draws certain pertinent conclusions

on the IPAR experience thus far:

> [The] reform attempts to place the primary school at
> the service of rural development have lagged far
> behind the lofty expectations which they provoked....
> As a rule, efforts undertaken to concentrate school
> activities on community requirements have met with
> only little interest on the part of the elite and the
> majority of the parents (Bude, 1985:268).

He further adds, that elements of community orientation alone, without government funds to carry out the necessary infrastructural improvements, do not make school in hitherto disadvantaged areas more interesting or attractive to parents (1985:270), and that 'the inability of elites to initiate educational reforms is founded in their fear of the fundamental social changes which might be brought about by a community-development-oriented education system (1985:275).

Reflecting on past efforts to render the school more relevant to the needs of local communities, Bude (1985:86) argues that the community orientation in primary education in many countries 'is attributable to the attractiveness of its system-stabilizing elements, and above all to the possibility it offers of initiating marginal improvements and reforms which divert attention from structural problems going beyond the framework of the community'.

Judging from the experiences in four African countries (Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya and Tanganyika) between 1925 and 1940, Bude (1985:73-74) outlines what he considers were the most important reasons for failure in adapting education to African needs:

(1) the teachers working in the primary school were over
    stretched by the exacting demands of the adaptation
    concept;

(2) they were neither trained for, nor given support by the community institutions in their additional community development activities;

(3) the environment-oriented and work-oriented reformed curricula called for a degree of flexibility, creativity, and adaptability which made teachers who were used to classroom instruction on the basis of textbooks feel insecure;

(4) the follow-up costs connected with the reforms were underestimated; these included

- in-service training courses for practising teachers,
- corresponding teaching materials and textbooks,
- higher operational costs on account of qualified teaching staff,
- improved school inspection,
- costs incurred in connection with introducing the reforms throughout the entire school system;

(5) reforms were introduced only in parts of the education system, without reference to the structure of education as a whole;

(6) there were no curriculum development techniques to transpose reform concepts and their implications into learning goals, in particular for realizing active pupil-centred learning;

(7) the fact that reform attempts were dependent on individuals (expatriate pushers) proved to have a negative effect with respect to their long-term impact;

(8) the reforms were generally rejected by the population
    groups concerned.

Bude (1985:76), believes that these negative attitudes persist
because economic considerations are overlooked. In retrospect,
it is evident that anglophone Cameroon has had relatively more
sustained practice in integrating agriculture in the
curriculum. Nevertheless, both anglophone and francophone
Cameroon have had a long tradition of experiences in primary
reforms which involve the integration of productive work in the
traditional curriculum. Cameroonians may have to retrace their
steps to assess what went wrong in these experiences, when
thinking about re-integrating similar experiences in schools
for better prospects to meaningful change (see 6.3).

4.3.3 Educational change and the Cameroon primary school: towards a language policy for schools

One of the most pervasive obstacles to effective educational
change and research in Cameroon, earlier noted by Vernon-
Jackson (1967:25), is that of **language**. Although linguistic
research in the country is still in its infancy, it has already
surfaced with some suggestions for a language policy for
Cameroon schools. Some researchers argue that the introduction
of a second official language in primary schools (French for
the anglophones and English for the francophones) will worsen
cognitive aptitudes of pupils which they presently consider to
be poor, and relate to difficulties encountered in learning in
a first official language (French for the francophones and
English for the anglophones) (Khoi, 1976; Tchoungui, 1977).
Supposing that these findings are accurate, they simply put
into relief the cognitive difficulties that students have to
cope with while studying in Cameroon's two official languages
at the post-secondary level where the two educational
traditions in the country are fused, especially at the
University of Yaounde.

On the other hand, others argue a case for choosing one
Cameroonian language in each province and teaching it in its
primary schools (e.g., Ngijol-Ngijol,1978). Unfortunately,
such languages will always remain alien to a proportion of the
pupils (e.g., children of civil servants who by government
regulation, can be posted to work at any time in any part of
the country where duty calls). Furthermore, the criteria for
choosing these national languages out of about 360 dialects, or
some common language stock belonging to a group of dialects,
linguistically speaking, are not elaborated in research
reports, leaving the reader to conjecture the reliability and
validity of such research findings, and the pertinence of the
propositions made thereof.

A proposition for example, that "les enfants camerounais qui ne
connaissent accune langue camerounaise sont trops rares pour
qu'on prévoie un programme spécial au niveau national pour
eaux, [puisqu'on peut] leurs apprendre une langue qui
fonctionnera pour eux comme une première langue camerounaise"
(few are those Cameroon children who do not speak any
Cameroonian language (dialect), to necessitate a special
national programme devised for them, [for], they could be
taught some Cameroonian language which will function for them,
as a first Cameroonian language would) Tadadjeu et al.,
1978:14), is apparently based on uncertain statistical
evidence, and unrelated to some cognitive advantages that may
be derived from teaching and learning in a child's first
language, usually the mother-tongue, designated (L1), in
relation to (L2) and (L3), where (L2) is the first official
language of a Cameroonian (French for the francophone and
English for the anglophone), with (L3) being the second
official language.

Caution should be taken not only to determine the feasibility
of such propositions, but their worth in relation to conducting

studies and research into such priority themes as **language and cognition** in Cameroon institutions of learning, which would provide a useful basis for determining a language policy that will improve learning in schools. A recent and yet unexplored development is the proposition for permanent multi-lingualism or 'extensive trilingualism', with official **bilingualism** being the 'first positive step for all Cameroonians' (Tadadjeu, 1985). It is important however, that future proposals for a language policy for Cameroon schools be guided by the fact that we cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way - a particular cultural world view. Available literature on bilingualism illuminates some of Cameroon's problems in educational change.

Lambert (1978:214) has noted that though the technical literature on the consequences of being bilingual and/or bicultural stretches back to the turn of the century, and is still growing, bilingualism and biculturalism 'generate much emotional and political steam and this often clouds whatever facts are available.' The literature which covers the period just before 1960, gives a generally pessimistic outlook on the effects of bilingualism.

However, carefully matched bilingual and monolinguals on both verbal and non-verbal measures of intelligence, have indicated that bilinguals had a more diversified structure of intelligence and were more flexible in thought (e.g., Lambert and Anisfeld (1969) on French/English bilingual children in Montreal) than monolinguals - thus showing definite advantages on measures of "cognitive flexibility", "creativity" or "divergent thought".

Some researchers have come to the conclusion that divergent thinking is an index of creativity (e.g., Getzels and Jackson 1962), whereas others, simply view the phenomenon as a

'distinctive cognitive style reflecting a rich imagination and an ability to scan rapidly a host of possible solutions'(Lambert, 1978). Indeed, in recent years, linguistic research into cognition and bilingualism increasingly reveals positive correlations between cognition and divergent thinking. Some writers (e.g., Dulay et al., 1982) cogently argue, that the cultural and linguistic contact inherent in societal bilingualism gives rise to two major phenomena that are sometimes subject to misinterpretation: the concepts of "borrowing" and "code switching" (also called "language switching" or "code alternation"). They maintain that these are often erroneously believed to symptomize serious language abnormalities or, at the very least, to signal a linguistic and mental confusion or interference that is deleterious to learning (cf. Khoi, 1976; Tchoungui, 1977).

Few indeed, will contend the fact that first language acquisition is closely linked with the child's social development; and, hence, to the evolution of a social identity which Klein (1986:6) maintains does not apply to second language acquisition to the same extent. This fact alone is not enough to draw the blanket over the vast wealth of available literature that could, and should illuminate rather than blur Cameroon's efforts towards building a meaningful language policy. It might be appropriate here to give some thought to Lambert's perspectives on the subject of bilingualism and biculturalism:

> There is, then, an impressive array of evidence accumulating that argues plainly against the common sense notion that becoming bilingual, i.e. having two strings to one's bow or two linguistic systems in one's brain, naturally divides a person's cognitive resources and reduces his efficiency of thought. Instead, one can now put forth a very persuasive argument that there is a definite cognitive advantage

enjoyed by bilingual children in the domain of cognitive flexibility. However, only further research will tell us how this advantage, assuming it is a reliable phenomenon, actually works: whether it is based on a better storage of information by bilinguals, whether the separation of linguistic symbols from the referents or the ability to separate word meaning from word sound is the key factor, whether the bilingual contrasts of linguistic systems aid in the development of conceptual thought, or whatever. (1978:216-217)

Serious thought may have to be given to generalizations purported to be drawn from scientific studies which could have dire consequences for the country, if implemented without close scrutiny. For example, Ngijol (1978) went to the detail of selecting fourteen out of over 360 national languages, two in each of seven provinces into which the country was divided, and recommended that they be taught in the schools of these provinces as "langues véhiculaires" (vehicular languages). But the much acclaimed study (étude savante) (Bebbe-Njoh, 1980), suddenly lost some of its brilliance in 1983, when the country's leadership decided to re-split two of the provinces into five, making in all ten provinces instead of seven. The lesson to be drawn from such an event is that scientific research findings should indeed be such that they should not be easily vulnerable to political vicissitudes.

The search for a language policy for the taught (pupils and students) may be more effective if it made some basic demands on the teaching profession as well, especially considering that the process of knowledge tranfer involves interaction between the two groups. Communication barriers for example, exist between IPAR-Yaounde staffed exclusively by francophones and IPAR-Buea staffed exclusively by anglophones respectively. During SPEP seminars involving both francophones and

anglophones professionals in the teaching profession, an interpreter is needed. The absence of career incentives to learn the two official languages, leaves the burden mainly to young Cameroonians having to study in both official languages especially at the university of Yaounde (see 9.2.2).

Generally speaking, the British and French colonial educational policies in Cameroon broadly reflect a contrasting process of differential socialization into two distinct Western cultures. A study carried out by Treffgarne (1978) on the Senegambia, where French and English are the official languages as in Cameroon, concludes that the varying educational experiences that ensue from the two foreign cultures, embody different intellectual traditions and consequently different ways of thinking and approaching common problems. This finding may explain, at least in part the IPAR-Yaounde and IPAR-Buea differences in approach towards planning a common primary school programme for Cameroon.

The choice of a "nationalist" solution by the Cameroon government (the adoption of French and English) as a practical response to its linguistically complex situation is mainly because the country's official languages are "supra-ethnic and "supra-local" (Fishman, 1968). Apart from the Senegambian experience in the African continent, there are few cases from which Cameroon can draw lessons for resolving its language difficulties. Much imagination and political commitment will have to be demonstrated in the search for clearly defined policies in this area. In the Senegambian experience for example, language teaching strategies reflect a process of shifting towards the teaching of French and English for more functional purposes in reaction to the acculturative orientation of colonial education (Treffgarne, 1978:480). It is an approach which may prove useful to Cameroon.

In fact, 'since one of the major goals of the school system is to promote national unity, Cameroon's first university was established as a bilingual institution, as the first step in creating a unified structure of schooling for all Cameroonians' (Yembe 1985:626). French-English bilingualism is a requirement for students studying at the sole university of Yaounde.

As early as 1961, recommendations were made that the special conditions of Cameroon made research an urgent task, particularly for the production of courses, text-books, and audio-visual materials to meet the particular needs of the country (CCTA/CSA, 1961:14). This was followed by the Unesco Advisory Commission for the Development of Higher Education in the Federal Republic of Cameroon (1962) which noted that one of the important educational problems of the University of Yaounde was the mastery of the language of instruction. However, while it noted that it was highly improbable that lecturers capable of teaching in the two languages would be found in sufficient numbers when the university was started (Unesco report, 1962:63), it was imagined that

> if a strong impetus is given to language teaching, students should in a few years time have sufficient command of the two official languages of the country to be able to continue their studies equally well in either. The problem here studied will gradually become less acute, while the university will be able to play a decisive part in training a bilingual elite. (Unesco report, 1962:65)

However, progress in this direction has been slow. In the prevailing circumstances, a student taking courses where more of his or her lectures are offered in the second official language (French for the anglophone and English for the francophone) suffers a great disadvantage.

Language research in Cameroon will need to address the pedagogic and cognitive problems of learning in a second and third language at the university as an area deserving more priority than contemporary efforts directed at global, though important linguistic issues in the country. For example, French is taught to primary school children by non-specialist teachers who have hardly mastered it themselves in a nine-month course named "opération **bilinguisme**" at the TTCs - an appellation which rightly connotes more of a campaign slogan than a specialized training programme.

In fact, the problem of bilingualism is inextricably linked to that of harmonizing Cameroon education, and thus, a clearer political stance on these issues than exists at the moment will be required, towards more meaningful and lasting educational reforms in the country. Gifford and Weiskel (1971:710-711) observe:

> [T]he syntheses that men make are their real education. The most enduring legacy is the colonial language itself. French and English have become rooted in Africa as means of international communication, as modes of analysis .... This is the result of the whole weight of colonialism - its potent result .... To speak through another's mask and to preserve the self within is a constraining art. In this sense the colonial struggle continues still: Africans must wrest from French and English the power to enhance rather than efface themselves.

The general impression emerging from this research is that success in Cameroon educational change, will depend on how well the country copes with the conflicting acculturative effects of the two foreign cultures in the country (see 9.2.2).

5   THE IPAR EXPERIENCE IN CAMEROON PRIMARY EDUCATION

5.1   Background

5.1.1 Origin

The   (**Institut de Pédagogie Appliquée à vocation Rurale**) (IPAR)
is otherwise known as the Institute for the Reform of Primary
Education (IPAR-Buea Report, 1977:7), or more broadly as the
Cameroon government instrument for primary educational reform
(Lallez, 1974:61). In effect, the IPAR experience began as a
result of the broadening of the structure of an earlier
institution, the (**Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs Rurales**) (ENIR),
created in 1967 and assigned the task of reforming primary
education in Cameroon.

The ENIR, was a rurally-oriented teacher training institute,
created as a joint undertaking between the Cameroon government
and the UNDP, in terms of an agreement signed on December 12,
1969 initially to cover a preliminary five-year period between
1967 and 1972, with plans to extend the funding to cover an
implementation phase (1972-1976). Existing as an autonomous
institution, the conception of its programmes were the main
responsibility of a team of experts from Unesco which was
designated the executing agency, a role which it continued to
occupy in IPAR, throughout the period covered by the UNDP
contract. The team of experts were assisted by Cameroonian
counterparts assigned to the project.

The ENIR represented the only attempt towards educational
reform in the educational structures inherited from the
colonial era by the young nation during the Federation (1961-
1972). This experience was however, short-lived and limited to
the francophone part of the country. It is important to note
however, that during the Cameroon Federation primary education

was the concern of each state government, and thus, was administered differently.

With the modification of the ENIR, the reorganized institution assumed the new name - IPAR. The first IPAR institute, IPAR-Yaounde, was created in 1969, to work out proposals towards the reform of primary education in the country, though its activities were limited to the francophone provinces. Five

Map 5: The IPAR Experience in Cameroon Primary Education

Image redacted due to third party rights or other legal issues

years later, a second institute was created at Buea, IPAR-Buea,
to work out reform proposals for primary education in the
country inspired by the reality in the anglophone provinces
(see map 5). Both institutes, created by Presidential decrees,
reflect the government's commitment to reform and harmonize
primary education in the concurrent French-oriented and
British-oriented school traditions still practised in the
country since its re-unification in 1961, after 46 years of
separation by colonial rule. However, the strategy to be
adopted to arrive at a common programme from the work carried
out by the two institutes for all primary schools in the
country was not clear.

IPAR-Yaounde and IPAR-Buea differ appreciably in the strategies
they have adopted so far, and in the scope of work each
institute has covered in meeting similar aims. For these
reasons, they are referred to collectively in this thesis as
the IPAR experience.

5.1.2   Rationale for the ENIR/IPAR

As early as 1962, a team of UNESCO experts had visited Cameroon
on the invitation of the federal government, to analyse the
state of educational development in the country, and to make
recommendations towards rendering the system more effective.
Peltriaux (1962) suggested that a federal government concern to
harmonize the existing system of secondary and technical
education made it seem logical, that

> harmonization should mean the adoption of the same
> age and standard of knowledge requirements for access
> to the first classes of secondary and technical
> education in both parts of Cameroon. That in turn,
> would mean that the terminal classes of primary
> education should also reach the same level in the
> East and West. (Unesco report, 1962:16)

The problem was no longer about how desirable changes in the educational systems were, but, more importantly, how to set about such changes in the existing socio-political climate. As mentioned earlier, primary education was not considered one of the concerns of the federal government. It was the responsibility of each state government, while secondary and technical education were the concern of the federal government. These initial constitutional arrangements, added to the distinctiveness of the two educational traditions, seemingly made it difficult to adopt common strategies for integrated educational change.

Nevertheless, this need for educational change did not diminish. Cameroon political leaders decided that 'the old type of school and the traditional teacher' needed to be replaced by a new type of rural school, run by a new and specially trained type of rural teacher. This new rural teacher had to be trained in a new institution created for the purpose, and in a manner that would enable him to disseminate practical information and the simple techniques necessary for children and adults alike, to take an active part in economic development - especially at the level of the village (Lallez, 1974:24).

In the early 1960s, Cameroon political leaders were aware of the crisis which the educational system was undergoing. Elementary education was considered highly wasteful, as relatively very few pupils completed it and even fewer obtained the certificate of primary education. The drop-out rate was alarmingly high, and large numbers of children repeated literally every grade of schooling. Even the small number who obtained the primary school certificate had difficulties integrating in society, and thus, did not occupy any active

roles in building it. As Lallez (1974:2) remarked:

> The intolerable paradox of the educational system was
> therefore that, whilst being very costly and training
> only an elite, it did not train that elite properly,
> either to achieve personal fulfilment or to play
> their due role in national development.

In both respects, quantitative studies and statistical surveys
carried out in 1965 by the SEDES and IEDES at the request of
the French Secretariat of State for Co-operation only confirmed
what had already been suspected.   The extent of the problems
facing the education system is better illuminated by a few
statistics.

The situation of education in East Cameroon in (1965-1970)
revealed the following trends:

- 12,000 out of 14,800 teachers in the field were unqualified,
- the wastage rate was high, and end-of-course results were
  poor (see Table 9);
- the effect of repeating was such that the average cost per
  pupil for a six-year primary course was about seven times
  the estimated cost without failure;
- over 80 per cent of those who completed primary education
  every year did not have access into secondary education,
  (MINEDUC, 1973:32-35).

In 1965, there were 821,423 children of school age (5-14 years)
in East Cameroon, and 245,000 in West Cameroon (6-14 years).
The amount spent on education in the two federated states had
already reached 20 per cent of the federal budget that year.
With an average rate of primary school enrolment of over 60 per
cent, Cameroon seemed to be approaching a situation where it

Table 9: East Cameroon: Evolution of primary school cohort, 1965-70 (public and private education combined)

Year	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Number of students	10,000	7,410	6,550	5,640	5,300	5,050
						passed CEP 1,460

Source: Adapted from Lallez (1974:11)

was squandering its limited resources without much hope of meeting its real needs. In addition to the sheer costs involved, the system was not effective. Nearly 50 per cent of pupils beginning primary education dropped out after three years, (see Table 10) and only about 17 per cent of those who reached the final year of primary schooling were able to undergo further studies. Indeed, out of every 1000 pupils enroled in the first year of primary education, only 5 would pass the baccalaureate (equivalent of the GCE "A" level) many years later (Lallez, 1974:8). The average figures for repeating and drop-outs in the primary school for the West (see Table 10) between 1965 and 1970, equally depicts a highly wasteful system which called for

Table 10: West Cameroon: Progressive decrease in primary enrol-
ment rates (%), 1965-70 (public and
private education combined)

Year	class 1 to 2	class 2 to 3	class 3 to 4	class 4 to 5	class 5 to 6	class 6 to 7
1965/66	12.8	4.9	10.0	16.6	8.1	23.0
1966/67	33.4	3.3	5.6	15.3	3.2	31.1
1967/68	23.1	10.1	10.1	11.9	7.4	18.8
1968/69	18.5	11.9	11.9	7.5	10.2	12.9
1969/70	13.3	4.3	13.5	28.1	16.0	40.2
Average 1965/70	20.3	6.9	10.5	15.9	9.0	25.2

Source: Lallez (1974:9)

a review of the nature and purpose of primary education. The
new data highlighted the urgency of the situation.

The increasingly conspicuous plight of the unemployed youths
(including those who had earned a school diploma) continued to
attract widespread public concern. Existing school programmes
were unchanged and seemed to encourage a hand/mind divorce
which is highly counterproductive in a country like Cameroon
with an agricultural mainstay. Though admittedly the forces
behind a phenomenon like rural exodus can be varied and
complex, the dichotomy between the activities of the school and

those of its surrounding communities was blamed, at least
partially, on the nature of the liberal arts curriculum
inherited from the colonial era with little or no adaptation
(Boma, 1980). Mongo Soo (1973), then Minister of Education,
described the prevailing situation in education in the
following words:

> Educators and pupils alike are unanimous in
> condemning the present school systems, their
> traditional methods of instruction, and the
> inadaptability of their syllabuses. The syllabuses
> are overloaded! Teaching is academic and dogmatic !
> .... [T]he school encourages a stampede for diplomas
> instead of preparing for life .... In addition,
> States whose role it is to assume responsibility for
> education, are often at a loss [unable] to meet the
> constant increase in costs .... With underqualified
> teachers, overcrowded classes and an environment that
> runs counter to school action [aims] ... how in
> effect can one expect satisfactory results ?
> (MINEDUC, 1973:6)

The remarks made by the Minister of Education explicitly
indicate that the country's education system needed urgent
reforms. In fact, ruralization has a long pedigree in
Cameroon, as Lallez (1974) and Bude (1985), among others have
documented. The ENIR (1967) and the IPARs (1969, 1974) were
meant from their inception to embody this idea, which it was
imagined would shape the reform of the entire education system.

The ideology has not been changed ever since, at least not
explicitly. The rationale behind this option to reform was
explained by the country's leadership, was hinged entirely on
the proposition that Cameroon's economy and society were
essentially rural. At that time some three-quarters of the
value of the country's exports were derived from the

agricultural sector which employed 85 per cent of its working population. Since a reformed primary education was seen as an instrument for promoting development, it followed that it should have a rural orientation. In an opening address to administrative and political cadres on the reform of primary education in Cameroon, the President (1973) explained that ruralization was about

> adapting education to the realities of this essentially agricultural country .... Obviously this ruralization changes in name and nature at every stage of child growth in a school environment ... at all levels, and in all establishments, manual work will have been compulsory .... [S]chools will contribute to the campaign against underdevelopment because they will have succeeded in convincing young Africans [Cameroonians] that all jobs are worth doing ... for self-development, [as well as] national development. (MINEDUC, 1973:40)

The concept of ruralization has meant different things to different people working on the said reforms, and even years after project development was pretty advanced, still required meetings for its clarification (see Epote, 1976:132). Today, more than ever before, these differences in interpretation still exist among the IPARs, among inspectors at the GIP, and researchers alike. However, the interpretation given by the early developers of the experience (e.g., the UNESCO executing agency) have largely determined the shape the experience has assumed ever since. The specific nature of change or the envisaged new ethos of the primary school was not explicitly defined in the government reform policy. According to Moudourou (1973), then Director of IPAR-Yaounde, ruralization was simply an ideology which stressed that the envisaged reforms be relevant to the socio-economic climate of the

country.   As he saw it:

> If   tomorrow   it   [Cameroon]   becomes   essentially
> industrial,   the   principles   of the   new reform will
> remain the same, the purpose will still be   to   adapt
> the   child   to   the   evolution   of   his   environment;
> obviously   the   syllabuses   will be   changed, but the
> objectives   and methods will not   undergo significant
> change.   (MINEDUC, 1973:39)

Indeed,   the new 'ruralized' school was to be the same for both
town   and country (MINEDUC   report,   1973:39;   IPAR-Buea   report,
1977:8).   The   essence   was   to   reshape   the   primary school
programme   to   include   practical   activities   leading   to
occupations   for pupils in   their local communities   when   they
left   school.   Thus,   primary school   leavers   would hopefully
become   largely self-employed and as a result, the rural exodus
by   young people into the urban or city centres where few or no
employment   opportunities were open   to them would   be   curbed.
The   ENIR   was created   to work towards   this ideal in   primary
educational   reform and   this mission,   later taken   up by   the
IPARs.   This makes it important to begin the appraisal   of   the
IPAR experience with a preview of the ENIR.

5.1.3   The ENIR: an overview

The ENIR had two main aims:

- to train a calibre of teacher who would at the same time
  fulfil the traditional duties of classroom teacher, and in
  addition, occupy a role as **"animateurs capables d'encadrer
  le milieu rural"** (leadership role in devising schemes for
  young people and adults in rural areas) to promote economic
  and social development.

- to organize in-service training sessions and further training courses for inspectors of primary schools, and teachers supervising teaching practice.

With a staff of four foreign experts and four national counterparts, the ENIR opened its doors on November 3, 1967. During the course of that year, a **"Commission Nationale des Programmes"** (National Commission on Curricula) composed of 77 members was established, and assigned the task of drawing up curricula for the ENIR, based on a working document compiled by the Unesco experts attached to the project.

However, the prevailing conditions for setting up the institute were not favourable. The college was in temporary and unsuitable premises, the furniture was borrowed, and the equipment was literally non-existent. Provision had not been made in the national budget to cover the period July 1967 to June 1968 (Lallez, 1974:22).

However, the government soon realized that it would be impossible to attain the goals in view, merely by providing pre-service teacher training alone to just 70 students on a yearly basis. It saw a crucial need for in-service training for teachers in the field, if the objectives were to be fully attained. Furthermore, the sort of programmes drawn by the curriculum unit in place were doubtful, since these [new] methods and curricula could not represent

> mere formulation of essential principles and the mere sketching out of the main lines of emphasis used previously for identifying the objectives and which were the only basis upon which the National Commission on Curricula could work out the curriculum for the teacher training course.... [T]asks in hand were not logically analysed....[P]roposals of sub-commissions were all too often simply tacked

> together, ran counter to the stated aim: not only did
> it not really change curricula ... it added to
> them ... increasing the compartmentalization of
> subjects and the divergence from the stated aims.
> (Lallez, 1974:32)

The IPAR replaced the ENIR in 1969, and represents Cameroon's
only major effort yet, towards implementing large-scale
curriculum and structural change in its dual and ill-adapted
educational systems. The development of the IPAR experience in
this study will be split into two main phases for analytical
purposes. Phase I (1969-1974), covers the development of the
experience up to the point when IPAR-Buea was created, thus
extending the experience to cover all the provinces of the
country. Phase II (1974-1987), covers the experience
thereafter, up to the point of writing.

5.2   Phase I of the IPAR experience (1969-1974)

5.2.1   Introduction

The description of the IPAR experience in this section is
limited to the activities of the IPAR-Yaounde project, for,
IPAR-Buea was created in October 1974, only shortly after the
signing of the agreement between the Cameroon government and
the UNDP to fund the next phase of the IPAR-Yaounde project in
August 31, 1974. Initially placed under the responsibility of
the Secretary of State for Education in the former East
Cameroon, IPAR-Yaounde became a service in the Ministry of
National Education created in 1972, and has maintained that
status ever since.

5.2.2 Objectives of IPAR-Yaounde

The main objectives of IPAR-Yaounde were as follows:

- to provide initial training for the new type of teacher for the' ruralized' primary school,
- to provide in-service training for teachers in the field,
- to work out syllabuses and to devise methods for pre-service training of teachers,
- to work out syllabuses and relevant methods for the in-service training of teachers in the field,
- to work out syllabuses for the primary school course, and
- to produce the teaching/learning materials for teachers and pupils for the reform programme.

It is worth noting that in recognition of the long-term nature of the preparation for the reforms, the decision was taken to provide in-service training for teachers in the field over an uninterrupted ten-year period. This is not often mentioned in subsequent literature as one of the main objectives of the ENIR, and though aspect of training formed part of the argument for the change of status of the ENIR to IPAR.

5.2.3 Organization of IPAR-Yaounde

The decree creating IPAR-Yaounde gave shape to its structure and organization. It was administered by a Director, assisted by four Sub-Directors, each heading a department of the institute (see Figure 2): viz,

- the department of reform responsible for developing curricula and methods for primary reforms;
- the department of pre-service teacher training, responsible for studies into, and the coordination of the activities of participating teacher training colleges;

186

Figure 2: The organization of IPAR-Yaounde

| DIRECTOR | ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES | Bursar's office |

DIRECTOR — **ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES**

Bursar's office
Accounts department
Secretariat
Typing and duplicating pool
Infirmary
Garage

TEACHER TRAINING (Asst. Director)

PROCTORS OFFICE

1 Proctor
his assistant
2 Surveillants

TEACHING STAFF
18 Cameroon nationals
3 Unesco experts
1 Member of French
Co-operation service
3 Peace Corps vols.

THREE CLASSES OF
70 TRAINEE TEACHRS.

CONTINUOUS ELABO -
RATION OF CURRICULA
T.T.

PRIMARY SCHOOLS
T.T. Dept. and Teaching

Material organization and
organization of teaching

Supervision and further
training (inspection)

REFORM (Asst. Director)

CO-ORDINATING
COMMITTEE

OBJECTIVES -
COSTS
PLANNING

RURALIZATION
IN PRIMARY
SCHOOLS
* Mathematics
* French
* Environmental
studies and
practical work
* Other subjects

T.T. REFORM

IPAR T.T. Dept.
* French

*ENIA-CRR
Curricula

IN-SERVICE (Asst. Director)

PLANNING : Costs
and assistance (IBRD,
Unicef)

ORG. and SUPERVISION
OF ENIA -CRR
* Objectives, curricula
and methods
* Preparation of aids and
in-service T.T.
* Visits to institutions

ENIA-CRR STAFF TRAIN-
ING CENTRE
* Training of 53 teachers
in two years
* Training and further
training of the 8 heads

CENTRE FOR CORRE-
SPONDENCE AND
RADIO COURSES
* Preparation of prog.
Central filing system
* Supervision of regional
centres

CENTRAL BRIEFING :
ANNUAL SEMINARS
* for regional and dept.
inspectors and private
school authorities
(100 participants, 12 days)
* for heads of schools
(State and private)
(3 seminars with 70 parti-
cipants)
* for teachers

PRODUCTION (Asst. Director)

Textbook ILLUSTRATION
* Art work
* Photography

PRINTING (all textbooks)
* Composition
* Montage
* Engraving
* Offset
* Assembling
* Finishing

FLOCKING and SILK-SCREEN PRINTING
* Flocking of language cut-outs
* Silk-screen printing of pictures and maps

AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS
* Photograph library
(geography and economics)
* Production of educational films
* Radio broadcasts
* Travelling cinemas
* CCTV

Source: Lallez (1974:39)

- the department responsible for in-service training of personnel (teachers, headmasters, inspectors) involved in public and private primary education; and
- the department responsible for the production of teaching/ learning materials for the envisaged new school.

5.2.4 Inputs: personnel

Though Cameroonians formed the larger representation on the project team, IPAR-Yaounde benefited from the services of an impressive number of foreign experts. The latter played significant roles in the early development of the project. In 1972 for example, there were 15 experts at IPAR-Yaounde, including a Chief Technical Adviser (CTA), Becquelin, who took up post in October 1, 1967 long before the final project document was signed (December, 26, 1969). Foreign experts came from a number of international and multilateral agencies. In the main, they were subject specialists, and French.

5.2.5 Inputs: funding

UNDP contribution

The largest foreign donor during the first phase of the IPAR-Yaounde project was the UNDP through two contracts of assistance signed with the Cameroon government. The first, signed on December 26, 1969 covered the period 1967-1972. The UNDP contribution amounted to US $1,608,500 and the Cameroon government provision was US $3,572,000. An extension to cover the next planned period (1972-1976) was only signed on 31st August 1974, owing to administrative delays occasioned by misunderstanding between the UNESCO and the UNDP (see 6.2.3). This occasioned loss of momentum in the IPAR-Yaounde project.

However, UNDP contributed to financing the period 1972-1973 (US $53,000) together with a further US $1,471,065 for the period

1974-1978, which accounted for the services of three experts from the United Nations, six scholarships of six-months duration each, six further scholarships of nine-months duration each, and the rest for the procurement of other project materials (Document de projet IPAR-Yaounde, 1973:19).

Other contributions

The Cameroon government was responsible for providing the buildings for the IPAR and other support facilities, together with the salaries of the Cameroonians it posted to the institutes. A number of other agencies (World Bank, UNICEF, FAC, BIRD, CIDA) and countries have contributed to the projects in various ways. For example, the UNESCO provided experts, the US with Peace Corps, and the Germans with Volunteers. These contributions are highlighted in sections 5.5 and 5.6 below.

5.2.6 Pre-service training

In principle, the yearly intake for the ENIR/IPAR-Yaounde was 70 teacher trainees though occasionally with vacancies occurring (e.g. disciplinary expulsions) as students progressed from one class to the other, this number varied slightly (see Table 11). Candidates with BEPC as a minimum requirement underwent a highly selective examination for the IPAR pre-service training course (70 selected out of 945 in 1972). Teacher trainees underwent a three-year course leading to an examination which offered a higher certificate of proficiency – "Brevet Supérieur de Capacité". Although the IPAR was a training college for primary school teachers, by virtue of the fact that it was the only institution deemed capable to train teacher trainers in the image of the prescribed reforms, it selected the best candidates at the end of the third year for further training to become teachers for the eight ENIA-CRRs in

francophone Cameroon. By the end of 1972, 24 of such teachers-trainers had graduated.

Although teacher training had been an on-going activity initially of the ENIR, and then of the IPAR, copies of the new syllabus for the reform programme for teacher training were distributed for the first time to both the academic staff and

Table 11: ENIR/IPAR-Yaounde: pre-service teacher training
enrolment, 1967/68 - 1972/73

Year	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73
1	70	70	70	72	71	72
2		59	70	67	68	71
3			59	69	65	68
4				8	8	*
5					8	*
Total	70	129	199	216	220	227

* Exact figures not known.
Source: Adapted from (UNDP - Semestral Report, 1972:23)

teacher trainees in 1972, in the form of a 154-page document. In these circumstances, where methodology had to be adapted in situ, both groups (25 tutors and 210 students) were briefed on its contents between October 23-28, 1972, and the staff were invited to devise working methods that would incorporate the "participation des élèves-maîtres à leur propre formation" (initiatives of teacher trainees in the course of their training) (UNDP - Semestral Report, 1972:6). However, the location of IPAR-Yaounde in the heart of the city has made it

unsuitable for training in rural animation, seen as a key aspect of the profile needed for the new teacher in the reforms.

5.2.7 In-service training and sensitization of administrative and political cadres

Between 1969 and 1972, a total of 110 inspectors of primary schools, 350 headmasters of public and private primary schools, and about 600 primary school teachers had attended "seminaires d'information" (in-service training sessions). A meeting was organized by the Cameroon government, with the financial assistance of the GTZ, UNICEF, and UNESCO in March 1973 which was attended by Secretaries General and Directors of various ministries, the political party leaders, top civil servants of the university, and official delegations from other countries (Central African Republic, Chad, Niger, Gabon, Congo, Liberia), Secretaries General for various National Commissions for UNESCO, representatives of the Inter-parliamentary Union, and other representatives from Burundi, Togo, and Equatorial Guinea, to acquaint them with

- the objectives of the reforms,
- the extent of work already accomplished by the IPAR, and
- the role every citizen had to play in the reform.

<div align="right">(UNDP - Semestral Report, 1972:3)</div>

Plans were made to introduce the reform programme in the first year of all primary schools (francophone) in 1975. It was expected that by October that year, 6,000 primary school teachers would have undergone in-service training, 350 **instituteurs** and 1,900 Grade II teachers **instituteurs-adjoints** would have been trained in accordance with the new programmes. These plans had to be revised, owing to several shortcomings: not least, the delays in providing UNDP funding for the agreed period (1972-1976) mentioned earlier, and the fact that a

UNESCO evaluation mission in 1974 had found the work done thus far by IPAR-Yaounde inappropriate, and had recommended that alternative strategies be contemplated (see 5.2.10).

5.2.8   Research

Basic research per se was not carried out. The work in this department centred on a purely theoretical approach whereby learning materials were agreed upon by the research team and written up for the first, second, and third years of primary education. The materials were not trialled, and were directly mass-produced pending official clearance for distribution in schools. Materials for in-service training for teachers in the field were also prepared. In fact, most of the Unesco experts were attached to this department of the institute. Out of a working force of 30 in 1972, 16 were expatriates among whom seven were experts from Unesco. Cameroonian counterparts were mainly trained "sur le tas" (on the job) by these experts, though admittedly such limited training was inadequate to ascertain that standards in research would be maintained at the end of the project (UNDP - Semestral Report, 1972:7).

5.2.9   Production of teaching/learning materials

IPAR-Yaounde had printing facilities provided under UNICEF aid, which were used to prepare project materials. By the end of Phase I, programmes for the first year of primary schooling in French, Mathematics, Physical Education, Art and Manual Work, and Environmental Studies were ready for distribution to schools. The production of materials for the other years was in progress. These planned reforms, made heavy demands on the knowledge, skills, and attitudes of the school teacher. His

newly defined double role included:

- an in-school function, to educate pupils according to the new perspective in ruralization; and
- an out-of-school function, to organize adult community activities.

With 13,000 out of 15.000 poor qualified teachers in the field (francophone Cameroon), it was argued that in order to ensure that the goals and methods of the reforms would be understood and adopted, it was necessary to produce materials to contain detailed lessons for the entire school programme (MINEDUC report, 1973). Before the national seminar organized to inform political and administrative cadres in the country about the reforms on primary education, was held in March 1973, 47 tonnes of textbooks and 33 tonnes of reform-related documents had been printed. The materials were of four main categories:

- 6,500 copies of teachers' manuals (a quantity, large enough to cover two successive distributions for the first year, and supposed to contain all lessons in each subject, and for each course in detail,
- 15,000 copies of printed documents 'for the cultural and professional promotion of teachers',
- 10,000 copies of pupils' textbooks and exercise books for experimental purposes (in reading, graphics, and so on).

(MINEDUC report, 1973:94)

These materials still remain undelivered to schools at the time of writing.

5.2.10   Overview of the IPAR experience (Phase I)

The period between 1969-1972 witnessed the most rapid developments in the IPAR experience. The support given to the project and enthusiasm of the political hierarchy is probably

marked by the presence of the President of the Federal Republic at the first graduation ceremony at IPAR-Yaounde on June 13, 1970 when he reiterated his optimism for the project:

> [T]he Government has undertaken the ruralization of education and IPAR is now devoting itself [fully engaged], already with success, to training the teachers needed for this ruralized education. The aim is to give the young people who go through this education an inclination to work on the land, a sense of dignity of that work and an opportunity of living better in the villages and satisfying many of their aspirations. This is one way of combating the drift to the cities effectively.
> (3rd Five Year Plan 1971-1976:7).

Indeed, basing his judgement on the positive evaluation of the IPAR-Yaounde project carried out by a UNESCO evaluation mission in February 1971, LeStage, of the UNESCO Secretariat estimated that the progress made by the project was very impressive indeed, adding that there was every indication that the objectives of the reform would be amply attained. He then recommended, that the agreement to fund the second phase of the IPAR-Yaounde project (1972-1976) be concluded.

IPAR-Yaounde materials were first tested in the first classes of 282 pilot schools in francophone Cameroon in 1973. Indeed the Minister in office at the time, Mongo Soo had envisaged starting the reforms in all francophone schools by 1973. This probably explains the timing of a seminar/meeting, to inform the political cadres among others in the country, and delegates invited from other African countries of the reforms underway.

This experimentation was about to be extended to the second year of primary schooling in 1974, when it was abruptly stopped on the advice of a Unesco/UNDP evaluation mission to

halt the project and work out a more suitable approach to the reforms at IPAR-Yaounde (UNDP-UNESCO, 1974; GIP/MINEDUC, 1974). The main inadequacies underlined by the evaluation mission related to the following:

- Research per se, did not constitute part of the development process of the IPAR-Yaounde planned reforms.
- No curriculum core content was agreed upon, that would reflect a basic minimum of education (knowledge, skills and attitudes) to be expected of the primary school graduate.
- Programmes were developed on a class by class basis starting from the first year, without any vision of what will embody the content for the next class.
- The learning of English, one of the two official languages was not considered in IPAR-Yaounde's planned reforms.
- The nature of teacher training provided at the IPAR-Yaounde TTC was a mismatch with the objectives of the reforms.

In short, the IPAR-Yaounde approach to the planned reforms was not systematic and certain subject areas were poorly covered (e.g., Environmental Studies, limited to a study of geography) (Mukam et al., 1986). No mention is made of whether or how they were going to affect the anglophone primary school.

5.3   Phase II Of The IPAR Experience (1974 -)

5.3.1 Introduction

Although Phase II of the IPAR experience is still on-going, this section its development from the creation of IPAR-Buea in 1974, up to April 1987, when field work for this study was terminated.

In June 1972, the way to more concrete, and integrated planning to reforming and harmonizing the dual educational system of education seemed more favourable when the political status of

the country changed from a Federal Republic to a United
Republic. A common Ministry of National Education was formed
that same year, and the two Secretariats of State for Education
were dissolved. However, progress in this direction has been
dismal and research in education is far from concerted: it is
still characterized by different institutions (CNE, GIP),
involved in independent and uncoordinated reflections about
Cameroon primary change. Very rarely is empirical research
involved.

An important development in 1974, was the extension of the IPAR
experience to involve the anglophone part of the country.
Further UNDP funding for the IPAR-Yaounde project was concluded
between the UNDP and the Cameroon government on August 31st
1974, to cover the period (1974-1978). Barely two months
afterwards, IPAR-Buea was created (Decree No. 277/CAB/PR of
10/10/74). Both IPARs were assigned similar objectives - the
reform and harmonization of primary education in Cameroon.
However, they were organized differently (cf. 5.2.3, 5.3.3),
each working within the confines of a separate educational
tradition.

5.3.2 Origin of the IPAR-Buea project

With the influence of the UNESCO Chief Technical Adviser for
IPAR-Yaounde (Epote, 1976), an initial plan agreed upon between
BIRD/UNESCO and the Cameroon government in 1969 to build a
teacher training college in Buea with a capacity of 210 places
was transformed into what eventually became IPAR-Buea. In
December 1971, the then West Cameroon government applied for
UNDP assistance to create IPAR-Buea. The reply to this request
was still pending, when the West Cameroon government was
dissolved at the creation of a United Republic in June 1972.

Alternative administrative channels had to be developed for a
resolution to the problem of establishing the IPAR-Buea

project. In October 1972, the German government indicated an interest in undertaking the entire IPAR-Buea project, but, was eventually only accorded a participatory role (Epote, 1976:140-141). In November 1973, an agreement was reached for setting up the IPAR-Buea project to which the signatories were the Cameroon government, UNDP/UNESCO, UNICEF, the Federal Republic of Germany, the British Council and the Pan African Institute for Development (PAID). The contribution of the Cameroon government was estimated at US $ 420,193 while UNESCO as the executing agency was mainly responsible for providing experts. The other agencies provided various kinds of support, including vehicles and experts.

However, since primary education, and thus its reform was the responsibility of each state government, it is evident that from the independent negotiations of either state governments with the UNDP, that IPAR-Yaounde was initially created to implement reforms solely in the primary schools in the former state of East Cameroon (francophone) - though the terms of negotiation for foreign assistance more broadly referred to 'primary educational reform in Cameroon'. This ambiguity seems to have marked later interpretations of the roles of the two institutes by the successive Directors nominated to head them, and probably also explains why there has been little urge to compare approaches and to work in tandem.

5.3.3 Organization of IPAR-Buea

IPAR-Buea was headed by a Director, assisted by three Sub-Directors who jointly coordinated the work in the four sections into which the institute was created. These were sections for,

- Environmental Studies (Agricultural and Social Aspects);
- English Language;
- Mathematics; and

- Village Technology (also called Intermediate Technology).

5.3.4 Inputs: personnel

In all, 19 people took part in the research and compilation of the IPAR-Buea Report on the Reform of Primary Education of April 1977. There were eleven people on the foreign team: seven of them, including the CTA and a translator (French/English) were from Unesco, two experts were from GTZ, one from the British Council, and one from the International Voluntary Service (Britain). There were eight Cameroonians on this team, including the Director and three appointed Assistant Directors (IPAR-Buea report, 1977:10).

5.3.5 Inputs: funding

The contract of assistance to fund the IPAR-Buea project, signed between the Cameroon government and UNDP was concluded in June 1975 and amounted to a UNDP contribution of approximately US $420,169, and a Cameroon government contribution of US $176,238. (Dossier IPAR-Buea, UNDP-Yaounde, 1975). Other forms of assistance to the IPAR-Buea project have been enlisted from the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ), and the British Council mainly through bi-lateral aid.

5.4 IPAR-Buea and IPAR-Yaounde (1974 -): a comparative overview

5.4.1 Structures and personnel

The structures of both IPARs were specified by the decrees creating them. They differed from each other. Though each institute was established with four sections representing the four broad areas into which its activities would be developed, they were not expressed in the same terms. Furthermore, unlike IPAR-Yaounde, IPAR-Buea did not run a teacher training

institute, and also did not have a printing plant to process the manuscripts it produced.

On the other hand, IPAR-Buea operated a large 40 acres experimental farm with allotments for its pilot schools to receive sample lessons in agriculture and some animal husbandry which IPAR-Yaounde did not.

In short, the resources available to both institutes were different. It is significant to note that at the creation of either institute, there were more foreign experts among its personnel than Cameroonian counterparts. This can be explained at least in part, by the shortage of appropriately trained Cameroonians at that time, to fit into the various departments into which the institutes were created. Since UNDP funding to the IPAR projects ended in 1978, the Cameroon government has been the principal supplier of funding for the projects. Generally speaking, Cameroonians have filled in the positions left by the foreign experts, but, various problems of institutional development (see 6.4, 9.3) continue to hinder the process of reforming and harmonizing Cameroon primary education in the country.

5.4.2 Approaches and outcomes

The approach and scope of planned change envisaged by either institute has been different. With little communication between the two IPARs, they have worked in different social and environmental contexts, the one largely ignorant about the realities of the other. The IPAR-Yaounde team set about a relatively theoretical approach to the reform issue. They immediately settled down to writing out and printing large stocks of teaching/learning materials on what they deemed was appropriate or workable for the envisaged reforms without a situational analysis of any kind.

IPAR-Buea on the other hand, adopted an empirical approach to the reform, starting off with a situational analysis of the needs. It took two and a half years for the IPAR-Buea team to draw up the IPAR-Buea Report on the reform of primary education (1977), which is better known internationally by foreign researchers and international agencies involved in education, than the average Cameroon educationist involved in primary education, let alone the average primary school teacher. Though the proposals in the IPAR-Buea report have not been subject to any significant debate since they were drawn, it remains the only widely known public document that explicitly outlines the nature of thinking about educational change in Cameroon. Nevertheless, the report acknowledges the limitations of the work carried out in its sectional reports, and in later assessments made by the researcher during the course of this study (see 9.3.2).

Over the years, both institutes have produced a number of materials (teaching aids, teachers' guides, textbooks, and so on), but they remain largely untested in the field.

When IPAR-Yaounde was advised to discontinue experimenting the materials it had produced (UNESCO/UNDP evaluation of 1974) its activities with pilot schools ceased. Though IPAR-Buea still retains four of over 40 pilot schools it once had in the late 1970s when the project still benefited from foreign technical assistance, there is very little interaction with these schools today. Prominent among its involvement outside the institute is a revolving farm loan scheme which it operates. This scheme enables a few primary schools participating in it, to procure agricultural inputs (seeds, money, or both), and to refund this to the institute after harvest and sale of the proceeds.

The rest of the IPAR experience can be described in terms of the outcomes of various meetings and seminars organized for

over a decade on the theme of primary educational change in the country.

5.4.3 Meetings

As early as 1973, a committee was created (Ministerial order No. 2494/B1/438/MINEDUC of 20/10/73) to meet twice monthly, to discuss issues concerning the proposed reforms and to advise the Minister of Education on concrete steps that needed to be taken to implement them. This approach was not very insightful. In March 1975, IPAR-Yaounde undertook a survey of 148 of its 290 pilot schools, in order to trial some of the material they had developed. The results were not conclusive. A second national seminar on primary reforms followed in February 1976, to appraise the effort made thus far by both IPARs in order to define a new strategy for action. Nothing concrete was arrived at.

A further series of meetings also failed to bring up concrete proposals for action. A meeting organized by the Ministry of National Education which brought together the two IPARs in April 1977 for the first time, also did not result in common views to approaching the the problems of Cameroon primary school change. A third national seminar was held that month which was equally uneventful. The Minister of National Education then sent out a circular to provincial delegates for education asking them to advice on steps to be taken towards the successful implementation of the reforms from October 1, 1978. All these initiatives failed to bring about any meaningful results.

In April 1987, when the field work for this study was terminated, the reform of nursery and primary education in the country was centred at the GIP, and was the responsibility of three main national inspectors for primary and nursery education (two Cameroonians and one French), with the Minister

of Education in office, Mbella Mbappe, personally advising on content proposals decided upon by the inspectors. Neither the IPARs nor the CNE were directly involved in this latest initiative.

The IPAR experience has lost the steam and sense of urgency that once characterized its early development. It has however not been stopped and the mission remains unmodified, probably for want of a suitable alternative. The problems of reform and harmonization of the country's dual educational sub-systems remain.

6 ANALYSIS OF THE IPAR EXPERIENCE TOWARDS CAMEROON PRIMARY EDUCATIONAL CHANGE (1969 - 1987)

6.1 Introduction

The IPAR experience towards the reform and harmonization of Cameroon primary education is marked by an earlier period of rapid developments in the IPAR-Buea and IPAR-Yaounde projects, when they benefited from appreciable foreign technical assistance, and a later period (after 1978) of decline in the activities of these institutes. Many unsuccessful attempts have been made by various Ministers of Education (see 5.4.3) to implement primary change in the country. At the moment of writing, the responsibility of developing alternative programmes was centred at the General Inspectorate for Pedagogy (GIP), with the IPARs playing a much diminished role. However, the mission assigned to the IPARs has not been modified.

The IPAR experience has been marked by problems. Some of them are easy to identify while others are more complex, and cannot be explained by linear causal relationships. They range from problems caused by different interpretations of the reform ideology of "ruralization" by the two institutes (e.g., 5.3.2), the strategies adopted towards working out a common programme for the Cameroon primary school (harmonization), and others, especially of a structural, organizational and administrative kind.

Since the two IPARs were organized differently and adopted different approaches to the reform issue, their working towards a common programme for all Cameroon primary schools would be greatly enhanced by good coordination, proper communication networks, and commitment by those involved in the process of change. These issues cannot be taken for granted, otherwise they would constitute barriers to planned efforts. Also, since

the IPAR proposals have not been implemented in the schools yet, let alone tried out on a large scale, the researcher has thought it more insightful to analyse the experience in terms of the institutional development problems the project systems face in effecting educational change in Cameroon primary schools.

In this view, the IPAR is seen as one big national project or experience aiming at the reform and harmonization of Cameroon primary education, in which the two IPAR projects are simply major developments within it. The intra-, inter-, and extra-institutional development perspectives (see 2.2.2) of the IPAR experience provides a critical view of the strategies adopted thus far, towards effecting change in Cameroon primary education.

The concept of educational reform in Cameroon has evolved over the past two and a half decades. This evolutionary process is not unconnected with political developments in the country within this period, but cannot be solely attributed to them. Under federal government arrangements, primary education was the concern of the federated states of East and West Cameroon. It was thus, difficult to envisage a common primary school system during this period of the country's development. It is probably for this reason that in 1967, the then federal government started activities towards reforming primary education in one of the educational traditions in the country (francophone Cameroon), with the idea of harmonization to wait for a more opportune political moment to crystallize. Similar efforts were not started in anglophone Cameroon simultaneously.

However, the Federation ended in 1972, and the creation of a common Ministry of National Education that very year, made the prospect of a harmonized system of education in the country seem much easier to achieve. The recognition for the need for

smooth progression from primary to higher education in a harmonized school system was highlighted (Peltriaux, 1962). However, if the federal arrangements had been the principal impediment to harmonizing the two educational traditions in the country because primary education was controlled by each federated state, it is not easy to explain why the vision of educational reform has remained constricted at the primary level since 1972, albeit without success, and why separate approaches according to the two educational traditions in the country continue to characterize the process of change.

Furthermore, it is easy to see that it would be impossible to "ruralize" primary education and at the same time maintain its unity whilst leaving the secondary education to which some of the pupils go after primary school unchanged. This theme is further developed in section 9.2.1. In spite of these realities, the strategy for change seems to have been compromised by the decision to create IPAR-Buea, 'similar to but distinct from the IPAR in Yaounde' (Lallez, 1974:52), to work towards the same goals in Cameroon primary change. It is not easy to visualize how the government's intention to ruralize the whole education system (see, Presidential address, IPAR-Yaounde graduation - June 13, 1970) was to be planned separately and applied in different ways and at different levels.

The body responsible for coordinating the activities of both IPARs in addition to its other tasks was the INE which became the Centre for National Education (CNE) in 1976. The Cameroon government request for aid from the UNDP to create the INE stipulated:

> The aim of this project [the IPAR experiment] is a complete reshaping of primary education in East Cameroon in order that the system may be better adapted to actual social, economic and cultural

conditions in the country. This activity is to be continued in West Cameroon under a project identical to the IPAR project and for which the Cameroonian government has requested assistance from the UNDP. Reform of the education and training system cannot be limited to the primary level alone. The education system is an integral whole and if one of its parts is modified the whole system is affected by the change.... It is therefore vital for Cameroon to have some instrument for reflection, research and co-ordination, making it possible to continue the activity started at the primary level by IPAR, so that the reform which has been begun can be extended to the whole of the Federation at all levels and in all types of education. (Draft request, 1971:56)

The request was granted by UNDP, and the INE was created in 1973. However, coordination of the work at the IPARs (Yaounde and Buea), would have necessitated that the INE literally steered their activities and not just co-ordinated them, since they differed in approach and even in the scope of work carried out. In 1979 however, the Minister of National Education arranged a meeting between the two IPARs and the Inspectorate for Pedagogy in an attempt to work out a common programme for primary education. Predictably this was to prove untidy and difficult, and indeed had no practical result.

It was easy to see that the IPAR venture would fail if a new and common educational structure was not envisaged for the country (Lallez, 1974:55; IPAR-Buea report, 1977:8). Changing the aims of the educational system without changing its structures to accommodate these changes however, would only produce innovations without significant effects. The inertia and even entrenchment of the existing differences in the educational structures, at best, creates a haven for conflicts and barriers to harmonization and change in general in the

educational system of the country. All major changes in
Cameroon institutions are regulated by official texts which
come either in the manner of ministerial orders or Presidential
decrees.

The official **textes** creating the IPARs were not accompanied by
specific clauses concerning the strategy to be adopted to
harmonize the distinctly different sub-systems of education in
the country. It is for this reason that "harmonization" is
inferred and not explicitly stated in writings on Cameroon
education (see 1.3).

Few will argue with the fact that examinations exert a strong
influence over curricula. Even though the latter curricula are
not drawn up by the same authorities, it is not inconceivable
that the same fervour and political commitment to nationalize
Cameroon certificate examinations that were formerly set and
marked in Bordeaux (France) and London (Britain), can and
should characterize contemporary efforts to make the best of
two great educational traditions in operation in the country.
Indeed, a UNESCO mission called in to make assessments and
advise the Cameroon government on efforts to develop its
educational system recommended that a commission 'composed of
highly qualified experts and Cameroonian in spirit' (Kogl,
1962), should work in collaboration with an institute set up at
the university level to harmonize the entire system of
education - a view, held by all five university lecturers
interviewed in this study (see annex 1).

Indeed, the primary school is an integral part of the education
system, and if changes at this level are not consonant with the
expectations at the higher levels, efforts in educational
change will costly and unproductive. For harmonization to take
place in a progressive and successful manner, will require more
explicit political commitment in this direction at the highest
political level. Leaving Ministers of Education to improvise

strategies which are as short-lived as their stay in the ministry will only result in an eternal jostling of half-measures to resolve what is a determining and most important issue in the development of the country's education system.

Innovations may for some time travel comfortably on the passport of sponsoring agencies (donors), but without adequate structures for communication and support, they are unlikely to survive. In fact, one way of thinking about the difficulties that are encountered in the process of implementing change, is in terms of barriers to change. They may not necessarily arise from situations of conflict. Failure in implementation also occurs where conditions are apparently favourable, and where the participants have a desire to implement the curriculum. In these instances, such impediments are described in terms of "barriers" (Stenhouse, 1975:210).

It is commonly suggested in a number of evaluation reports and rightly so, that some of the perennial problems encountered with implementing the IPAR proposals are not unconnected with the reluctance of various Ministers of Education to carry through the work that had already been done (e.g. Akoulouze, 1984; Mukam et al., 1986). Indeed, to implement the IPAR proposals for primary change in schools would require the official clearance which researchers of both IPARs have long desired, and the point must be made, that to confine curricula to the drawing board is eccentric if not irresponsible. However, they largely leave out the whole question of barriers which would still be encountered even if implementation was authorized. Examples of such barriers are:

- the lack of clarity in content or presentation of the materials produced (neither of the IPARs is conversant with the materials produced by the other),
- the availability of the materials in the right quantities required for implementation,

- the readiness of teachers to use these materials effectively,
- the organizational arrangements prior to and during implementation (e.g. the flexibility of the time-table to incorporate new materials and methods).
- the sort of examinations to be taken at the end of the programme, their significance for for life or for schooling beyond the primary level, and so on.

The above list gives some indication of issues that have to be properly thrashed out before carrying a proposal to the classrooms. "Barriers" can no longer be treated as side effects, but rather as indications of the basic problems that may be inherent in the process of implementing innovations in the Cameroon primary school. They generally include problems related to value conflicts, power conflicts, practical and psychological conflicts (Dalin, 1973). Reid (1973) remarks that theories of curriculum implementation have tended to be discussed independently of theories of curriculum design but, Giacquinta (1973) retorts that there is no substantial basis in descriptive theories for propositions about how the process should be carried out. Whereas curriculum design can be seen as a more or less unique activity, curriculum implementation essentially addresses the more general question of how to introduce and establish innovations. The more we insist that curriculum planning is rational and not political, and emphasize aims at the expense of constraints, the more certain we make it that the end of our endeavours will bear little resemblance to the high hopes with which we began.

It would thus appear as some writers argue, that it is the responsibility of the curriculum development team to take account of barriers. The existing system is the "given", it is argued, and thus it is for a development team to find out how it works in order to cope effectively with its characteristics without necessarily being caught in the 'corrosive effects of

dependency' (Gross, Giacquinta and Bernstein, 1971:221). This is however easier said than done, especially in the Cameroon reality where researchers are at the same time civil servants, and are conditioned by the nature of work incentives provided them (budgetary provision, and the general ambience of the research environment). This does not absolve the researcher from blame for any lack of commitment in the conduct and reporting of purported research could lead to regrettable decisions being taken.

In principle, a decision-maker would need to be convinced about the feasibility and worth of a programme of planned change before authorizing its large-scale implementation, for the simple reason that it is virtually impossible consider the relative benefits to be derived from an alternative programme, without adequate knowledge of what is actually implemented. In fact, hindsight is a marvellous teacher and in large scale implementations an expensive one indeed.

6.2   The IPAR Experience: an Institutional Development perspective

6.2.1 The IPAR experience: an intra-institutional development perspective

Human and material resources

At the moment of writing, the IPARs were still waiting for directives from the Ministry of National Education on what new orientation their work was to take, since the GIP had taken over the responsibility of working out a new programme for primary education. The work carried out at the institutes over the last decade has been largely at the initiative of the Directors and the activities of the institutes have been largely conditioned by the yearly budgetary provision they receive (less than CFA 20 million for either institute in

1986/87) despite complaints that the sum was largely insufficient even to support running costs.

A number of evaluation reports rightly disapprove of arrangements in the Ministry of National Education which permit National Inspectors to work out separate reform proposals from the work done by the IPARs (Akoulouze, 1984; Mukam et al., 1986), but pertinence of the said proposals are hardly re-examined. Moreover, discussions held by the researcher with the Directors of both IPAR-Yaounde, IPAR-Buea (February 1984 and March 1987), revealed that it would be a real hazard to introduce new curricula in schools and continue with the sort of teacher training practiced in the country. The general feeling was that teachers were poorly prepared for the profession. The IPAR-Buea report (1977) contains recommendations on teacher training, but these are mainly arguments about increasing the duration of these programmes providing little suggestion how existing programmes could be improved rather than supplanted.

The communication and dissemination of research results

The lack of communication among researchers is a serious problem and material labelled "research" may not be taken at face value simply because it is produced by a research institute. This problem is, however, not peculiar to the IPARs, but afflicts the CNE, the ENS and other institutions in the country engaged in educational research. There does not exist any scholarly journal in the country to cater for educational research. Apart from the library at the university of Yaounde, neither the CNE nor the IPARs have proper and regularly stocked library. The occasional official report which is hardly intended for wide circulation remains the main source of information for the Cameroon researcher on national realities and few will doubt how limiting they are as sources of information. The non-existence of media for sharing and

disseminating research findings in these institutes makes educational research in the country an almost mysterious enterprise. In the circumstances, there is a lure for academics to publish their material mainly in more scholarly foreign journals, with the result that the findings do not directly contribute towards the resolution of national problems in development.

Another problem relates to the fact that the majority of researchers educated in the on educational tradition in Cameroon, are ignorant of the realities of the other. This constitutes a most serious handicap. The more ideas on reform are tabled and widely debated, planned and implemented by all those who play key roles in primary education especially the GIP, the chances for success may improve tremendously.

6.2.2 The IPAR experience: an inter-institutional development perspective

Coordination of IPAR activities: the role of the GIP

In the early days of planning Cameroon primary educational change, divisional and provincial inspectors were excluded from the reforms. The inspectors argued that the main problem with the poor performance of the primary school lay in the poor qualification of the teachers, and insisted that the path to reform would be to improve on their training and curtail existing curricula (Lallez, 1974:19). It is no surprise then, that they were quick to express their reservations over the curricula produced during the days of the ENIR which they saw as "burdened", with radically changed methods for reading, and the study of French. They neither saw the connection between new methods in mathematics and the teaching of French, nor how environmental studies could contribute functionally to subject integration. Moreover, they thought that agricultural and

craft training was taught too early and consequently was too narrow.

Their opinions differed from those who thought that in addition to poor teacher training the type of education imparted was unsuitable to the pupils and to their circumstances of living both socially and economically (Lallez , 1974:18; Boma, 1977:7). An important area of conflict between the activities of the IPAR and the GIP is that of authority over the prescription of textbooks for primary schools. In the draft request document creating the ENIR, curriculum reform was stated to be 'the joint task of all the educational bodies and institutions existing in Cameroon' (Request, 1971:31). The ENIR was however short-lived. In creating IPAR-Yaounde however, 'not a word is said about participation by other bodies or other employees of the Ministry of Education (Lallez, 1974:41).

The responsibilities of the IPARs include the production of prototypes of textbooks for primary pupils. This meant that the inspectors would lose their grip over a responsibility which was previously under their control - that of recommending textbooks. To ease the production of text books, IPAR-Yaounde was provided with a printing plant even though there was no question of its supplanting the publishers (Lallez, 1974:38).

However, when the control of the IPAR was shifted from the Department of Primary and Nursery Education to the GIP by a presidential decree in 1974, the responsibility for the development of the reforms slowly shifted from the IPARs to the GIP. The printing unit installed at the IPARs was moved out and a number of textbooks recommended by the GIP began to appear from French publishing houses where a good number are still printed today (Akoulouze, 1984a:30-31).

In this situation of conflict between roles and, probably, interests, it is the change strategy that is further compromised. The IPARs do have an appreciable number of people with the training potential to carry out research whose knowledge and skills are not fully deployed in the waiting-game for new textes to be drawn, assigning them a new functional role. If the GIP, on the other hand, is supposed to carry out the task of school inspections amply, it is doubtful that they would be able to carry out the primary reforms well, let alone play a decisive part in them.

While the IPARs continue to play a largely waiting game, the resolution of their impasse seems to lie in yet another presidential decree, because decrees can only be modified or repealed at that level. The Minister of Education can solve certain problems and not others. In the absence of clearer directives from the Presidency on the conduct of educational change in primary education or more appropriately in the entire system, it is imaginable that every Minister plays a waiting game of his own trying not to get embroiled in a sensitive and difficult area like the harmonization of education in the country, until the ministries change hands again.

While these problems abound at the central level, the wider public can only speculate. The frustration generally felt is epitomized by the exasperation of a pilot school headmaster:

> For over twenty-six years we have ostensibly brought the two educational systems together, which we say had been wrongfully and forcefully separated for forty-six years. Primary education is still six and seven years on [either side] of the Mungo. Do we need the colonialists to show us which way to proceed again ? ... Every time you researchers come and

worry us with questions. It is high time you put
your researches together.

(Interview, Headmaster - Buea, 03/03/87)

Coordination of Cameroon primary school change: overall view

Four main bodies have been involved in primary reforms: the
General Inspectorate of Pedagogy (GIP), The Department of
Primary and Nursery Education (DPNE), IPAR-Yaounde and IPAR-
Buea. Though they all either work in, or towards the
improvement of primary education the coordination of their
activities had been poor. This may be explained by the absence
of official texts for this purpose.

The **Institut National d'Education** (INE), was created in 1973 to
coordinate all educational research activities in the country.
However, its relation with the activities of the IPARs was not
clearly defined. Furthermore, the IPAR (Yaounde) was under the
responsibility of the Secretariat for Education in the former
East Cameroon. With the dissolution of the latter in 1972, the
IPAR was not immediately handed over for the control of some
particular service in the Ministry of National Education until
1974 when it came under the control of the GIP with whom the
INE did not have any formal connection. Not surprisingly then,
in 1975/76 the activities of the INE were centred on secondary
rather than primary education which was the main thrust of
reforms in the country at the time. Its efforts flopped,
perhaps naturally, for it is inconceivable that there could
have been a smooth flow of activities from the primary school
level to the secondary since the reforms at that level were
still being formulated and quite uncertain.

Among the three projects largely funded by the UNDP (IPAR-
Yaounde, IPAR-Buea and the INE), however, there were also grave
problems of coordination. In June 1976, the Chief Technical
Adviser for IPAR-Buea, complained in a letter to the UNDP

representative in Yaounde, that the British and German
governments were trying to "monopolize" the project by sending
many experts and materials to it, and wanted the matter
formally discussed, in order to ascertain UNESCO's place in the
project (Epote, 1976:151). However, in July 1976, the UNDP
representative apprised the Minister of National Education of
the need to avoid the duplication or clash of roles within the
three projects it was funding, and the decision was, to retain
a single Chief Technical Adviser who was the one posted
initially to IPAR-Yaounde (Epote, 1976:185). However, when the
UNDP contract ended in 1978, the coordination of the work done
at the IPARs became a totally national issue.

In 1979, a "Comité Restreint d'Harmonisation" (steering
committee) in charge of harmonization was formed. Its members
included the General Inspector of Pedagogy, three Frenchmen and
four Cameroonians (all francophone). It was uneventful.
However, the IPARs were to play only subsidiary roles in
determining how the reforms were going to proceed. In thinking
about alternative strategies for the future, Boma, a former
IPAR-Buea Director rightly suggested, that

> until we know what to teach, we cannot teach
> teachers. Let's be careful that we do not put the
> cart before the horse .... The production of books
> and reference materials should be based on the needs
> of the clientele, in this instance, the pupils and
> the teachers. Many African countries are exercising
> frugality in the production of textbooks by
> organizing writing workshops. This is to ensure the
> relevance of the materials as well as to conserve the
> scarce financial resources. Books should be produced
> to meet the needs of children, rather than moulding
> the children to fit the textbooks. (Boma, 1980:11)

The poor coordination of the activities in Cameroon primary reform and the lack of communication between the main actors involved, has been wasteful and unfruitful in the main. The logic of the separation of the institutes is yet to be grasped. It has provided more questions than answers.

The effect of inopportune movement of influential officials in the reform effort

Between planning and action comes the decision-making process. With its appreciable degree of centralization, most major decisions in Cameroon are made directly at the political level. However, there is considerable delegation of powers at the level of the ministries and at the Delegations of education at the provinces - a kind of deconcentration of authority (Bude, 1985). The ministers play important regulatory roles in every major activity undertaken by their ministries.

In the absence of any autonomy of decision, the IPARs have had to respond to the changing views of various Ministers of education, who have all tended to adopt a different perspective from their predecessors. In interviews conducted in 1984 and 1987 among researchers and officials in the Ministry of National Education, the author confirmed an observation made earlier by Kale (1983) that the frequent changes of Ministers and to an extent, the Directors of the IPARs have had a retarding effect on the work carried out by the IPARs.

Mongo Soo, the first Minister of Education for the unified country, appointed in 1972, made sure that nothing was done at the IPAR without his being consulted (Lallez, 1974:42). Ever since the reform trail has been shaped by the nature of decision-making of various Ministers of Education. Mongo Soo envisaged the implementation of the planned reforms for primary education (in francophone Cameroon) in 1973. An extract from an interview given by Mongo Soo (in Lallez, 1974:48-51) on his

views on the conduct of primary educational change, permit a
number of observations. As he saw it:

- The government had opted for and laid down an educational
  policy adapted to the requirements of the individual and
  national development, and with the aid of international
  assistance had 'set up a responsible institution [IPAR], and
  put it in the hands of responsible men'.

- Indeed there were voices of dissension, he admitted, but,
  'all rumours are ignored and all objections rejected out of
  hand, [and] dispelled [attended to], only when they are too
  insistent or serious enough to jeopardize the smooth running
  of the reform, and then clear explanations are asked for
  from those in charge of IPAR'.

- With reference to the objections registered, 'the same men
  in charge' were asked to extract from them anything that
  could be of use in furthering the reform.

In connection with the aims of the reform, the Minister
insisted:

> These aims must not be questioned. There is no point
> in going further and stirring up or encouraging
> sterile agitation which only slows things down ....
> We should let IPAR work, in other words, plan and
> create. The proof will be in the facts and facts
> always speak loudest. [There] will be the time to
> judge and correct ... this time will inevitably
> arrive ....

- Few will contend the will of the State behind the reform for
  primary education. But, all political options have to be
  followed by genuine political will and conviction on the
  part of those who have to implement it. This will require

'better cooperation between the education Ministry's planning department and IPAR to facilitate the reforms and give it a greater chance of success.'(Lallez, 1974:50).

- It appeared imperative that administrative and financial arrangements be made to grant IPAR-Yaounde the financial autonomy the Chief Technical Adviser (UNESCO) had been asking for persistently.

- In respect of generalizing the reforms, the Minister observes:

> It was to be foreseen, in fact, that it would be impossible to 'ruralize' primary education and at the same time maintain its unity whilst leaving the secondary education to which some of the pupils go after primary school unchanged .... This is only possible provided a new meaning is given to ruralization, which must also apply, although differently from the way it does in the primary school, to the secondary school and, even beyond, to the whole of education. (Soo, in Lallez, 1974:51)

The following is a chronological summary of the swift succession of Ministers of Education and Directors at the IPARs which have affected the projects (Akoulouze, 1984; Mukam et al.,1986). The first Director of IPAR-Yaounde, Tsala, was replaced by Moudourou in 1972. Mongo Soo was replaced in 1973 by Bidias a Ngon.

In 1974 IPAR-Buea was created, and its first Director, Shu, barely spent six months in his new post before he was transferred elsewhere, and the post remained vacant for a further five months until Boma was appointed in November 1974. The Minister, Bidias a Ngon, in turn envisaged the implementation of the reforms for the beginning of the school year 1978/79.

In 1979, Mballa Joseph replaced Moudourou as Director of IPAR-Yaounde. Bidias was moved before he could implement his plans. Adamou Ndam Njoya took over from him in 1978 and decided to defer the implementation in order to study the soundness of the strategy in place. During his term of office as Minister, he was keen on having a harmonized syllabus launched, and it is then that the two IPARs were given their first opportunity to see what they had been carrying out literally in isolation for so many years.

Though the quality of the work undertaken by the team brought together to work out a common syllabus for the Cameroon primary school was highly questionable (Mukam et al., 1986:123), the business of putting some finishing touches on teaching/learning materials and in-service training for the headmasters and teachers of pilot schools was undertaken during the academic year 1979/80. Some preliminary trials were made early in the same year towards large-scale implementation at the beginning of the academic year 1980/81, but the old pattern repeated itself. Adamou Ndam Njoya was preparing to implement the reforms in October 1980 when he was moved in the July of that year. Within the year, the new minister, Rene Ze Nguele, made proposals to attempt implementing the reforms within the school year 1984/85.

Meantime, Boma Alaric was replaced by Kajih John Tansam in 1983 as Director of IPAR-Buea. Rene Ze Nguele was replaced by Hele Pierre in February 1984, and he too was replaced in July of the very year, by Mbella Mbappe, who was replaced in May 1988 by George Ngango. Though he spent the shortest period in office, Hele Pierre may be acclaimed for having felt the need and urgency to carry out a study of the causes of the virtual eternally postponement of the implementation of the reforms, in aid of a solution.

At the time of writing, the impasse reigns and it is obvious
that new approaches to the reforms will have to be
contemplated. Has that time which Mongo Soo referred to in
1972, arrived after nearly two decades,

- 'to judge and correct' ?
- If it has, how do we set about it ?

The problems faced in effecting Cameroon primary change are
many, at times requiring that hard choices be made in the face
of dilemmas. Nevertheless there is a need to simplify goals or
to adapt them to the capacity of institutions. To expect a
body like the IPAR, considering its expertise, resources (human
and material), and nature of logistic support to carry out a
task of the scale given it thus far can be described as
unrealistic. Israel notes:

> A good indicator of the size of the problem is the
> enormous requirements for technical assistance in
> developing countries. Because of weakness in the
> rest of the institutional system and numerous
> deficiencies in the technical assistance itself, the
> impact of this assistance has been negligible and in
> a few cases negative. Overloading an institution
> with goals that it cannot achieve increases the
> management difficulties in a more than proportional
> way, especially in the case of low-specificity
> activities in a non-competitive environment.
> (1987:120)

Nobody, no matter his skill, could have produced a panacea to
the country's educational problems. The right approach must be
to open up the dialectics of change, and set up better systems
and strategies which will actively encourage meaningful change
to occur. The general attitude to change in recent years does

not indicate that a lot has been learnt from the past. Lallez
(1974:63) describes a situation where the

> IPAR thus found itself in the unusual and difficult
> position of having to follow the normal order
> backwards. Teachers had to be trained although their
> training syllabus was not really ready. How, indeed,
> could it have been, since it had to be planned on the
> basis of the reform and the new primary school
> curricula, which had not yet been drawn up ?

Unfortunately, contemporary trends still indicate an obsessive
preoccupation with proposals which were made more than a decade
ago, and which admit to a number of imperfections today, rather
than having more open discussions and establishing a more
fruitful code of procedure. It is in this way perhaps, that
the political commitment to the reform and harmonization of the
education system may have to be demonstrated more forcefully.

6.2.3 The IPAR Experience: an extra-institutional development perspective

The ambiguity of the concept of ruralization

Two main tasks were identified by the Cameroon government in
the ruralization programme:

- to give those who were to continue their studies a proper
  preparation for secondary education, and
- to prepare the rest and overwhelming majority, to integrate
  with and to promote development in their environments which
  were and still are basically rural.

The rural primary school was to become a 'centre of influence
in the community' attending to children and adults alike. The
logic of this argument went that, if the natural resources of

the country were to be fully exploited, the whole population and not only the children should possess the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic. The training required by teachers for such a programme (see figure 3), has proven a herculean task if not an utopian dream. Since the 'ruralization' programme was to be applicable to 'both town and country', three main interpretations or misinterpretations were possible:

Firstly, the arguments for the policy of ruralization went, that Cameroon's principal resources were agricultural and rural, and thus, the type of education advocated should lead to occupations in this sector. An important point to remember is that the draft request made by the Cameroon government to the UNDP for assistance on the primary reform project clearly underlined the conviction that the school could not do the job alone (Lallez, 1974:27).

The idea of education as an integral part of rural development has been recognized for a long time both by colonial and post-colonial policy-makers (e.g., Wilson, 1970). However, the kind of cooperation that is needed between education and other rural development agencies has not been evident thus far, because in Cameroon ministries operate literally like closed systems. The area of agricultural education provides a good example of the sort of coordination that would have been required, but has not occurred to any significant degree. The Ministry of Agriculture has a Department of Agricultural Education which in principle could have have been expected to provide schools with technical advice (knowledge and skill-training) on the subject.

It is difficult to imagine how the agricultural training could be carried through meaningfully by a large bulk of underqualified teachers with vague or no notions at all in the area, and who can barely cope with the preliminary task of

teaching in the three R's appropriately. A team approach is required. Secondly, the ruralization of education might improve the prospects of primary graduates to engage in some form of self-employment if a number of manual skills were taught through productive work. These involve such activities as pre-agricultural or pre-technical training.

However, since the school year is not changed, the inclusion of these new themes in the school time-table, would automatically mean the reduction of the course intensity of the traditional preparatory programme for secondary education or alternatively, an overloading of the existing programme. To choose the latter would in turn require a re-examination of the capabilities of the teaching force to cope with the new load, and not least, the need for the examination department in the Ministry to reconsider its requirements in the light of the new changes in schools. This point is considered further below. Thirdly, in the request for assistance from the UNDP, it was clearly stated that the 'ruralized primary school' would be the only model or pattern of school whether in the town or country. This argument was based on the reasoning that to create two kinds of school in the same country, would seem as though the one was for a group destined to quit school at the primary level and thus, needing to be prepared to live on the land, and the other for those who would proceed to secondary and higher education.

Figure 3: Organization chart of training for and by primary
education in Cameroon

TRAINING DIAGRAM
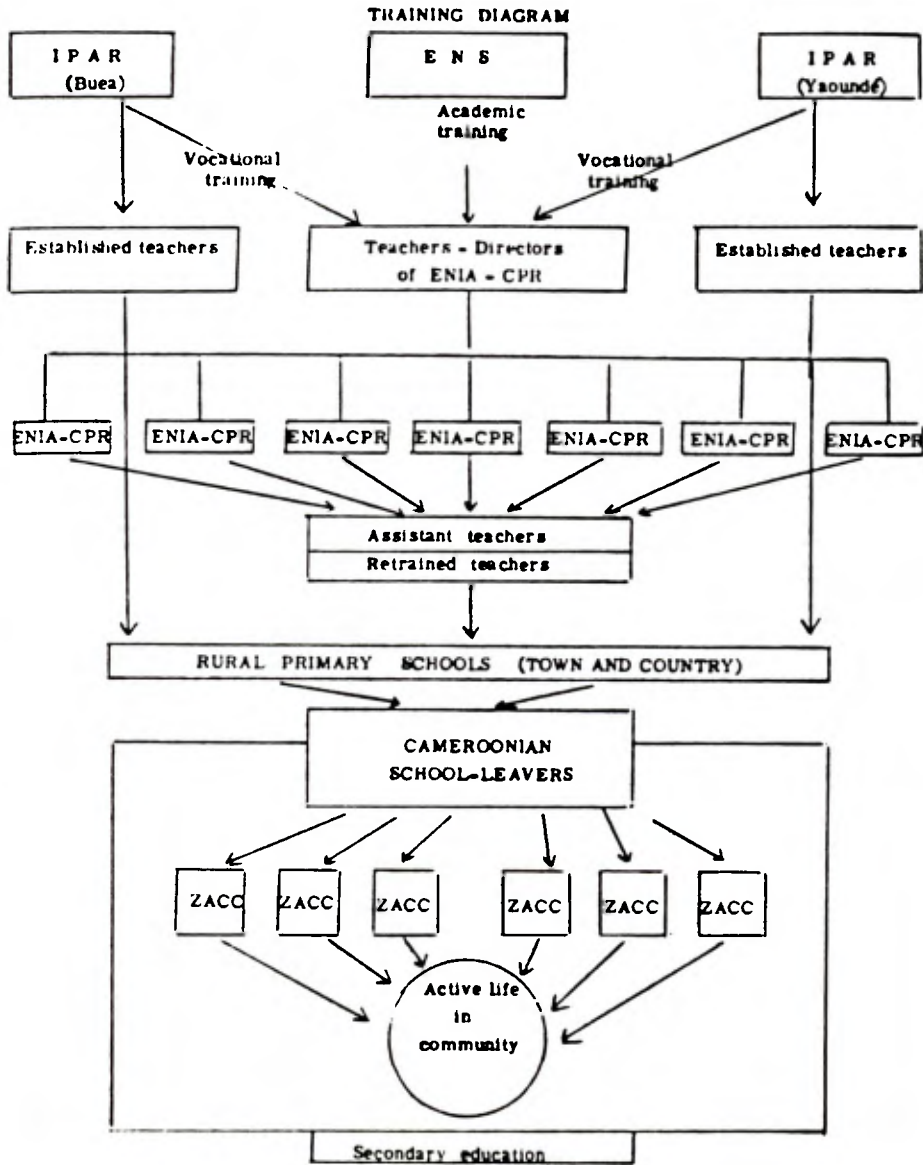
Source: Lallez (1974:107)

However, conceptual and pedagogical problems are bound to
emerge with such a view, as well as problems of credibility
with the school clientele. The needs of people living in the

rural areas are different from those in urban areas and it is on this basis that much contemporary literature on educational planning for rural development, upholds the idea that the curricula for the village school should essentially be different from those of the town school (e.g. Rowley,1971). In comparison to urban areas, many rural areas are characterized by the lack of such infrastructural developments as motorable roads, electricity, the provision of medical facilities and other social support systems.

Unless proven otherwise, it may then be presumptuous to imagine that the aspirations of rural people for their children are any different from those of parents in the urban areas. Thus, important as it may seem, changing curricula and giving children a whiff of simulated work experiences in school cannot be seen as a reliable means of boosting rural development, let alone a main one. Most of the interviewees in this research (all government officials) were by and large, sympathetic to the idea of 'ruralizing' or vocationalizing curricula, but were of the impression that rather than introduce such activities intensively at the primary level, they were better suited in post-primary institutions after basic numeracy and literacy skills had been acquired.

The difficulty in interpreting the concept of ruralization seemed to have been more of a problem with IPAR-Yaounde than IPAR-Buea, who saw the inclusion of mainly agricultural activities in the curriculum of the planned primary reforms as the main thrust of reform. However, conflicting views about the concept of 'ruralization' indicate its ambiguity and partially explain why the scope and areas of emphasis have differed greatly in the work carried out by the two IPARs. This could have been expected because right from the outset, neither the officials in the Ministry of National Education, nor the Unesco experts assigned to the IPAR-Yaounde project clearly understood the reform ideology of ruralization and the

methods to achieve it (Epote, 1976:184). Nevertheless, this inconsistency between government intent and reality in concrete programmes in African education is noted:

> To be sure, there have been sporadic attempts at the "Africanization" of the curriculum content and a good deal of vague discussion over the need to 'adapt educational systems to African needs and realties', but, for all this, most nations have been content to adhere to the structure and content of schooling bequeathed to them by the former metropolis. Indeed, in some territories the similarities between metropolitan and post-colonial systems of education have increased rather than diminished since independence. (in Jolly, 1967:90)

Despite the support of the political party there is no doubt that generally, the literate classes in the country (including the university) were wary about the choice of the word 'ruralization' to designate the new education. It may be understood that the purpose of such a name was to indicate a break with the past, and to provide a new direction for fresh thinking (Lallez, 1974:45-46), but the reverse seems to have happened.

Self-reliance and the concept of ruralization

One of the main aims of ruralization was to settle young people into some form of self-employment after they left primary school. Since official entry ages are of five to six years, primary school pupils should come out at twelve or thirteen years of age. However, according to the Cameroon work code, the 'working population' is considered to be those between 15 to 59 years of age. Evidently, the work-code does not consider children leaving primary school old enough to be engaged in wage-employment. However, with proper planning and

imagination, and resources, even fairly younger children could engage in economically productive activities, if some thought is given to the informal sector where where young people below 15 can and do perform such activities as trading, herding and farming.

A rough idea of the structure of opportunity in the Cameroon labour market in relation to education, can be depicted by comparing the education pyramid, with a very broad base representing primary education, and higher education at the apex, with the inverted wage-labour pyramid, showing virtually non-existent wage employment opportunities for primary school leavers, imbalanced by the gross opportunities for the few who successfully receive advanced and university education in the existing structure of the labour market.

Figure 4: Structure of employment opportunity by level of
education

education   proportion in wage
                            employment
                                by
                            level of
                            education
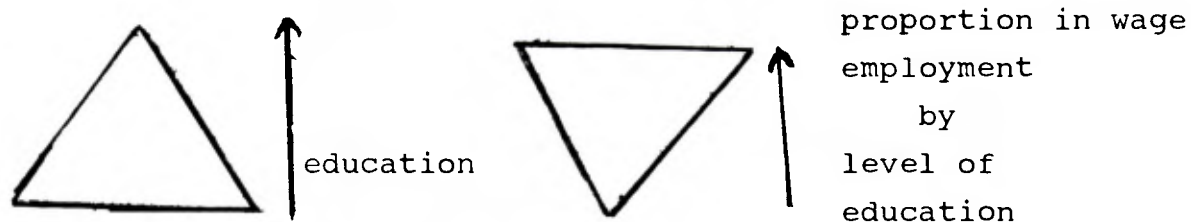
More over, Kane (1973:340) warned that governments should not forget that the young do not only look for jobs but look forward to 'a better and more fulfilling life'. He makes reference to problem areas which are often forgotten by planners and decision-makers, like the need to consider practices in the ownership of land, the little remuneration for work in agriculture, law and custom relating to the acquisition of property among other things. As in most cultures, young people in Cameroon have no place in the family and village decisions.

He expresses profound doubt about the modification of the curriculum in order to 'ruralize' it by teaching manual skills while at the same time, the emphasis of the parents, teachers and children is on preparing for the primary school leaving certificate or secondary school entrance examinations. Indeed, it has been commonly observed, not only in Cameroon that there is a great mismatch between the education schools provide and pupils' aspirations, because it is still largely an exercise to fulfil examination requirements (Versluis, 1973:356).

Thus far, in design as in the plans for implementation, the reform arrangements have not mentioned the need to involve those in the examination department. Examinations tend to condition the way teaching is carried out in schools and not the other way round. Discussions the researcher carried out with groups of headmasters during field work (March, 1987) reveals that it is common practice for teachers to spend the last year of primary schooling "coaching" the pupils, as opposed to teaching the set programme for that year. Coaching is a practice where, the teachers for these classes collect past examination questions over the years, and revise them over and over with the pupils, for reproduction in the final examination - a tested experience which is known to produce a higher percentage of pupil passes than teaching the official syllabus for the year.

The significance of examination-led curriculum change in contrast to examination-led curriculum inertia is increasingly being recognized The current introduction of the General Certificate for Secondary Education (GCSE) in Britain is a case in point. However, a more pertinent example occurred in Kenya, where there was concern during the 1970s, that tests at the end of the primary school course had little relevance to those who would not go on to secondary education and that such tests rewarded memorization rather than reasoning ability. The Kenyan government response to this was to introduce a new

examination system which attempted to make examination questions more relevant to the life experiences of the Kenyan pupils, thus providing an examination 'fairer to underprivileged groups' and giving teachers 'an incentive to develop in their teaching relevant skills and knowledge and thus to improve the quality of basic education' (World Bank, 1988:86).

In Cameroon however, there have been no plans to include the main component of the primary reforms - the activities involving work experiences - in the school learning/secondary school examination, making it literally impossible to motivate teachers and pupils alike to these activities.

Parental aspirations and the ruralization concept: a mismatch ?

Public opinion does not feature as an important theme in the evaluations that have been made yet on the IPAR experience. But suggestions have been made (Lallez, 1974:25), that the large public at large might see the reform as something retrograde rather than progressive and innovative. Generally speaking, research participants felt that 'ruralization' suggested the opposite of urbanization, and more importantly, did not refer to quality improvements in schools.

The demand for more and better education that grew in the early days of nationhood as indeed elsewhere in Africa, was accompanied by pressure on the part of parents whose preferences were clearly for the kind of schools which under Western rule, prepared pupils for "white collar" occupation, preferably in a government service (Tosam, 1980:27). This mentality has not changed much in Cameroon where certification and modern sector employment are still largely upheld in Cameroon as the only sure means to upward social mobility.

People will tend to respond negatively to a programme of planned change, if it is radical (Wilson, 1966:58), especially if it does not hold the promises of improving the immediate circumstances of living. The school performs both a "socialization" and a "selection" function. With evidence of heavy wastage in the primary school, as relatively very few pupils complete primary education compared to the number originally enrolled, it is easy to conclude that the primary school programme favours the latter selection function. Parents are not unaware of this situation. Even if only for a few each year, the primary school is still viewed by many parents as the first necessary stage along the route out of the subsistence economy:

> Rural development is no longer equated merely with increased agricultural production, nor is it considered to be the wholesale adoption of behavioural patterns and technologies from western industrial societies. Nevertheless, the strategies which it is assumed will result in improvements for the disadvantaged rural masses still remain controversial .... Basic needs in rural Africa are for the main part satisfied on the basis of subsistence farming, fishing, hunting and the productions of simple handicrafts products ... [But] there is very little incentive to work hard due to the poor prices paid for agricultural products. The hardships of village life which is devoid of many social amenities, also make life unattractive and boring and can hardly be compensated by the "traditional way of life". (Bude, 1985:26-27)

It is important to note that Bude, was a member of the technical assistance team which produced the widely acclaimed IPAR-Buea report of 1977 on Cameroon primary reform proposals. He is careful to point to the merits and limits of introducing

farming, fishing, hunting and the production of simple handicrafts in the primary school curriculum.

6.3 A Summary View of the IPAR Experience by April 1987

The IPARs have remained essentially unmodified since their creation, except that their financial provision has drastically declined. At the IPAR-Yaounde, a UNESCO/UNDP evaluation mission in 1974 had advised that its teacher training and research departments be re-oriented to conduct more systematic activities, but they have since remained basically the same. More puzzling perhaps is the insistence of successive ministers of education on toying with strategies to use the tonnes of materials that had been churned out by and found unfit for schools. Furthermore, the disappearance in recent years, of the "R", for "Rurale" in "ENIR", the acronym supposed to designate the "new" teacher training colleges (now simply designated the "ENI"), intimates a timid withdrawal from the concept of ruralization (Mukam et al., 1986:117). In a climate where the teachers in the field and researchers have to speculate in order to interpret reality one is bound to ask where we go from here ?

The existence of a research institution is one thing, and its credibility is another. There are two ways at looking at the problem. On the one hand, if decision-makers challenge the quality of "research" done by the institutes, it could be because those who are called researchers may not have the requisite expertise to carry out the sort of task they are given and as such no matter how much they try, the work will remain mediocre. This in turn would reflect the inefficiency of the administration to select the right kind of people to do a proper job.

Kale (1983:135), investigated the relationship between 'successful implementation and support from either the school

inspectors or the IPAR' (Buea), in a sample of 24 teachers in eight pilot schools. This indicated that there had been no follow-up studies of implementation, which the directorate if the institute explained was due to insufficient support facilities (e.g., transport and other).

The mismatch between staff capacity and the tasks asked the IPAR to carry out is stark. Administratively speaking, one can nominate a researcher and even give him all the facilities of an ambient working climate, but if he lacks the basic intellectual training, mediocre work should be expected, and the results could be catastrophic.

On the other hand however, the absence of clarity and commitment to the project of reforming and harmonizing the concurrent dual system of education leads to stagnation and constitutes a horrible waste of the resources (human and material) put into the IPARs. The 'lack of money and strong administrative/political support' (Kale, 1983:141) for the IPARs have been identified as some major constraints. But as this research reveals, a potential barrier to the process of Cameroon primary change, lie in a number of other factors:

- the inability of researchers schooled in either educational tradition in the country to communicate with each other, for want of a scholarly medium (research journal, workshops, and so on);

- the inability of the majority of researchers and government officials involved the reform effort who cannot communicate in the both official languages thus making the prospect of constant dialogue burdensome;

- the ignorance of the reality in the one educational tradition by the researcher brought up in the other, and the absence of motivation to acquire this pre-requisite to

before engaging in decision-making about the harmonizing of
the two conflicting educational traditions in the country;

- the poor institutional development capacities of present
  research institutions (including their allocative and
  managerial efficiencies, coordination and logistic support
  from influential institutions in the project environment
  (e.g., DGA, GIP, and so on).

Too little attention has been focused on the curriculum for
teacher education thus far, and teachers in the field 'still do
not see very clearly the link between what they are teaching
children and its relevance to [their lives] and the larger
community' (Abangma, 1981:325).

There is every indication that the problem of primary education
in Cameroon needs to be reconsidered, bearing in mind that no
meaningful reforms can be carried out in it without giving
thought to aspects of continuity in the other levels of the
education system: the corollary being that, no continuity can
be envisaged in a common programme for primary education in the
two educational traditions, if the pupils have to break into
the traditional boundaries that presently separate and offer
them different educational opportunities, measured in terms of
equivalents which are increasingly questioned (e.g., see
Akoulouze, 1984).

7   SUPPORT TO PRIMARY EDUCATION PROJECT (SPEP) (1984 -)

7.1   Comment

The SPEP is a five-year project which began in 1984, and owing to administrative delays and other set backs, most of the planned activities are largely behind schedule (see Figure 5, 7.7, 7.8, 7.9). The description of the project is largely reflective of what the project intended to achieve as spelled out in the SPEP project paper, since the reality on the field up to April 1987, when the field work for this research was terminated is limited to the organization of three or four seminars on a yearly basis, each averaging three days. In other words, there has been in all, approximately twenty four days of active SPEP intervention over the past three years, since non was organized during the first year of the project (November 1984 - November 1985), owing to the delays in implementing other aspects of the project mentioned earlier.

A feel of the reality the interactions going on during these seminars is described in some detail in 2.2.3, and section 7.4, the analysis of the SPEP.

7.2   Origin

In the continuing effort to transform its dual education system to one more suited to its development needs, the GURC sent a delegation of high level MINEDUC officials in 1978 to the United States (US), to see what elements in that education system could be adapted to Cameroon. After the trip, the GURC discussed among other things, the possibility of US assistance to Cameroon primary education. These discussions led to the establishment of a committee from MINEDUC in April 1980, to work with USAID towards the establishment of such a project.

Initial situational analysis in Cameroon was undertaken by a USAID team of experts which indicated that a project to support primary education was both feasible and worthwhile. The feasibility studies included technical, administrative, social, economic and financial considerations.

In January 1981, the membership of the MINEDUC committee increased, and became the Project Design Committee (PDC) for the SPEP. A sub-committee of seven of the PDC members (including the Directors of IPAR-Yaounde and IPAR-Buea) was formed in June 1981, to address issues concerning in-service training programmes and a library system.

In all, the project design team consisted of seven USAID-hired members (a primary school teacher training specialist and team leader, an anthropologist/sociologist, educational administrator, an educational economist, two librarians, and an architect), and members of the Project Design Committee (eleven high level officials from the Ministry of National Education).

The people interviewed by the USAID team in the preliminary fact-finding mission included the Education Delegates and their assistants in the two provinces concerned (North West and the then, North, which have been split into the Adamaoua, North, and Far North since 1983), officials in the public TTC in Bamenda, and the public TTCs in the North, one inspector for primary education in the North, and the Secretary for Catholic Education in the North West. There were other participants interviewed from various services in the Ministry of National Education.

The Project Paper (PP) for the SPEP was then designed, during the year 1981 by a team of USAID-hired experts, each visiting the country over different periods ranging between one and three months, but mainly between May and September 1981. The project was discussed in detail with MINEDUC officials during

the formulation of its functional components and formally presented to officials in both the MINEDUC and Ministry of Economic Affairs and Planning (MINEP). The project paper thus, reflects the outcome of the ensuing discussions leading to the SPEP agreement signed in March 1984 (PP, p.62).

On the basis of these initial preparations, the USAID established a programme of assistance with the Cameroon government in the form of a grant to be administered over the five-year span of the project, to cover technical assistance components, and a loan to cover physical development repayable over a forty-year period. In all, a grant amounting to US $11,364,000 was authorized for payment to the Cameroon government (GURC) in instalments during the life of the project, to cover aspects of the technical assistance and its related commodity procurement, in-country training, participant training, library books, periodical procurement, and maintenance. Established on standard development loan terms, the loan amounted to US $16,265,000 and was to help in the construction and commodity procurement aspect of the project. The GURC contribution in the project was estimated to represent about 70 per cent of the entire cost (approximately US $73,118,000).

Covenants were established toward ensuring that appropriate management attention be focused on elements considered crucial to the success of the project. Three covenants were concluded:

- towards ensuring that adequate funds be budgeted to support project activities;
- requiring the establishment of an evaluation programme as part of the project; and
- requiring that local administrators at provincial level have ready access to current data needed for planning, managing and monitoring educational progress.

The project being now set for the operational phase, USAID then invited a number of American universities to make proposals for operationalizing a programme for the improvement of primary education in Cameroon. The one provided by the University of Southern California (USC) got the approval, and they were awarded the contract to provide technical assistance to the SPEP in November 1984. The technical assistance contract was to cover long-term field personnel, including a Chief of Party (COP), Technical Assistants (TAs) for the TTCs in Maroua, Ngaoundere, Bamenda, with Garoua and Pitoa sharing a common TA, an Administrative Officer, and Construction Advisers.

The said team was elected by USC, but from December 1984, a number of set backs were encountered. The first COP approved for the SPEP, Dr. Tracy Harrington, was eliminated for medical reasons and an immediate replacement was not found. Furthermore, the withdrawal by USC of the TA for Maroua, in June 1985 because his French language ability had not improved sufficiently, and the withdrawal of the TA for Ndaoundere for personal reasons in May 1985 (Rideout, 1985:5), contributed to delays in starting the project. A replacement for the the position of COP, Dr. William Rideout was made in August 1985 and by mid-September that year, the members of the USC team all arrived Cameroon by mid-September 1985. During the first three years of the life of the project, three different COPs were to take care of the project, each beginning in August. Dr. McKenna was in charge in the second year of the project 1986/87, while Dr. Harrington is supposed to take over from him in August 1988. The USC contract also called for the provision of short-term personnel (see 7.5.4).

Indeed, it is for this reason that in the operational phase, the project is more appropriately called the USAID/USC/MINEDUC support to primary education project, thus indicating the three main bodies involved in it. Generally speaking, the GURC and

the USAID have been involved in 'open discussion of difficult issues, and joint decision-making' (PP, p.34), in the design process of the project.

The SPEP officially started in November 1984 and was only started project activities in its second year November 1985 - November 1986. Its first workshop was organized in January 1986.

7.3   Aims

The aims of the project are:

- to increase the quantity and quality of primary school teachers in the (Adamaoua, North, and Far North provinces), and North-West province (see Map 6 overleaf); and
- to improve upon the skills of the officials responsible for supporting these teachers (e.g., primary school headmasters, divisional inspectors, teacher training college staff).

7.4   Objectives and Activities

It is hoped that by increasing the number of qualified primary school teachers and improving the skills of personnel supporting them, the project will bring about an increase in the number of children receiving higher quality primary education in the provinces concerned. The targetted activities of the project are of three categories: viz,

- Construction,

- In-country training (pre-service for primary school teachers and inservice training for primary school teachers

Map 6: Support to Cameroon Primary Education Project (SPEP)

Image redacted due to third party rights or other legal issues

in the field, headmasters, divisional inspectors, and administrative and teaching staff of the five TTCs involved in the project), and

- Short and long-term training in the US.

Construction

The project will loan-finance the construction of new facilities (libraries, classrooms, science laboratories, domestic science laboratories, maintenance workshops, dormitories, kitchens and infirmaries, laundry rooms, administrative blocks and shops), remodelling and renovations in the five TTCs (Bamenda, Maroua, Garoua, Pitoa and Ngaoundere) involved in the project. This aspect will be financed under the loan as well as equipment, furnishing and site development aspects.

The project would provide each TTC with a newly constructed library with a physical capacity to accommodate approximately 60 per cent of the student body, and 5,000 books. These libraries will be supervised and maintained by a library system to be established with its central office in the GIP in MINEDUC in Yaounde. For this purpose, three librarians will be trained to receive US Master's degrees in library science, and will in turn train library assistants.

The construction plan has two main components, the architectural and engineering services, and the construction aspect. An American institutional design consultant elaborates the master plans for construction and jointly reviews them with MINEDUC and MINEQUIP. This aspect of the work is estimated to take about 17 months to complete, and includes, planning, design development, producing drawings and specifications. The construction aspect the project is financed by AID, and involves programme improvement and expansion. This includes the construction of dormitories, laboratories and other buildings at the TTCs.

The construction to be undertaken at the five TTCs is to be carried out by services in the Ministry of Equipment, while the Division for Planning, Guidance and School Equipment in MINEDUC

does the local procurement of project commodities like furniture and other items.

In-country training (Cameroon)

In country training includes the pre-service training of primary school teachers, and in-service training for primary school teachers in the field, and for the professional groups supporting them (headmasters, divisional inspectors of primary education, and the administrative and academic staff of TTCs).

Pre-service programmes for primary school teachers will be improved and expanded with the expansion of the TTCs. This is to be achieved by TTC staff (teaching and administrative) working together with the TAs, to devise instructional materials and improved methods of teaching for all the courses. The length, organization and certification procedures for the pre-service training will be determined by the Ministry of National Education through the DPNE in concert with the TAs and the TTCs.

The improved pre-service programme will include increased practice teaching for the TTC trainees and observations in both urban and rural schools. The emphasis is placed on close supervision to assure adherence to the official curriculum and on improved teaching of practical subjects (domestic science, animal husbandry, and agricultural practices). A 20-passenger van will be provided every TTC to enable the easy movement of student-teachers and professors to primary schools.

Prior to the SPEP, the only in-service training primary school teachers received were occasional one-day workshops given by divisional inspectors once or twice a year. The project hopes to establish regular in-service training programmes to increase the teaching skills and raise the qualifications of primary school teachers (approximately 5,260). Sessions will occur

annually for four weeks at each TTC during the summer vacation
beginning mid-July of every year (teachers grouped according to
the level/year they teach), and grade of qualification (Grade
I, II, III, and unqualified).

These sessions will emphasize lectures on such topics as child
development, teaching methods, curriculum development, lesson
planning, the design and fabrication of teaching aids, manual
arts and practical teaching. Other important aspects of the
activities envisaged will include the emphasis on 'concrete
improvements in teaching' rather than theoretical lectures and
the standardization of the primary curriculum to enable each
TTC to teach the same course. This is to be achieved by TAs
and TTC Directors, staff, and faculty organizing the training
programmes at the beginning of the project. This
responsibility will be mainly that of TTC staff at the ENS of
the project, with some assistance from personnel of the DPNE,
the GIP, and the IPAR.

In order to enable the tutors of the five teacher training
colleges (about 61 tutors) to improve their professional
training, in-service training programmes will be established as
a permanent component of the teacher training and support
system. The programme comprises:

-   One-day workshops will be initially organized and conducted
    by TAs at each TTC with the co-operation of the staff of
    these institutions. Jointly both groups will identify the
    subject matter for the workshops and determine the frequency
    of intervention.

-   Two-week training programmes will be developed to take place
    during the Easter recess at the TTCs in Bamenda and Garoua
    for the faculty members of the five TTCs. The content of
    the training programmes will be jointly determined by the
    Sub-Committee for in-service training of the PIC and the TAs

after consulting the faculty of the TTCs. However, the
areas for training will include child development, teaching
methods, curriculum studies, lesson planning, and the design
and fabrication of teaching aids.

In-service training programmes will be offered at the Bamenda
and Garoua TTCs for about 40 administrative staff and 42
divisional   inspectors,   with   an   emphasis   on   school
administration, pedagogy, teacher supervision and evaluation.
The programme content will be determined by the Sub-Committee
for in-service training and the TAs. The contributors in the
training sessions will include the TAs, lecturers from the ENS,
national   inspectors,   officials   of   the   DPNE,   provincial
delegates and/or sub-delegates and other officials in MINEDUC
found to have the required expertise.

On project completion, six Cameroonians chosen among the
Directors, who would have earned Master's degrees in the US in
educational administration and management, would direct the
programmes thereafter, under assignment to the inspectorate.

Two types of training programmes are earmarked for the training
of about 320 primary school headmasters in the administrative
and pedagogical skills necessary for efficient management.
Held at provincial headquarters, one type of programme will be
established   for   full-time   headmasters   (on   teaching
responsibilities) together with the headmasters of schools
having more than 500 pupils, and the other type of programme
will concern the headmasters of the remaining schools which
teach all the grades.

Beginning in the project's second year, this aspect of the
training lasts for two weeks and is offered during the Easter
vacation, with each group receiving training every other year.
These   sessions   will   focus   on   such   subjects   as   school

administration, teacher supervision, disciplinary procedures, lesson plan preparation, teacher counseling and evaluation.

By the completion of the project, it is planned that six headmasters who would have earned US Masters degrees in educational administration and management would continue to direct these programmes under assignment to the DPNE.

It was estimated that during the five-year life of the project, a target of 5,620 primary school teachers, 42 inspectors, 40 TTC administrators, 61 TTC tutors and 320 primary school directors would have been trained.

Short and long-term training in the US

This aspect of the project concerns the training of Cameroonians in the United States to reinforce the work done by the TAs, and to eventually replace them at the end of their term of stay, thus enabling a continuation of the activities of the project. This training component is supported by the grant aspect of the assistance programme.

Short-term training concerns one-month study tours to the United States are organized among the project activities. Five Cameroonian officials are selected for each trip to visit a number of educational institutions. These include teacher training colleges, primary schools, and educational research institutions. Two returnees interviewed felt that the trip was worthwhile, but too short to present meaningful learning opportunities. In the words of one of them,

> every new experience is an occasion to learn something new. But such guided tours do not permit you to explore the environment. You only see what they want you to see - and naturally, everyone will show you the positive aspects of his system. In

> every system there are bound to be weaknesses.
> These, we can only guess.
>
>   (Interview, Returnee - **Bamenda**, 18/03/87)

Long-term training consists of training 15 Cameroonians at the
Master's degree level in university institutions in the US:
three in library science, and 12 in other branches in education
including curriculum development, educational administration,
and evaluation. It is planned that after training, the newly
trained specialists will be posted to the DPNE and the GIP.

7.5   Project Background

7.5.1 Location

The Support to Primary Education Project (SPEP) with main
concern in rural primary education is implanted in the Northern
and North-West provinces of the country. The former region is
French-speaking while the latter is English-speaking. The
USAID advance three reasons for the choice of the project
sites.

The first reason is that the World Bank in 1981 came up with a
design of a primary teacher training initiative as one
component of a four-part project to be submitted to the GURC
for approval in June 1983. The initiative targeted for the
Littoral and the Central South provinces (the most literate in
the country), aimed at increasing the quantity and improving
the quality of primary education through expansion and
improvement of teacher training colleges and construction of
nearby demonstration schools. Indeed the World Bank chose the
location of their projects on the assumption that USAID would
be working in other areas (PP, p.14).

The second reason was to initiate improvements in primary
education that could spread to both educational traditions

existing in the country (British-oriented and French-oriented).

The third and overriding reason for choosing these project sites, is the relatively low participation rate in primary education in these regions (about 29 per cent in the Northern provinces and about 48 per cent in the North-West province respectively) as compared to 85 per cent for the entire country. In spite of this lag in relation to other provinces, the teachers in the existing schools were predominantly unqualified.

7.5.2 Rationale

USAID maintain that expanding primary education to absorb as many children as possible in the eligible age group could be justifiable in general development terms, even if the quality of schooling is low. For example, a World Bank report (1979) concluded that farm productivity was at least 7 per cent higher, where the farmer had at least four years of primary schooling (PP, pp. 7-8). Also, USAID subscribes to the view held by the World Bank (1980), that lending strategies which give primary schooling a central place are apparently more conducive to growth-with-equity than most available alternatives, and thus, efforts in raising school quality by upgrading teachers and school resources seem likely to result in high economic and social returns.

Furthermore, USAID saw the support of primary education in these two provinces, still lagging significantly behind the rest of the country, as cost beneficial, especially since Cameroon had a recurrent per pupil cost of US $32 in the public system, as compared to US $235 per student in secondary education, and US $ 1,870 per student in university training. Primary education is open to all children of school age, and

still remains the only opportunity for schooling that is open to most children in the country.

A further consideration was the rather low participation rate of girls in schools in these regions and consequently their low proportion in the teaching force. At the beginning of the 5th Plan (1981-1986) women constituted approximately 20 per cent of the teaching force in the North-West and about 12 per cent in the Northern region. Though the conditions of work in many of these schools could be quite difficult (long distance from food supplies, or electricity and so on), the relatively small proportion of women in these schools, the USAID team of experts believed, could be explained by the fact that most parents in largely rural areas often preferred to send their boys rather than girls to school. It was hoped that the SPEP could help counter such prejudices.

7.5.3 Some perspectives on primary education and TTCs in the North-West, Adamaoua, North and Extreme North provinces

Low school enrollment and teacher supply

In relation to the other provinces in the country, the North-West, Adamaoua, North and Extreme North provinces, there exist a remarkable degree of community effort towards the construction of schools, which USAID found favourable for long-term development of educational policy (PP, Part I, p.51). Though the buildings are mainly temporary, preliminary background studies showed that the main problems with primary education in these provinces were not due to an overall shortage of classrooms. The major need was for improvement in the quantity and quality of teacher supply to these schools.

The distribution of qualified teachers in the country in general, tended to be skewed in favour of the urban centres. Furthermore, in spite of marked improvements in recent years in

enrolment figures in these provinces, the USAID team noticed a lingering resistance to conventional schooling, especially among the Muslim and nomadic groups. Between 1974 and 1979 primary school enrolment in the Northern region, increased from 108,983 to 133,370 pupils, representing an annual growth rate of 5.2 per cent, the highest in the country for that period, although the absolute increase was only 24,387. For the same period, the growth rate in the North-West was 4.35 per cent per annum, representing an increase in enrolments from 120,384 to 142,712 with an absolute increase of 22, 328. Although these were among the highest rates of enrolment growth in the country, these provinces registered very low average annual growth of primary school teachers (both trained and untrained) for the same period (2.7 per cent and 1.6 per cent for the Northern and North-West provinces respectively).

Some problems of inaccessible rural primary schools

Preliminary field studies made by the USAID team showed managerial deficiencies in the running of the schools, which were thought to be largely due to the inadequate training and logistic support given to school teachers, headmasters and inspectors. Generally, schools in the largely remote areas in the North West and Northern provinces are inaccessible by motor vehicles, and consequently, do not receive as many visits from inspectors of education as otherwise would have been desirable. In addition, school inspections often require a full day spent on administrative and pedagogic problems in the field, which is rarely possible as government vehicles for the purpose are scarce, especially in these regions.

The trying conditions under which teachers in a good number of these schools worked made them resort to all kinds of

subterfuges, to be transferred from them. Rural schools were

> isolated (about 10 kilometres plus, off the main
> road), quite often with a single teacher and a single
> classroom, under-equipped and without much contact
> with the outside world when the teacher leaves during
> school sessions .... [He] leaves often, and for many
> days in a row, in order to get pay and food, and to
> push for promotion and transfer (PP, annex, p.3).

Helping and upgrading the rural primary teacher, the SPEP design team noted, was critical. The PP describes the experience of the "village school", or the "communale de Jules Ferry", which is the American equivalent of the "little red school house" which the Cameroon government would be well advised to adopt. Such a policy works by providing teachers in areas inaccessible by road (motor vehicles) with a little extra pay, and giving them such added responsibilities as:

- the registration of births and deaths in the area,
- serving as post master for the surrounding population,
- handling via C.B. radio, emergency calls from and to the outside (floods, epidemics, and so on).

(PP, annex G11, p.4)

Furthermore, a recent Cameroon natural disaster of poisonous fumes from a lake which claimed the lives of over 2 000 people (lake Nyos disaster, 1986) before people even knew what was happening in the neighbouring village, makes the prospect of benefits to be reaped from such a venture interesting, though it is bound to evoke other problems.

The administration of TTCs

The USAID project design team of experts observed, that in the absence of any formal training, the administrative staff of

TTCs relied heavily upon "standard operating procedures" textes to run the TTCs. When these fail, implementation stops, and a report is made to Yaounde, via the administrative hierarchy, thus absolving the Director of the TTC of responsibility. In general, the organization of TTCs was rigid, encouraging little initiative or imagination on the part of the administrators of these institutions. Indeed, decision making is more deconcentrated than decentralized.

The staff of teacher training colleges were for the most part underemployed. Existing facilities are also underutilized. For example, the TTC in Garoua was built to handle some 150 students, but it only had some 15 students enroled for the academic year 1986/87.

Physical conditions of TTCs

The TTCs were found to be under-financed, poorly equipped, and with the exception of Garoua, inadequate even for the existing limited enrolments. The colleges lacked libraries, workshops and other basic infrastructure like water and electricity. Building maintenance was virtually non-existent, and there was need for closer supervision and control.

Indeed as the PP concludes, the GURC had expressed its commitment to responding to the problems facing primary education in the country and assessed its needs. The SPEP 'seeks to establish a primary education system as a sound basis for general economic and social development in the North and North-west, for eventual replication in other areas of Cameroon, as well as Africa'(PP, p.15).

7.6 Implementation

7.6.1 Inputs

The total costs over the life of the project are estimated at US $80,872,146. This sum includes USAID Assistance which will account for 34 per cent of these costs (20 per cent of which is loan-funded), and a planned Cameroon government contribution of approximately 66 per cent.

The USAID grant is to finance costs of project inputs under the line items of technical assistance, training, commodities, and miscellaneous costs. The technical assistance consists of seven long-term US technical experts for approximately 28 person years in Cameroon, short-term consultancies of approximately 22 person months, and costs of administrative personnel based in the US.

The training component consists of in-service training programmes and seminars, long-term Master's degree training for 15 Cameroonians, and two observational tours in the US in groups of five, to enable educational personnel to visit US teacher training colleges, primary schools, educational research institutes and meet experts in educational administration.

The commodity procurement includes the needs of technicians (vehicles, furniture, and other supplies), and the needs of the TTCs (library books/periodicals, in-service training materials, and other supplies). The miscellaneous or "other costs", cover such things as inflation and maintenance. The loan will mainly finance the construction, renovation, minor repairs, site development and furnishings.

The contribution of the Cameroon government is to meet the costs of the Cameroon personnel involved in the project

(stipends for students and salaries for TTC staff), the costs
for additional land to be acquired for construction at Maroua,
Garoua and Ngaoundere, the construction component of the
project, the air fares to and from the US of Cameroonians to be
trained in the US, maintenance of existing buildings and the
vehicles to be provided and debt amortization.

7.6.2 Strategy

Two committees were created for designing and implementing the
project: the Project Implementation Committee (PIC), and the
Sub-Committee for In-service Training.

The Project Implementation Committee (PIC)

The PIC is composed of representatives of MINEDUC's services
and institutes which participate in the project (DPNE, IPARs,
GIP, DCSE, DGA), and representatives of the Ministry of Data
Processing and Public Contracts, and the Ministry of Equipment
responsible for construction. It is responsible for
coordinating, directing and monitoring all the aspects of
project implementation.

At the time field work was undertaken on this project (February
to April 1987), the project was in its third year running, and
its activities were largely concerned with organizing sessions
for in-service training programmes for the targeted groups.
The PIC had not met for over a year. The official papers
needed to start the construction aspect of the project were not
yet completely processed.

The Sub-Committee for In-service Training

A sub-committee within the PIC called the Sub-Committee for In-
service Training, is in charge of planning and effecting the
in-service training component of the project. Its members

comprise representatives of the concerned institutions. In the main, they meet each time in-service activities are to be organized. The pattern followed is one in which the TAs come with a ready proposal drawn from their joint assessment of what would be a worthwhile and feasible training programme and the details are then discussed and adopted. As one TA explained,

> The In-service Training Sub-Committee have always gone along with our ideas ... [and] are very supportive .... (Interview, TA - Bamenda, 19/03/87)

The pace of implementation depends largely on the nature of the collaboration demonstrated by key participants at all levels and on their effectiveness in planning and coordinating the scheduled activities. Promptness in responding to set implementation schedules (e.g. disbursement of funds on time, adequacy of logistic support) is crucial in maximizing any potential contributions that the visiting foreign team may make. Since the programme is on-going, a broader perspective of its implementation is seen in terms of the key roles to be played by the main institutions involved in the project. These in turn are subsumed under the responsibility of the Cameroon government on the one hand, and those of the USAID on the other in its implementation.

7.6.3 Responsibilities of the Cameroon government

Three government ministries are involved in the implementation of the project: the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of Equipment, and the Ministry of Data Processing and Public Contracts. The expectations of these ministries in project implementation are described in terms of the key roles played by various individuals, departments, or institutions within them.

The Ministry of National Education (MINEDUC)

The Ministry of National Education (MINEDUC) is the main body responsible for the execution of the project components, except the construction component. It calls on a number of departments and institutions under its umbrella to carry out specific tasks in the project implementation programme.

The most significant of these is the Department of Primary and Nursery Education (DPNE) which is in charge of all primary education in the country. Thus, it is directly linked to the IPARs, and collaborates with other departments within the MINEDUC in running of the project. The Director of DPNE is also the project director, and thus is responsible for

- the day to day administration and management of the project,
- the coordination of PIC meetings, inputs and other activities required of the Cameroon government,
- the arrangements for customs exoneration and storage charges for aid financed commodities and arranging in-country transport from ports of entry to project sites,
- the identification and nomination of participants for academic training, and
- the provision to officials in primary education at the local level of information required for the efficient planning, management, and monitoring of project activities under their responsibilities, among others.

The IPARs, involved with carrying out studies in primary reform for the country were to participate in pre-service and in-service programme development according to specifications in the project paper, but thus far, they have been largely a source for selecting presenters at seminars, often, the Directors of the institutes themselves.

In principle, the Centre for National Education (CNE) was to contribute towards the development of the project's training programmes. The CNE was formerly an organ of the Ministry of National Education and part of the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research since 1985, in charge of conducting educational research at all levels of the educational system Thus far however, it plays only a marginal role in SPEP. Occasionally, a researcher from the Centre may be identified by the TAs and invited to make a presentation in one of its seminars.

Similarly, the GIP (involved with the inspection of schools, pedagogical and curriculum issues) and the Division of Planning, Guidance and School Equipment mainly serve as important sources from which the TAs select presenters for the seminars or in-service programmes.

7.6.4 Responsibilities of the USAID

The USAID group in charge of monitoring SPEP activities include the USAID Project Officer, the Mission Engineer, and the Project Committee. There is a Quality Control officer in the US who only visits the projects occasionally to monitor and advise on the quality of work undertaken. This group works closely with the PIC, DPNE, and the Department for Planning, Orientation and Scholastic Equipment, monitoring project activities and assuring that the project is being implemented as designed and for solving problems which arise. The total technical assistance programme is spelt out in relation to the project contract, and comprises 29.81 per cent person-years of long-term technical assistance, 19 person months of short-term assistance, including 10 person months for an evaluation team, and 27.8 person years of local support personnel.

The Technical Assistants (TAs)

The technical assistants recruited by USAID from the University of Southern California (USC) include a team leader, also known as the Chief of Party, expected to put in 4.5 years working in close collaboration with the DPNE and four experts working in direct collaboration with the Directors of the five TTCs involved in the project. The duties of the team leader include helping to develop guidelines for the project's implementation and detailing the work plan. According to the implementation plan, the TTC in Bamenda will have a TA throughout the life of the project, those in Garoua and Pitoa separated by some 15 kilometres are assigned to one TA, and, the TTCs of Ngaoundere and Maroua were each to have a TA only for the first two years of the project. They are responsible for ascertaining that the project inputs reach the intended beneficiaries and work in collaboration with the Directors of these colleges on course offerings, teaching materials and on matters relating to teaching practice. They organize and play active roles in the in-service training courses for the targeted groups.

Other technical assistants to be provided by USAID or yet to play specific roles in the project include:

- the construction expert, working within MINEDUC, with the role of ensuring that the construction contract meets USAID require ments and standards was to spend 2.3 years on this task. He is, also to assist in the development of a maintenance and repair programme for the TTCs, and to train Cameroonian staff in this area.

- the administration technical expert assigned to the Division of Planning, Guidance and School Equipment (MINEDUC) to work for five years. He is responsible for the provision of logistic support to the technical assistance team and the procurement of all project commodities.

- the library science expert to put in six months in Cameroon, is in charge of advising on the development of the library system in the TTCs, and to collaborating with the returning trained librarians from the United States to set up library programmes, and to undertake related in-service training programmes;

The group of TAs just mentioned are those involved in the USAID long-term technical assistance scheme. Those involved in short-term technical assistance include:

- an institutional design consultant to put in two months in Cameroon. He is to assist the USAID mission engineer in reviewing construction plans and specifications to meet USAID requirements and standards.

- an evaluation consultant to work in Cameroon for one month at the start of the project with duties to set-up the evaluation design and baseline study system. The evaluator had to work in collaboration with officials from the DPNE and the other USAID officials attached to the project.

The purpose of this activity, is to make certain that as the project evolves, the data required for interim, formative and ultimately summative evaluations will be readily available from project documentation. Indeed, an evaluator arrived in Cameroon and it was expected that by the completion of her first Project tour, between November 18 to December 21, 1985 , she will have prepared the report formats which will subsequently be reflected in future Project reports (Rideout, 1985:45). In addition, she had to determine the data base relevant to the Project's goals. However, for reasons neither obvious to the technical assistants on the field, nor to the Cameroon team working on the project, the evaluator has been changed several times by the USAID office in Washington

(McKenna, 1986:15). By April 1987, the post of evaluator was still vacant, and no systematic evaluation design or baseline study had been undertaken as previewed in the project design.

According to project design an evaluation team composed of five short-term consultants had to spend one month in Cameroon in Year 3, and one month in Year 5 (the last year of the project), to conduct formative and summative evaluation respectively.

7.7 Monitoring and Evaluation Arrangements

7.7.1 Key decision-makers

Various groups are responsible for assuring that the project is being implemented as designed and for solving problems which arise during the course of implementation. At USAID level, there are, the USAID Project Officer, the mission engineer, and the project committee, and at the Cameroon level, are the project implementation committee, the DPNE and the Department of Planning, Guidance and School Equipment, and the PIC.

7.7.2 Monitoring information

Reports of technical experts

Long-term technical experts submit to USAID and to PIC monthly reports with very specific information on project activities and outputs. In addition, the team leader provides a yearly report to USAID and MINEDUC, summarizing and commenting on the activities of the project for the preceding year, listing the project activities for the subsequent year as well as a work plan for each technical assistant.

MINEDUC reports

MINEDUC is supposed to produce regular reports on such issues as the number of students who complete primary school, number of repeaters, drop-out rate, enrolment rates and so on. With this information, an evaluation consultant from the U.S. would then diagnose the MINEDUC information system and determine how it can best serve to provide feedback for project interventions.

Site visits

Information gathering will also involve findings from site visits by members of the USAID technical assistance team and the PIC. The visits will gather information on primary schools, divisional inspectorates, construction activities at the TTCs, in-service training courses, and pre-service training courses.

Reports of the Sub-Committee for In-service training

These are supposed to be quarterly written reports submitted to the PIC, and to USAID on the progress of the development and implementation of the in-service training programmes.

Visit reports of Short-term Technicians

Each short-term technician submits a report to USAID and PIC describing his/her activities and impressions.

Generally, the information collected is to provide fresh data for the USAID project team and the PIC who would meet regularly to discuss matters relating to the performance and remedial action to be brought to the project. In addition, other meetings would be held involving other groups when the necessity arose.

7.7.3 Evaluation strategy

The evaluation component of the project's implementation thus far has mainly comprised asking participants at the end of each seminar what they thought of it (see Annex 2) and quarterly reports drawn up by the TAs and submitted to the USAID mission in Yaounde (project headquarters). Some effort is made to follow up participants after training be the TAs, to see first hand whether they were using a new skills and knowledge gained from the workshops. This is not a routine activity. It serves to identify themes for subsequent workshops. However, the project paper specifies certain components that were built into the project. They are described in terms of evaluation Specific Components, Baseline data, and Designs.

Specific components

These components include:

- the design and implementation of pre- and post tests for participants of all the in-service training programmes, so as to evaluate the success of the training in imparting new skills, and to serve as a feedback mechanism, and

- the design and implementation of a permanent system for evaluating the performance of the divisional inspectors, primary school headmasters, and the TTC staff members.

Baseline data

Baseline data was to be collected on pre-project conditions in order to monitor any changes that could be attributed to

project intervention. The variables to be examined include:

- the quantity of primary education in the Northern and North-West provinces using indicators like enrolment figures, completion rates for primary education, numbers of teachers and teacher training college enrolments,
- the quality of education in these provinces, estimated by determining drop-out rates, relative numbers who pass the first school leaving certificate, and repeater rates,
- teacher performance,
- inspector performance,
- TTC administrative staff performance,
- Headmaster performance,
- TTC staff performance.

Teacher performance for example had to be assessed in various ways. These include:

- the "amounts" of classroom participation, of lecture versus class discussion, of group work and of teaching of concepts;
- the use of lesson plans, the use of local materials and the number of class projects completed;
- the percentage of teacher training college graduates (Gr.II) who pass a Ministry of Public Service competitive examination for upgrading to the level of the Grade I teacher certificate after one year of graduation;
- the percentage of teacher training college graduates who pass qualifying examinations at Grade II level within one year of graduation;
- the percentage of primary school teachers currently in service who pass qualifying exams to become qualified Grade I and Grade II teachers.

The quantity of education

The "quantity of education" in the Northern and North-west provinces were to be assessed using the following indicators:

- number of children who attend primary school in these provinces,
- number of pupils who complete primary school,
- number of primary school teachers,
- teacher training college enrolments.

Quality of education

The "quality of education" in the provinces would be assessed in terms of,

- drop-out rates;
- percentage of pupils who pass the First School Leaving Certificate;
- repeater rates.

Inspector performance was to be measured by such indicators as, the "number of visits to primary schools", the performance of TTC administrative staff, using indicators like "the amount of school maintenance" and the "procurement of school supplies", and the performance of headmasters of primary schools by such indicators as the "number of classroom visits" and "number of staff meetings". (PP, Annex I.4, p.1-3)

Project evaluation designs

After careful assessment of the baseline data, the technical assistants on the USAID team together with MINEDUC officials were to establish realistic targets for determining improvements that could be objectively verified using performance indicators to measure the effects of the in-service

training programmes. This work, carried out during the first year was supposed to prepare the ground for four project evaluations to be carried out during the second, third, fourth and fifth year of the project.

The evaluation to be carried out in the second year was to be strictly formative - "in-house". It had to review the validity of the project design and administrative and organizational arrangements. Those involved were to include the PIC, the USAID project team, evaluation officers and long-term technicians. Conducted as a group process, the assessments were generally to see whether the project activities were leading to desired outputs.

It was planned that during the course of the third year, an evaluation would be carried out by an external evaluator after the second-cycle of in-service training courses. This was to represent a full-scale project evaluation to assess progress to date in the achievement of project objectives. On this basis new targets and changes would be made for the fourth year. During the fourth year, formative evaluation similar to that carried out in the second year would provide insights for the fifth and final year of the project. For the last year of the project, a last evaluation would focus among other things, on further strategies which MINEDUC could adopt to maximize the benefits that could be reaped from the project. Sadly, this aspect of the project, though crucial in its development and expansion, has been most neglected.

7.8 Overview of Project Implementation by April 1987

7.8.1 Year ONE (November 20, 1984 - November 19, 1985): setting up the project

The first year of the project was spent settling in the USC project team (topping up their French, and so on), and setting

Figure 5: Tasks and Milestones for Project Year 1

PROJECT YEAR 1 - 1984-1985

T A S K S	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV
SUPPORT:													
1. USAID-Provided Equip. Vehicles Radios								△		▲ △			
2. GRC-Provided Office Space								▲					
3. Equipment Procurement Contract Award Ship-Receive Installed								▲		xxx xxxxx xxx		▲	
4. Orientations Stateside Field						▲			▲				
PERSONNEL:													
5. Chief of Party									x	xx xxxxx	xxxxx	xx	xx
6. Administrative Officer	x						xx	xxxxx	xxxxx	xxxxx	xxxxx	xxxxx	xx xx
7. Teacher TAs Garoua/Pitoa Maroua Ngaoundere Bamenda								Acting LOP	xxx xxx x	xxxxx x xx xx xxxxx	xxxxx xxxxx xxxxx xxxxx	xxxxx xx xx xxxxx xx xx	
8. Short-Term TAs Inst. Design Consultant Ed. Testing Ed. Administration Library Science Project Evaluator	x										x x x x		
PROJECT ACTIVITIES:													
9. TTC Needs Assessments												xx	xxxxx
10. Quarterly Team Meetings												▲	
11. Reports Quarterly													▲

KEY:
△   Incomplete Event
▲   Complete Event
△ - - Slipped Event
xxxx - - Activity
x - - - - Slipped Activity

Source: SPEP annual report, 1984/85, p.26

up the operational phase. Project activities for the first year only started in earnest in September 1985 (see Figure 5). The dotted lines either show unimplemented activities or changes to the original plan of project activities to be carried out. No pre- testing which was an essential element built into the project was carried out as originally planned.
7.8.2 Year TWO (November 20, 1985 - November 19, 1986)

Training in Cameroon

Pre-service training activities in the TTCs continue much in the same manner as it did before the SPEP intervention. However, the TAs posted to these institutes occupy advisory roles to TTC staff and teacher trainees alike. Depending on the nature of the need identified, training 'could be as short as one hour and as long as a whole day spent between TAs and either individual or groups of teachers as the case may be in the TTCs, among other activities' (Interview, TA - Bamenda, 14'03/1987)

In-service training activities were in the form of 14 seminars organized for primary school teachers, headmasters of primary schools, administrative personnel of TTCs, and the teaching staff of TTCs. Most of these seminars should have been carried out in the first year, but the project started several months late. This delay is blamed on difficulties in installing requisite equipment and putting project personnel in post (McKenna, 1986:1). Seminars take the pattern of plenary sessions, alternated by group discussions in which matters arising in the former are discussed. Group rapporteurs read off group findings, which are then discussed in further plenary sessions. Usually a representative of the Minister of National Education chairs the final sessions leading to the report to be presented to the Minister at the end of the seminar. In all, 94 teachers from the TTCs, 59 administrators from the TTCs, 76 primary school inspectors, 239 primary school headmasters and

390 primary school teachers were exposed to these in-service programmes on themes chosen by the TAs.

Training in the United States

Five Cameroonians left for one-month educational visits in the US on October 12, 1986. Seven candidates were selected to pursue Master's degree courses in the US during that year.

7.8.3   Year THREE (November 20, 1986 - November 19, 1987)

By the end of April 1987, four seminars had been organized for that year:

- Seminar for inspectors, and sub-inspectors (January 13 - 17, 1987); 49 inspectors and sub-inspectors attended,
- Seminars for teachers of TTCs and teachers in schools involved in teaching practice (February 17 - 20, 1987); 220 teachers participated,
- seminar for the administrative staff and Directors of TTCs March 16 - 19, 1987); 32 of them participated,
- seminar for the headmasters of primary schools (public) (March, 23 - 27, 1987; about 200 attended.

When asked how they felt about the progress of the project, the reaction of the TAs was mixed. Interviewed individually, these reactions ranged from a feeling of confidence that the project was "succeeding appreciably and very much in line with the original objectives", to one of uncertainty and even surprise that many aspects of the project had fallen way behind schedule and that it would be idle to describe the trajectory traversed thus far as satisfactory.

This despair is not unconnected with the fact that by April 1987, the crucial aspect of project evaluations and possible reorientations had not been undertaken. These evaluations are

supposed to have been carried out by the project "evaluator" expected to arrive from the United States, but the exact date of his arrival was not known.

Another important drawback was the fact that the papers required to get the construction component of the project started, were seemingly longer to get processed at the relevant services in Cameroon than had been earlier estimated. The construction aspect of the project had not yet started by the end of April 1987.

8   ANALYSIS OF THE SUPPORT TO PRIMARY EDUCATION PROJECT (SPEP) (November 1984 - April 1987)

8.1   Introduction

The SPEP has three main components of activity built into it:

- seminars (in-service training activities) for primary school teachers and the professional groups supporting them (headmasters, divisional inspectors, staff of teacher training colleges);
- a construction component; and
- a training component.

The training component up to April 1987 has consisted of in-country in-service training, and sending ten Cameroonian educationists involved in the SPEP, in two groups of five, to the United States on one-month study tours, which permit them to visit teacher training colleges, primary schools and educational research institutions. Long-term training will entail training 15 Cameroonian educationists involved in the SPEP in university institutions in the United States at the Master's degree level, in library science, curriculum development, educational administration and evaluation (see 7.4). However, selections of candidates for this training had not yet been made in April 1987.

The construction component which was supposed to begin in 1984/85 (see 8.4.4) had not yet started because the requisite documents to begin were still being processed by the Cameroon government.

Thus, the major activity of the SPEP carried out since its inception in 1984 consists of organizing four seminars on a yearly basis, each lasting an average of four days towards the in-service training of the various professional groups just

mentioned above. In the main, the planned activities of the SPEP have fallen seriously behind schedule for various reasons (see 8.4). In fact the activities of the SPEP which are analysed in this study, centre on the institutional development aspects of the project, especially the inter-institutional aspects which reveal how the blueprint of a project tells little about the implementation process. Project implementation requires proper coordination of the project's activities at the project unit level no doubt, but its general performance also depends on the degree of cooperation and support it gets from other institutions in the project environment, on which it depends for various aspects of project implementation.

The activities of the SPEP are limited to the teachers of government (public) primary schools in the provinces concerned with the project. An official in the Ministry of National Education explains that the exclusion of the private sector from the project was due to limited finances - making the intervention especially limiting in the North-West province for example, where more than half the total number of primary schools are run by various religious denominations. The other three provinces of the country are predominantly Muslim, and have more public than private primary schools.

The SPEP aims,

- to increase the quantity and quality of primary school teachers in the Cameroon Northern provinces (Adamaoua, North, and Far North provinces), and the North-West province, and

- to improve upon the skills of the officials responsible for supporting these teachers.

Though the project focuses on the improvement of the "quality" and "quantity" of primary education in the provinces concerned, its wider objective is geared towards human resource development in them. Indeed, the choice by USAID of the SPEP over other development programmes lay in three main reasons:

- GURC investment in primary education was substantial and increasing, but maximum use of these expenditures was hampered by a serious lack in trained teachers and the ineffective manner in which they were trained. USAID imagined that a means to rationalizing the primary education budget could be accomplished through the project's impact on improving the quality and quantity of teachers in the provinces concerned.

- USAID was of the opinion that because the Cameroon government had a strong commitment to formal education, there was little chance that it would fund participation in non-formal programmes to a significant level. However, through the SPEP, the government would benefit from the increased allocative and distributive improvement in the local economy which would result from increased and more relevant education in the provinces concerned (PP, p.50).

- Lastly, USAID saw its planned in-service and expanded pre-service teacher training programmes as complementary to the training programmes that the Cameroon government aimed to carry out at national level (IPAR programmes), towards implementing a more practical curriculum that would better prepare pupils to settle in the country's largely rural milieu (PP, p.53).

The activities of the SPEP are limited to organizing three or four seminars on a yearly basis. For the year November1986 to November 1987, these seminars were organized between February and April 1987 (one in February , two in March and one in

April), each The first part of the following analysis examines the concept of "support" to primary education embodied in the SPEP, and the second part examines project from the intra-, inter-, and extra-institutional development perspectives (2.2.2).

8.2 The SPEP "support" concept in Cameroon Primary School Change

The chief technical assistant or Chief of Party (COP) of the SPEP sees the project's concept of 'support' in the following words:

> We would like to think that we are supporting some things that are already started, and that we can help them, perhaps happen more quickly ... strengthening of things that the Ministry already wants to do .... [B]ecause we will only be here for five years, if we get a lot of things started, like plants, if they don't get their roots very deep, when we go away, they will die .... We have got to support the things the Ministry wants to do, or has already started. We have got to help them get those things firmly established so that when we go away, they will stay .... The Ministry wants our activities to fit into the reform, but if I understand its definition of reform and its plans, innovation is part of reform.
>
> (Interview, COP - Bamenda, 19/03/87)

The concept of 'strengthening' the things the Ministry of Education wants to do, or has already started, indicates that the activities of the project assumes form as the intervention goes along. While it may be easy to understand the logic of exercising caution not to introduce 'a lot of new things' into the system however, it could be argued that being uncertain about what exactly one wants to change, let alone the scale,

makes the activities of the project very diffuse indeed. The clarity of a project's aims is as crucial to its implementation, as it is in making assessments about its performance. Indeed, a project's organization and political skill are essential to its successful implementation, but success ultimately hinges on the soundness of the ideas inspiring it (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1984). It is important to know whether the innovation addresses a real problem. In other words, the question may be asked: what is the intervention supporting ?

Though the SPEP got underway after studies of its "social soundness" indicated that it was feasible and worthwhile (see 8.1), some of the problems being encountered in its implementation are at least partly attributable to the difficulty in understanding the Cameroon government's approach to general educational reform and harmonization in the country. Indeed this difficulty had been earlier expressed by a group of UNESCO experts on the IPAR planned reforms in primary education (e.g., Lallez, 1974:50-51; Epote, 1976:142). In fact, since the SPEP was conceived in 1981, the IPAR projects aiming at Cameroon primary educational change in the country have not taken a definite pattern. Having made this observation however, there is no guarantee however, that a well prepared blueprint for a project will ensure its success, or even an important part of it.

Two other important aspects of the SPEP concern training Cameroonian counterparts in universities in the US who will replace the TAs when they eventually go home, and a construction component, both of which have not started for various reasons to be examined from the three perspectives of institution development adopted for this study, viz; the intra-inter-, and extra-institutional development perspectives.

8.3   The SPEP: An Intra-institutional Development Perspective

The effectiveness of an institution depends very much on the availability of competent staff. The key personnel involved in the implementation of the project so far, are the TAs appointed to the project by the USAID, members of the Project Implementation Committee (PIC) and those of the Sub-Committee for In-service training, representing their Cameroon counterparts.

Although by project design the PIC is supposed to play a significant role in project implementation, it did not meet often. One TA remarked:

> I cannot remember that the PIC has met over the last one year or so. There have been delays .... The project is way behind schedule ... the construction papers have not been signed at the level of your government [of Cameroon] and the selections of suitable candidates for training is also taking longer than expected ....
>
> (Interview, TA - Bamenda, 19/03/97)

According to project design, the Sub-Committee for In-service Training (a sub-committee of the PIC) is supposed to work out the in-service training sessions together with the TAs, but the task of selecting themes and choosing those who present them at these seminars has been largely carried out by the latter.

As a group, the TAs draw up proposals or themes for in-service training workshops, which are then presented to the members of the Sub-Committee for In-service Training for their opinions before each training session. A member of the Sub-Committee for In-service Training explains that this is so because the TAs had relatively more time and travelling facilities than

they had, but added:

> [T]he TAs are doing a good job - the themes they select are all important. There is **very** littel in the way of in-service training going on and any themes that bear on methods of teaching or subject areas that can improve upon their knowledge and skills is all very welcome ... the only problem if any, is that it involves only a relatively few teachers so far .... (Interview, Member of Sub-Committee (inset) - Yaounde, 21/03/87)

In spite of this explanation however, the Sub-Committee for In-service Training is playing a more diminished role than had been previewed in the design of the SPEP. But then it is arguable that there is not a lot going on to warrant very active involvement of the PIC since the projects is experiencing a number of set backs, and in general, the activities have not developed to the scale originally planned. However, since the project does not have a pre-determined content, it would be expected that local visits by the project planning team should constitute part of the continuous planning component of the project. The visits carried out by the TAs and do not seem to be adequate. For example, to expect four TAs in 1986/87 to adequately cover an area about half the size of the country visiting schools, local community leaders, and divisional inspectorates among other groups in the attempt to monitor training needs for teachers on a regular basis, is definitely an immense task and apparently quite unrealistic.

The approach of the SPEP is similar to the training and visit (T& V) system. It is an approach which has been applied first to rural agricultural extension systems (Israel, 1987:178), with the purpose of developing a professional extension service capable of providing farmers in developing countries with technical advice. The emphasis is to communicate to farmers,

relatively simple technical know-how and improved agricultural management practices so that they can increase production and eventually make more efficient use of available inputs, credit, and research. In the SPEP the T&V system concerns the establishment of permanent contact by support staff with teachers before and after pre- and in-service training. To do this effectively, however, will require an allocation far more transport facilities than are provided at the moment for the project. As Israel observes, both the opportunity and the risk are considerable:

> If [in education] the expected benefits are remotely similar to those that have been achieved with agricultural extension, poor countries just cannot afford to turn down this opportunity. Upgrading their education system is an essential ingredient in the modernization process and worth much more than the expense. It could be an extremely productive use of development assistance. (1987:190)

Israel warns that the best way to kill a good idea is to popularize it, get everyone to jump on the bandwagon, and then implement it so badly that it fails. In countries where a lack of commitment is evident, he advises, the programme should be aborted as quickly as possible to avoid further losses (1987:191).

There is no suggestion made in any of the interviews conducted that the TAs largely determine the course of the project while their Cameroon counterparts play only marginal roles thus far, because the latter lacked the basic knowledge and skills needed to carry out similar functions. However, in a World Bank (1985:ii) discussion paper on Institutional Development in Education and Training in Sub-Saharan African Countries, notes

that in Ministries of Education

- the status and reputation of educational management are very low, with external aid agencies (and even governments themselves) failing to give due recognition to the scope and importance of the planning function and to the place of research in development;

- there is lack of qualified specialists in key areas such as financial management and planning, design and implementation of educational development projects, educational administration among other areas;

- available physical infrastructure for the functions of managing the system is generally substandard and essential equipment (e.g. office equipment and vehicles) in short supply or non existent; and

- information resources needed for efficient management and planning (statistical data, library and documentation services) are seriously deficient.

The Cameroon Ministry of National Education is no exception to some of these weaknesses and how they affect the SPEP would be better seen through the project's operational system.

8.4 The SPEP: An Inter-institutional Development Perspective

8.4.1 Some general considerations

The successful implementation of the SPEP depends on the fruitfulness of the collaboration and co-operation between the various bodies involved in project implementation: mainly, the Cameroon government project-related agencies and the USAID technical assistance team.

Individuals within an organization and organizations as units operate in response to incentives or influences, some of which are external to the organization such as the political and cultural environment, and others internal, such as the organizational and the managerial structure (Israel, 1987:48).

The following inter-institutional appraisal of the SPEP examines the pertinence of the project's activities, and assesses whether they are carried out in a manner consonant with the project design. It focuses on both its formal activities and anticipated outcomes, and the informal patterns and unanticipated consequences in the full context of programme implementation and development (Patton, 1978) - an attempt to explain the WHYs and WHEREFORs of the implementation process (Suchman, 1967). In all innovation processes or interventions aiming at change, barriers (Dalin, 1973; Stenhouse, 1975) are not uncommon. In the case of the SPEP thus far, they seem to relate more to practical than to value, power, and psychological conflicts. Hence, the emphasis in this analysis is laid on the aspects of its co-ordination and management.

8.4.2 The selection of project themes

The selection of the training themes and presenters at the SPEP continue to be largely made by the TAs. Judging from their visits to schools, meetings with government officials in education and at times community leaders (e.g. chiefs), TAs individually draw up a collection of themes which they discuss among themselves and decide on those to be presented during the seminars. The Sub-Committee for In-service Training is consulted and they are generally agreeable to the proposals brought to them.

Depending on the trainees, a wide range of themes are presented. The themes include child development, lesson planning, the design and fabrication of teaching aids, and

teaching methods (including team-teaching, micro-teaching, and the use of video-tape recorders among others).

Generally speaking most participants interviewed felt that many themes related well to their professional day-to-day tasks but that they would be better presented by practitioners, rather than people from the central administration who were more used to sitting in offices and were out of touch with the realities of the field, despite the seeming relevance of their initial training and earlier jobs.

Some of the themes were apparently more immediately relevant and practical than others. A tutor of a TTC for example thought that the idea of using video-tape recorders would be useful, but the government was unlikely to provide such equipment while other pressing and less expensive needs like an adequate supply of textbooks, even for staff members, remained problematic.

8.4.3 Pre- and in-service training

A USAID project officer, who is a direct-hire AID employee, is responsible for the overall project administration. According to project design the PIC, together with USAID are responsible for monitoring project activities and for the evaluation of the performance of the project's technical assistance team.

The objectives of pre-service and in-service training of primary school teachers stand out as

> the heart of this project, to which all other outputs are ancillary and to which all inputs lead. Thus the usefulness of libraries, and training for primary school support staff (inspectors, directors, etc.) will be measured by the classroom performance of primary school teachers, in turn measured by the

learning of their students as reflected in standardized examinations and dropout, repetition and promotion rates. (PP, p.23)

The expansion of pre-service training programmes for primary school teachers are supposed to take place at the same time that the TTCs were being expanded. This was to be achieved by the administrative and teaching staff of TTCs working together with the TAs in devising instructional materials and to improve methods of teaching for all the courses. Nothing yet has been done in this direction, and there is and there is little indication that any significant development will take place by the time and project if the project winds up in November 1987 as planned. One TA remarked:

> I do not think we can do a lot in that area. Curricula and examinations are all taken care of centrally in the Ministry of National Education. We advise on things that can help improve practice, but we are limited in what we can do .... This reality does not seem to have been considered thoroughly in the project design ....
>
> (Interview, TA - Bamenda, 17/03/87)

In fact, the length, organization and certification procedures for the pre-service training, had to be sanctioned by the Ministry of National Education on the strength of the joint recommendations of the DPNE, the TAs and the TTCs. The said improvements would include increased and closely supervised teaching practice for the TTC trainees, 'observation' in both urban and rural schools, and improved teaching of practical subjects (domestic science, animal husbandry, and agricultural practices). Also, 'emphasis will be placed on close supervision to assure adherence to the official curriculum' (PP, Annex I, p.4).

However, the concept of change and the idea of 'adherence to the official curriculum' give conflicting signals. No new programme for pre-service training is being drawn or envisaged in the manner originally planned in the SPEP. The official curriculum remains untouched, making it difficult to appreciate what is being changed. Indeed it is hard to imagine how it could have been otherwise, without the change affecting the whole educational system of TTCs in the country, since all curricula are centrally planned rather than proposed by individual TTC Directors or sub-groups of them. In fact the planned SPEP changes do not affect the existing official curriculum per se. There is mention of non-certified practical subjects, and an emphasis on observation and practice teaching, but these do not involve the negotiated certification process mentioned above.

In all, five in-service training sessions were planned for the 1986/87 academic year, each lasting an average of four days. The in-service training sessions were arranged for about 59 inspectors and sub-inspectors, 110 practicing school teachers 140 teacher training college administrators, 400 primary school headmasters, and 130 tutors of TTCs.

Delays in starting the project in its first year (1984/85), and in making available the Cameroon government contribution towards in-service training (Interviews, COP - Yaounde (10/02/87); Yaounde (15/03/87)), has meant that the anticipated target of the groups expected to receive in-service training (approximately 5,260 by end of project) may no longer be attained. Inconsistencies in the project document created difficulties in project implementation. For example, although it was agreed in the contract established between the Cameroon government and the USAID that the grant component of the project funding was going to cover the costs for the in-service training aspect of the project, elsewhere in the project paper (PP, p.34), it is underlined that MINEDUC would pay for the

faculty (the teaching staff) of TTCs and facilities, transport and other costs for the pre- and in-service (PP, p.2), as an indication that such programmes will be sustainable by host country resources.

A Ministry of Education official involved in the SPEP agreed (interview, March 1987) that funds had been budgeted for the project and were going to be disbursed in due course though he could not be certain when. The Chief of Party on the other hand explained that

> the project has had to proceed on a month-by-month basis, with a sole contribution from USAID, ... the seminars are very expensive, paying high-level government officials 25,000 francs per day of per diem, air tickets and hotel bills to put up participants during in-service seminars are exorbitant .... This has had the effect of reducing the number of participants that can attend each seminar ... and unless the Cameroon government comes in [with its quota], if we go away after five years, it is not likely that it will suddenly be able to cope with such expenses .... We need to get that fed into the bloodstream of the Ministry of National Education. (Interview, COP - Yaounde, 15/03/87)

8.4.4 The SPEP construction component

In April 1987, the construction aspect of the project that was supposed to start in the first year (1984/85) had not yet begun because the relevant documents for realising this aspect of the project were still being processed. Indeed, Rideout (1985:2), COP for the first year of the project, underlined that

> it is critically important that construction be completed not only within the life of the five-year

project, but that new construction and renovations be
timed to correspond with the return of the long-term
participants from their master's degree programs in
the United States. Those individuals will be vested
with the responsibility of assuming project
activities from the TAs and thus for perpetuating the
Project outputs and purposes in the expanded and
fully functioning TTC facilities. It is commendable,
therefore, that the government of Cameroon and USAID
are working hard to resolve the circumstances
delaying construction.

Of all the project components, the construction aspect involved
many cross-checking details to be carried out by both USAID and
Cameroon government officials. These complex arrangements are
likely to have contributed to slowing down the implementation
of this aspect of the project. In fact the position of U.S.
project architect was deleted and the TA involved returned to
the U.S. in January 1987.

Through the services of a U.S. Educational Facilities Planning
firm, USAID had to work out with the department in charge of
construction in MINEDUC, to present to MINEQUIP, a thorough
description of its needs for the five TTCs. To ensure that
stated construction needs would be met, the Construction
Service, together with MINEQUIP, USAID, and an American
architect, were to review each stage of the architectural and
engineering work, through design, development and final
submission for approval. Indeed, MINEQUIP, the Construction
Service, and USAID were to jointly approve final bid documents
before the advertisement of construction plans for bidding, and
evaluate the bids together with a panel at the Presidency
(where contracts are processed). After the selection of
contractors, the construction aspect of the project would then
be left to MINEQUIP to oversee its implementation (PP, p.20).

With hindsight, it is conceivable that these rather complex arrangements could have been completed before the technical assistants were engaged in the project, and before the 'long-term' Cameroonian participants had been sent to the United States. There is a considerable literature on the problems of public administration at the sub-national level in implementing plans. Indeed, there could be any number of reasons to explain why delays occur. Lyons (1985:95) observes, that 'delays become greater where educational projects have an international component and decision-making acquires an inter-continental dimension.' Learning how to cope with these intricacies in foreign technical assistance will constitute an important step in future efforts in institutional development in Cameroon.

8.4.5 Project monitoring

"Improvement" implies that after an initial assessment at a point in time, A, certain behavioural or other desirable traits or qualities should be observed at another point, B, as a result of an intervention or training programme. Without a systematic form of assessment, the effects of an intervention programme would remain highly conjectural.

The PP spells out provisions for elaborating, implementing and monitoring the various components of the project (see, sections 7.6, 7.7) but they have not been closely adhered to in project implementation. According to the project design, the Sub-Committee for In-service Training is responsible for designing and implementing pre- and post-tests for participants of all the in-service training programmes, and to evaluate the success of the training. Also, it has to devise a system to track participants after in-service training to assess the effects of training on their job performances. However, this system was going to be institutionalized by MINEDUC eventually as the

project progressed. In the PP, it is noted that

>since educational evaluation is such a highly developed discipline, an education consultant with expertise in evaluation will spend a minimum of one month in Cameroon at the outset of the project to perfect the evaluation system. (PP, Annex I.4, p.1)

In April 1987 the project had not yet benefited from the services of the evaluation expert to be hired by USAID. He had not set up such a system at the beginning of the project, nor had he made a number of scheduled visits. No official involved in the project at field level (TAs and their Cameroon counterparts) knew exactly when the said expert would arrive.

However, though no testing was being carried out as envisaged in the project design, the Chief of Party was not convinced about its usefulness of evaluating an intervention like the SPEP:

>USAID has a model for evaluating projects - and their model is based on agriculture and health. They want to count the number of children who were in school when the project started in the North, and a year later, they want to know that there are 30 per cent more children in school than when we started. I keep saying to them, you can do that in agriculture.   If you use better seeds in two years you could get a better yield.   But education is a social science enterprise.   But they [USAID] just want to see an input - output measure ....
>
>(Interview, COP - Yaounde, 10/02/87)

On the one hand it could be argued, and rightly too, that it is difficult, if not impossible to quantify fairly accurately what a participant takes away from a seminar. But if there is no

system to ascertain project benefits, then it is equally difficult to estimate its worthwhileness.

Nevertheless, some effort is made by TAs to assess the value of in-service training. At the end of each in-service training session participants are given evaluation forms to record their impressions of the sessions just completed (see Annex 2). Though some effort is made to follow-through participants in the field after in-service training to see whether they are practising any ideas picked up from the workshops, the 'evaluation forms' just mentioned represent the main feedback mechanism employed in the project so far. The members of the Sub-Committee for In-service Training are not involved in these assessments.

Generally speaking, the number of people covered by the in-service training sessions for all the targeted groups (primary school teachers, TTC academic and administrative staff, divisional inspectors) are few compared to the clientele in the field. As the COP has indicated above, the in-service training sessions are also quite expensive. The TAs are generally of the opinion that it is improbable that the Cameroon government would continue organizing SPEP in-service training in the same manner at the end of the project as a result of the immense costs involved. This fact necessitates a re-examination of the project's potential as a means to render the Cameroon educational system more cost-effective, its real worth as an approach to human resource development, and its cost-benefit arguments.

8.5   The SPEP: An Extra-institutional Development Perspective

8.5.1 Human resource development

Improvements in primary education were seen by USAID as an approach to human resource development in the provinces concerned, since it was maintained that the Cameroon government would be more favourable to funding a programme in formal than in non-formal education (PP, 7). Moreover, it subscribed to the view that with increased primary schooling, the agricultural productivity of farmers in rural areas also increased accordingly (World Bank, 1979). It is mainly this probable correlation between increased agricultural productivity with improved and more opportunities in primary education that persuaded the USAID to fund the SPEP (PP, pp.7-8).

It is a link strongly upheld by proponents of programmes in "basic education". In various ways such programmes are designed to teach primarily rural children and youth the basic knowledge considered to be relevant to their everyday lives. It is close to Unesco's "fundamental education" concept which Coombs (1973) describes in terms of 'minimum essential learning needs' for rural children and youth. These needs vary according to the conditions in a country and even between regions within one country (Colclough and Hallak, 1975). In the SPEP construction plans for the TTCs, kitchens were to be built to handle aspects of domestic science and workshops for handicrafts. These would provide the necessary facilities to train in the practical skills which teacher trainees would have to pass on to the pupils in the field. However, the provision of facilities is one thing and having sustainable programmes is yet another. In the TTC of Pitoa, for example, a TA remarks,

that

> with only 15 students enrolled in 1986/87 in a
> college supposedly built to handle about 150
> students, they had enough space to practice
> agriculture, but were generally not interested,
> because it did not count in their exams. They were
> not motivated at all ....
> (Interview, TA - Yaounde, 08/04 87)

There exist studies which proxy the effects of both the form
and the content of primary education with various levels of
sophistication, and in general, between only weak relationships
between years of primary schooling and levels of agricultural
productivity emerge (e.g., Heijnen, 1968). However, though
evidence from other studies show a strong link between primary
schooling and levels of productivity, the results from most
studies would be consistent with the hypothesis that many
variables can affect agricultural output. This makes it rather
important to rationalize whether or not primary schooling
contributes to agricultural productivity and under what
conditions it can do so (Colclough and Hallak, 1975).

In fact, depending on the extent to which social rates of
return can be rigorously estimated, Colclough and Hallak
(1975:8) argue that though they seem to be higher for primary
than post-primary schooling, private rates of return in most
cases, reveal the opposite pattern. Indeed, they believe that
if one is really to affect the present regional, economic and
class privileges endemic in existing educational systems, by
the implementation of an alternative approach, one ought to
take account not only of equality of access to the system, but
also of equality of social and economic opportunities arising
after leaving it (1975:9). This would imply a more radical
change in the current distribution of educational facilities
than can be provided by a project like the SPEP.

In fact (Little, 1986:15) observes that in the literature on basic needs, agriculture, and unemployment, education is not always cited as a key determinant of low productivity at work or lack of work. A large number of other factors are emphasized, making it necessary for debates to be carried out on current concepts linking job creation and job productivity, and, exploring the theme of 'learning' and 'working' rather than 'educating' and 'employing' (1986:27).

8.5.2 The SPEP and cost-benefit analysis

All forms of investment involve a sacrifice of present consumption in order to secure future benefits in the form of high levels of output or income. Education is universally known today as a form of social or private investment in human beings which contributes to a country's wealth by increasing the productive capacity of its people (Woodhall, 1970). The rate-of-return is the type of cost-benefit analysis most frequently applied to education. Thus, the term 'cost-benefit analysis' applied to the SPEP, implies a systematic comparison of the magnitude of the costs incurred for its implementation and the benefits derived from it. This is taken as an index to assess its economic profitability.

However, cost-benefit analysis concentrates upon the investment aspects of education and upon its measurable economic benefits. The possibility of employing such analysis to determine the rate of return of the SPEP had been examined and rejected in the project design for a number of reasons. The argument advanced in the PP was that the necessary up-to-date data were not available and 'no attempt has ever been made to estimate the rate of return to primary or any kind of education in the country' (PP, p. 47). Secondly, the project was designed to affect a variety of factors which influence the internal efficiency of the entire system of primary education in the two

provinces. Therefore, presumably, the intended benefits were likely to be too diffused to measure and to express in monetary terms.

Though the long-term benefits ascribed to the project are direct economic gains for those taught in the schools, the project creates necessary but not sufficient conditions for realizing them, since many of the factors leading to such gains are not within the control of the project. However the confidence placed on such benefits is reinforced by what USAID sees as evidence of the government's 'commitment to a regionally-based economic development strategy' (PP, p.49).

In fact little progress has been made in identifying and measuring external benefits to education, particularly in developing countries (Woodhall,1970; Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1986). For the moment, no techniques exist yet for measuring external benefits, and they can only be assumed to be positive. Cost-benefit analysis asks the question, "how do we value an educational innovation ?" To answer the question, we need to know the answer to a prior one: What impact does a particular innovation have ?

The classical scientific response to questions of causal impact is the experiment, but there is growing recognition that both the practical and moral difficulties with controlled experimentation with regard to most significant social science questions make it either impossible to do, or invalidate its results in terms of their application to policy in an uncontrolled world (Cohen and Garet, 1975; Weiler, 1979). Papagiannis, Klees and Bickel (1982:271) explain that 'the invisible hand of theory bears no relation to the invisible boot of reality', for, in the evaluation of educational innovations, cost-benefit only has meaning to evaluate some aspect of system equity, by comparing the monetary returns to

different groups, not some non-existent consensus of social efficiency.

While it is generally accepted that education generates external benefits, it is less obvious that, for example, higher education yields more indirect benefits than primary schooling. As we saw in the preceding section, studies have revealed conflicting findings about the link between increased primary schooling and agricultural productivity. A way to have ascertained some of the benefits in a project like the SPEP would have been through the establishment of a vigorous in-built evaluation system to provide constant feedback for remedial action. Unfortunately, as indicated above, this aspect of the project has not developed thus far.

The problems of planning and design in any project are crucial. Israel (1987) remarks that almost obsessive attention is placed on this aspect of projects compared with the relatively minor emphasis placed on the complexities of the project implementation process. Major break-throughs to achieve progress are expected to be made by the right political and professional support at the right time. He argues that the thing to note about people-oriented activities (including primary education) is that they are of low specificity and are non-competitive.

> The real intellectual challenge will be to design solutions to these activities without simply copying those that have worked with high-specificity ones. Several biases will have to be overcome, such as the tendency to assume that progress will be made merely by introducing partial organizational improvements and a few management techniques or on concentrating on the quantifiable aspects of an operation and on planning and design instead of on implementation. (1987:115-116)

It is in principle easy to implement the construction aspect of the SPEP according to design even though this component of the project is dragging, but the 'low specificity' training aspect is more difficult and less certain in return. For the SPEP design team to have stipulated quantifiable measures to assess the training achieved, and the benefits derived from a couple of seminars organized once a year for each professional group over an average duration of four days, was definitely too ambitious, if not unrealistic.

With primary education however, essentially a low specificity activity, design, planning and implementation tend to coincide or at least to overlap in time, because institutions and circumstances change constantly. Because of the complexity of the forces at play in the implementation phase, it would be necessary to set up procedures which permit a redefinition of objectives and methods as implementation progresses, and knowledge and experiences accumulate.

8.5.3   The SPEP and the "access" and "quantity" argument: a mismatch ?

The question of access can be interpreted along inter-regional and intra-regional dimensions. A clear understanding is necessary of how selections are made for training and the deployment of teachers after training. The fact that a government TTC is located at point A, at one extreme of the country, does not prevent a candidate from another extreme, B, from being enrolled, and later being posted to work at yet another point, C. In principle, any citizen in any part of the country is by Cameroon law free to enrol in any of its public institutions of learning. However, the intra-regional problem of access is more complex, than is the inter-regional one.

In a survey conducted in north Cameroon (Adamaoua, North and Far North Provinces), for example, Martin (1973) indicated that ethnic groups in developing zones (e.g., the Mountang) benefit more from schooling than those in remote areas where the infrastructure is rudimentary and where schools are few and far between. Eliou (1976:561-562) reveals that in north Cameroon, whereas farmers constitute 86.5 per cent of the population, they only provide 68.6 per cent of the secondary school pupils, while 14.52 per cent of the pupils in these schools are brought in by civil servants and executives in the modern sector who account for 4.2 per cent of the population. Indeed, social classes which have come into being due to the process of differentiation launched by colonization tend in many cases to become crystallized through access to education.

In spite of the immense increase in primary education in Cameroon that has occurred between 1980 and 1983, representing an annual growth rate of 4.3 per cent and an increase in absolute numbers of 185,000 (World Bank, 1988:125), there is little research (e.g. Martin, 1978) in the country which addresses the issue of access. One cannot talk of selection in the primary school solely in terms of access since this is highly related to the important issue of grade repetition and drop-out. In this connection, Foster (1980:208) argues that if it is assumed that measures of the parental backgrounds of pupils are reasonably valid, then it is clear that in a typical African country, access to the earliest levels of schooling - as well as rates of repetition and drop-out - are broadly correlated with socio-economic background.

Consequently, considering the prevailing high wastage rates, pupils who complete a full primary school course will not be entirely representative of local populations in general. In rural areas, the more successful pupils will already be disproportionately drawn from families whose household heads have sources of non-farm income, and whose level of education

is above the average of the local adult population. Furthermore, the contextual effects like the aggregate social and economic characteristics of districts and regions (the extent of non-farm activities, and the general availability of land resources), exert a powerful independent impact on rates of enrolment and attrition.

Foster (1980) observes that a number of independent studies carried out in Africa reveal that repetition and attrition are apparently not related to specifically educational variables. As a major corollary to this observation:

> The quality of the teaching force, the school facilities, the 'right' curriculum, etcetera, do not seem to make much difference, ... talk about 'spending more money on the schools', however desirable this may be for other reasons, will not have much effect on the problem of attrition. The variables affecting this phenomenon are largely exogenous to the schools themselves and are not easily manipulable. (Foster, 1980:210)

Though disparities do exist as a result of pupil and district socio-economic characteristics, primary schooling is by no means the preserve of the privileged in Cameroon. However, the effects of overt selection through entry exams into secondary schools which absorb less than 40 per cent of the eligible cohort for post-primary education (i.e. passed their primary school leaving certificates and the government entrance examination into secondary schools), only magnify the disparities in formal schooling, which will remain a self-fulfilling prophecy if "improvements" at this level do not address these grass-root phenomena of inequality in educational provision and social-class differentiation.

A remedy tried before SPEP in the Northern regions of Cameroon, the least scholarized in the country, is that of incentive planning, and the provision of selective assistance. It may seem more desirable than a macro-educational concern with "targets" but such an approach is not without its own problems. The TTCs of Maroua and Ngaoundere ENIAs, were particularly built to provide a three-year course for students who held the primary school certificate, leading to the equivalent of the teacher's Grade II certificate, as compared to intakes requiring a minimum pass at the General Certificate of Education (GCE) "O" levels for a two-year programme for similar institutions in the rest of the country.

Arguments for incentive planning and selective assistance are linked with those of equity in educational opportunity (Chau, 1985). However, efforts to reduce inequalities raise different problems. For example, the limitations on resources as well as the capacity of absorption of the labour market do not allow for societal demands to be satisfied in their entirety, making selection which is at the heart of the problem of equity necessary. But, it is particularly delicate to organize this selection, since the resentment of unequal access is exacerbated by the fact that the distribution of scarce places determines to a large extent, subsequent access to privileged positions in society. Selection, it may be argued, can be acceptable only if its criteria seem to give all candidates an equal chance - by which concept is understood, adopting a flexible selection mechanism, which does not abandon the criterion of intellectual aptitude, but explicitly seeks the equal representation of all groups by the application of quotas 'with more or less rigour, on the basis of regional or social origin' (Chau, 1985:98).

Improved geographical distribution of schools is an essential step towards solving this problem, but in so doing, places may be awarded to children with results much inferior to those

achieved in more educationally advanced regions. Similarly, those in the latter zones may argue that their legitimate interests, are being sacrificed to redress imbalances for which they are not responsible (Gould, 1974:374-387). Apparently, such a solution to the problem of equal access does not appear to be totally satisfactory and only shows how difficult it is to implement a policy for the reduction of inequalities.

8.5.4 The SPEP: potential in Cameroon primary school change

The SPEP as a catalyst in harmonization

There are few educational programmes in Cameroon at the moment, which are purposely designed to bring together professional groups in primary education in the two educational traditions in the country, to discuss their problems and approaches towards thinking about improving the quality of education at this level. The SPEP provides such an opportunity. One headmaster in Bamenda noted when the researcher asked him what he thought he had gained from the seminar that just ended:

> We need these meetings. How can we go on guessing what is happening on the other side [educational tradition] and talk about seeking a common education system. I am sure there are a lot of things which we can learn from each other, especially in school administration, discipline and actual teaching classrooms. It may not be happening now but these children are mixed at the univerity where they should have the same exposure to learning styles ... We need opportunities like these and regular meetings of some sort to air our views. Writing of querries through the administrative route [hierarchy] to the higher authorities and waiting for answers can be long and mistaken for complaining unnecessarily ....
>
> (Interview, headmaster - Bamenda, 19/03/1987)

During the implementation of the SPEP, the same themes are presented to both anglophone and francophone professionals of the same category (e.g. headmasters, divisional inspectors) and at times in joint sessions. According to the design of the SPEP, it was expected that,

> standardization of the primary curriculum will enable each TTC to teach the same course. At the beginning of the project the technical advisers will work with the TTC Directors, staff, and faculty to organize the training programs. By the end of the project, the TTC staff and faculty will be in charge of the programme with supplementary teaching help from personnel of DPNE, the GIP, and the IPAR. (PP, Annex I, p.3)

One would deduce from this, that the SPEP must have been designed on the assumption that the IPAR planned reforms were either very imminent or were going to be implemented before the SPEP would begin. Unfortunately, the latter has not materialized.

Nevertheless, any change agents involved in any innovation programmes in Cameroon would need to have an intimate knowledge of the inherent differences that exist in the two educational traditions in the country in order to adopt approaches which seek to dissolve these barriers towards meeting the more long-term national objectives of achieving a harmonized and better quality Cameroon school. The harmonization of the two educational traditions in the country is not a preoccupation of the SPEP, but strategies that do not take sufficient account of the realities of the change environment are bound to be limiting. Unfortunately, there is very little available literature on comparative studies in the two educational

traditions in the country, on which a visiting expert on a short-term stay could base his decisions.

Interviews with the TAs revealed that it was largely assumed that the training needs of educational professionals in both educational traditions were fairly the same (pre-service training, teaching methodologies and even the ethos of the school), whereas these differences do exist and are at the very roots of the problems of change. Since the project is on-going, it is probable that as the reality in the field unfolds, approaches adopted in the project will be adjusted accordingly.

The SPEP and "quality" and "quantity" improvements

Since the 1960s parents, politicians, employers and educationists in general have expressed increasing dissatisfaction with contemporary schooling, both in terms of its instructional processes and products. These are reflected in cries of general 'falling standards', and primary school graduates lacking basic skills in numeracy and literacy. However, in Cameroon, these cries have not been met with an equally vigorous effort to improve the quality of teaching in schools, especially with reference to improving teacher training through in-service training courses for teachers in the field, which are literally non-existent. This lack is especially significant at the primary level, where more than half of the teaching force is still underqualified.

On this score, the SPEP provides an important contribution in this area, no matter how small the contribution may be. Its cost-benefit arguments are developed elsewhere (see 8.5.2). As discussed above, the SPEP's concern for quality and quantity in primary educational provision relate to the efficiency with which inputs into the educational process are used in providing desired educational outcomes. Quantitatively, it estimated measuring this, by counting the number of primary school

graduates leaving school each year, and qualitatively, by the gains in cognitive achievement. However, though it is not clear in the project design how cognitive improvements will be measured since no testing of pupils is involved, neither of these initial project concerns constitutes part of the SPEP activities thus far.

A World Bank study of possible measures for improving the quality of primary education, in sub-Saharan Africa (1988:4-5), provides two broad conclusions:

- that the safest investment in educational quality in most countries is to make sure that there are enough books and supplies. These materials are effective in raising test scores and, almost invariably, are under-funded currently relative to teachers' salaries. Other possibilities for improving quality are found in school feeding and health programmes, in-service education for teachers in subject matter, and stronger systems of inspection and supervision;

- that some investments are not likely to have a noticeable effect on primary school quality despite their potential high costs. These investments include the provision of more than minimal exposure of teachers to pedagogical theory, constructing high quality buildings, and introducing televisions and computers in classrooms.

Indeed the study adds that there is little likelihood that significantly reducing unit recurrent costs at the primary level in developing countries would improve the quality of education. In Cameroon the gross national primary school enrolment ratios were 104 and 108 for 1980 and 1983 respectively and the average annual growth rate was 4.3 per cent for that period (World Bank, 1988). Innovation inputs based on solid research are needed in approaching the problems

of Cameroon primary educational change, especially considering that in sub-Saharan Africa as a whole,

> even with no quality improvements (and assuming no improvements in efficiency) the resources devoted to the primary level would need to increase more than 3 per cent a year just to keep pace with population growth (World Bank, 1988:5)

The Bank underlines six main areas that affect educational quality: the training and use of teachers (reviewed under the heading of class size, teacher training and teacher morale); instructional materials; school buildings and facilities; the language of instruction; the nutrition and health of children; and a strong examination system.

The SPEP thus far, is apparently limited in its bid to bring about the planned quality and quantity in primary education in the provinces concerned. It is mainly concerned with only an aspect of one of these themes (in-service training), though the building component of the project is yet to start.

The SPEP and the prospect of continuity

Many innovation projects lose steam and begin to decline after the phase of initial development involving foreign technical assistance is concluded (e.g. the IPAR projects).

The prospects of continuing the activities of the SPEP, depend on two main factors: the availability of sufficient funds to sustain such activities at the end of the project, and providing nationals with the relevant training to continue performing the roles of the visiting experts.

Indeed provision had been made to train Cameroonians in the U.S. to return in time to replace the TAs before the

contracted phase of the project came to an end. It was expected that fifteen Cameroonians would complete Master's degrees in the U.S.: twelve in educational administration and management and three in library sciences. In fact the candidates to be trained were yet to be selected during the course of the third year of the project. Delays admit to disagreements between USAID and MINEDUC concerning the suitability of candidates chosen by the latter, as the best indicated for training.

The diminished role played by the PIC and the Sub-Committee for In-service Training and the near total dependence on the TAs to determine the course of the project thus far, are not positive signals for the continuation of project activities when the latter would have left. The increased involvement of national counterparts in the project on the other hand, at least partly depends on the financial resources available and even more importantly, on the ability of the Cameroon government to absorb the financial costs at the end of the project - a prospect which the TAs think, would only be likely with greater Cameroon government responsiveness to meeting up its financial commitments to the project as scheduled.

Though USAID sees the financial capacity of the Cameroon government and its promptness in observing its contractual obligations in project implementation as a determining factor in the performance of the project, it recognizes the fact that this will depend on the performance of the country's economy, since the latter influences the budgetary allocation made to the education sector. Furthermore, USAID underlined that 'one of the largest question marks in regard to the project's success', would depend on management and administrative reforms within MINEDUC, which had to be a matter to be initiated by the Cameroon government (PP, p.52). There is no radical shift in the management and administrative practice in MINEDUC since the SPEP was initiated. Nevertheless, innovation projects should

in principle work towards desirable change in the macro-system rather than make demands on the latter which are more difficult to achieve as a pre-condition for their success.

Through the SPEP, USAID 'seeks to establish a primary education system as a sound basis for general economic and social development in the North and North-West provinces, for eventual replication in other areas of Cameroon, as well as Africa' (PP, p.15) - a prospect which can only be fully appreciated at the end of the project in 1989.

8.6 A Summary Overview of the SPEP in April 1987

A number of observations could be made of the performance of the SPEP towards the end of its third year:

1. The objectives of the project are not clear-cut. The nature of the improvements to be effected are determined on as-you-go-along basis. Without a proper programme with specific operational objectives the contribution of the SPEP intervention thus far, is quite diffuse and difficult to ascertain especially since the built-in evaluation programme previewed during project design is not yet implemented.

2. The strategies adopted thus far, have given little thought to the inherent differences in the two educational traditions in the country. The approach to harmonization and reform is not treated as deciding and guiding concepts behind the intervention. In the effort to harmonize and promote bilingualism, the Chief of Party explains, ' we alternated the lectures, the one in French and the next one in English, during seminars involving people from the two cultures ... also we adopted the method of using interpreters' (Interview, COP - 16/03/87). The use of interpreters is essential to ease or enable

communication between francophone and anglophone Cameroonians attending the same SPEP seminars, but it could be idle to imagine that this is a contribution per se, towards the harmonization of the country's two educational traditions at that level.

3. It may be argued, that because the IPAR planned reforms which the SPEP was going to "support" have not taken off, its contribution may not be as fruitful as had been hoped.

4. Finally, the US technical experts have played a determining role in shaping the SPEP thus far, with the nationals occupying largely complementary or subsidiary roles. This situation is not very favourable for continuity when the TAs eventually leave in another year and a half. For the past year preceding the period when field work was being carried out on the project, the PIC had not met.

5. Though not explicitly stated as one of the aims of the SPEP, it serves as useful vehicle to bring together professionals at different levels in the two educational traditions in the country, and across traditional ministerial boundaries (e.g., MINEDUC, MESRES), to share views and have discussions on how to approach some of the many problems faced in harmonizing and effecting change in the country's educational system.

9 EDUCATION AND CHANGE IN CAMEROON:
Towards Future Innovation Projects

9.1 Cameroon Educational Change: towards better quality schools

9.1.1 Towards better quality Cameroon schools: the concept

The IPAR experience has been described as 'one of the most ambitious educational experiments' (Yembe, 1985:625) 'aimed not only at introducing a heavy dose of practical work into the curriculum, but also, at making the school and its teachers catalysts of rural development' (Yembe and Kale, 1980). Nevertheless, it is yet largely unknown by most Cameroon primary school teachers, despite its nineteen years of existence. The IPAR and SPEP projects however, all aim at quality improvements in Cameroon schools, making it useful to develop on what such improvements should or could represent.

Generally speaking, in the educational system of any country in the world, there is a continuous preoccupation with adapting it to the changing needs of the society it serves. In Cameroon, the concept of adaptation assumes two major dimensions: the one referring to a synthesis of a common educational system from the two educational traditions in the country (see 9.2) – harmonization; and the other, continually seeking quality improvements in the existing and evolving educational structures to meet the changing needs of the Cameroonian society.

The Cameroon government reform policy of **ruralization** suggests an adaptation of school curricula to reflect the needs of a typically agricultural country. However, the problem of providing better quality schools encompasses providing curriculum content of relevance to human and environmental needs and conditions. The concept of **quality** includes such

relevance, efficiency in meeting set goals, and the very 'pursuit of excellence' (Hawes and Stephens, in press) - a process perspective which evokes the active participation of those involved in the day-to-day experience of teaching and learning in schools.

Efficiency refers to the best use of available resources (human and material) to improve standards, while **relevance** here, refers to local community and national needs. However, it is important to note that in identifying need for example, value judgements have to be made. Thus, the person who defines and who decides, influences what is chosen and when it is achieved. This is true for quality improvements in schools, which are as much about products as they are about processes.

In order to implement change effectively however, requires that the decision-maker should have a critical understanding of what is to be changed, and to ascertain himself that the result of the change will be improvements on a previous situation. Researchers have a determining role to play here. Unfortunately, educational research in Cameroon is scanty and comparative studies on aspects of teaching and learning in the two educational traditions in the country are virtually non-existent. There is very little available educational literature in Cameroon which bears directly upon the nature of the daily teaching task or upon the effectiveness with which men and women are prepared for the profession (Tosam, 1980:105). More research needs to be directed to what is happening at the chalkface.

In implementing quality improvements in schools, it is important to draw the line between what is feasible in the existing constraints, and what is desirable. As we have seen above, improving the quality of primary education for example, includes the relevance of the content of syllabuses, efficiency in the management process (see 9.3.3) (including setting and

measuring of standards of achievement), and facilitating the acquisition of crucial learning materials like **text** books, and so on. In fact, the **content guide** (official **syllabus**) is of relatively less significance than the **content learnt.** A more embracing concept of educational content should encompass the sum of different subjects taught in school at a particular level. Quality in educational practice is critically dependent on the way learning experiences are transmitted.

The most significant change in Cameroon educational development for nearly two decades now, has been in increases in enrollment figures at all level of the educational system. This increase however, only indicates that there is progress towards more children meeting minimum literacy and numeracy needs. Percentages of increase in enrollment do not give us a precise account for example, of the access per se to education of the different social classes in the social stratum, nor do they tell us anything about the efficiency of schools and the relevance of the content of education imparted in them. To effect educational change however, requires a change agent and his effectiveness is determining in this process (see 4.3.1).

9.1.2 Towards better quality Cameroon schools: a change agent perspective

In order to bring about quality improvements in schools, the teacher is at the centre of action. Being at the chalkface, he is the real implementer of educational change in schools. His education and training (pre- and inset), and the logistic support he receives in his career (situation in situ) are all crucial to his performance as a **good** teacher - a concept explored further below.

Problems of educational change in Cameroon in various areas (curricula, teacher education, administration, and evaluation) are complicated by the differences in the two educational

traditions in the country. For example, perspectives to teacher education in Cameroon largely differ according to educational tradition. The teacher training contents may be made the same, but the traditional approaches to teacher education and training differ. These differences are reinforced by language barriers which separate similar institutions according to educational tradition. The annex of the ENS at Bambili in Bamenda (North West province), for example, is staffed by anglophones preparing teachers for anglophone secondary schools, while ENS-Yaounde is staffed by francophones in the main, and the majority of teachers it prepares are francophone to teach in francophone secondary schools. Similarly, there are ENIAs and ENIs staffed by anglophone teacher educators who train primary school teachers specifically for anglophone schools, and others, staffed exclusively by francophone teacher educators, who train primary school teachers specifically for francophone schools.

Trends in recent years in Cameroon towards implementing common teacher training programmes however, are not linked to quality arguments. Common programme contents do not imply that common approaches to teaching will ensue automatically in the two educational traditions. As we have seen above, the orientations to teacher education differ in the two educational traditions (e.g., the importance of the Science of Education for teacher training, relatively more emphasized in the anglophone than in the francophone educational tradition). Nevertheless, change thus far, has witnessed the shortening the Grade II and Grade I teacher training courses formerly adopted in anglophone TTCs, to correspond in duration and content to the ENIA and ENI programmes adopted for francophone TTCs. In fact, in anglophone Cameroon today, teacher training colleges for the primary school level are more appropriately called ENIAs and ENIs.

This change in programmes however, has provoked a cry of <u>fallen standards</u> in teacher education, alluded to by all the anglophone research participants interviewed on their views on the quality of contemporary practice in teacher education in the country. Seemingly, these cries are far from euphoric. As one headmaster in Buea remarked:

> It is a pity this new generation of crash-course teachers are unable to teach children effectively. It is the training today .... For example, they start teaching the children the alphabet in Class One [first year of primary school] by writing on the board, and asking them at that age to copy in an exercise book. The idea of the **sand tray** in class for children to practice writing on is gone. When I insist on having one [provided] in the class, they are not happy. They say that is the education [training] they received at the "ENI/ENIA" (TTCs), ... that I am of the old stock, and ask for too much work for the same pay like colleagues in other schools .... Yet the children learn little. They are forced to repeat almost every class, and then drop out of school. Before too long, these teachers write "concours" [public service competitive examinations] and are out of the profession to less demanding jobs with better pay or obtain a transfer.... Standards have fallen so badly, that though offering the same certificates, the missions [in anglophone Cameroon] have decided to continue to teach longer courses in their TTCs, than [do] the government [public] ones .... Go to all well-to-do homes, in addition to teaching in schools, parents have private teachers for their children, otherwise they are doomed to fail at school ....
>
> (Interview - Headmaster-Buea, 04/04/87)

Interviews with francophone teachers and administrators of TTCs rallied at Bamenda in March 1987 for a SPEP seminar, revealed that the practice of the "repetiteur", or the supplementary teacher at home, was a commonplace practice among the francophone public too. This in effect reveals a national dimension to the problem of poor quality teaching in schools. The concepts of good teachers and good quality teaching tend to reflect the way the user sees and understands the teaching profession. Indeed, criteria for teacher education are largely intuitive distillations of common expectations within a culture, about what teachers are and what they should be (Lynch and Plunkett, 1973). Anglophone and francophone Cameroonians will need to bring together the resourceful insights derived from the two educational experiences in the country, towards training more effective teachers.

Reverting to the question of quality per se, these differences in perception not withstanding, teachers are set in certain ways through training, but they have to be malleable, in the sense that they should be responsive to change, and to adopt practices that are in harmony with the realities of the environments in which they teach. The maxim that 'teachers are born not made' does not help much in thinking about improved practices in teacher training. In teaching, problems have to be acted upon in such a way that as their nature change, a new course of action is also necessary. In fact, a teacher who can apply effective approaches to new situations is better of than one who has been inadvertently trained to try to make new situations fit old approaches. Teacher training should emphasize the process of learning, rather than the substantive content per se. Indeed, it should be seen as training for the art of the possible, while curriculum development should be seen as the art of keeping afloat. Waring suggests that such

"art" can be developed and extended:

- by encouraging teachers to reflect critically and constructively upon their practice with a readiness to look for their mistakes;
- by building up a body of theory which is rooted in the real world of practice; and
- by ensuring for teachers the conditions under which imagination and skill can be combined with knowledge to improve the quality of teaching and learning. (1979:270)

In other words, the teaching/learning atmosphere should reflect a situation where pupils are encouraged, materials and activities are adaptable rather than routine. There should be a careful and deliberate structuring of materials, there should be sensitive use of language in interacting with pupils, and the choice of appropriate experiences in relation to the conceptual development of pupils. In fact, Hawes and Stephens (in press), rightly argue that we learn more by practice, are schooled by criticism and example, but often unaided by any lessons in the theory. In the search for more effective strategies for the reform of teacher education, they suggest the idea of part college, part school-based initial training. Generally speaking, teacher education should aim at producing people who by virtue of their education and training, are self-confident, self-critical and adaptable to the needs of their ever changing society, in a manner to benefit future generations of children (Tosam, 1980).

9.1.3 Towards better quality Cameroon schools: a process perspective

The process of change requires tact and the adoption of effective strategies. In fact, two sides to this process are involved here: the implementation and adoption of change. The implementation of new programmes in schools is no guarantee

that they will be adopted by teachers or accepted by parents (e.g., Kale, 1979; Hawes and Stephens, in **press**). Programmes for quality improvements in schools, could fail for a number of reasons. These include:

- incorrect diagnosis of needs;
- lack of resources, human and physical;
- lack of consensus among those involved;
- inadequate and unstable commitment from the political leaders;
- poor communication; and
- inadequate incentives. (Havelock and Huberman, 1977)

The central planning of curricula and diffusion in schools is no guarantee that everything is implemented the way it is stipulated. Hurst (1983) suggests seven necessary 'conditions of acceptance' that may serve as pre-requisites of a healthy teaching environment in which good teachers can flourish:

- teachers must have adequate information about changes;
- teachers' value systems must relate positively to outcomes of qualitative change (i.e., most teachers should find the changes desirable);
- teachers must find the innovations viable (i.e., within the limits of existing resources (including money and time));
- teachers need appropriate resources and such realities must be considered in making recommendations for change;
- teachers will need incentives for the extra effort they may require to improve practice (e.g., rewards or some kind of incentive for better results, and so on);
- teachers require manageable not radical change (i.e., trials should be encouraging and representative enough to give adequate information on which to base decisions);
- teachers should be encouraged to view change as a process involving modifications over time, to suit the various conditions in which implementation takes place.

In short, as much as possible, teachers should be actively involved in the process of change. They should be seen as resources of potential. It will be useful for comparative studies to be carried out in the two educational traditions in Cameroon towards a better understanding of the various stages of the teacher's career: in situ (on the job); in training (pre- and in-service training) and teacher education. A useful sociological approach to Cameroon teacher education may require studies to be carried out in four major areas, viz:

- perceptions of teaching (referring to the cultural values underlying teacher education, expected patterns of behaviour and other role expectations);
- the process of becoming a teacher or teacher socialization (role expectations of teachers in situ, in pre- and in-service training);
- the curriculum and teaching methods (how professional skills should develop), and
- the organization of teacher education (setting the conditions and providing the opportunities for such an education). (Lynch and Plunkett, 1973)

It must always be remembered that education and being educated is not a state which one reaches and sinks into gracefully; it is rather a form of life that one is continuously engaged in. In fact, to be educated is to travel with a different view. Teacher trainees should be made to see their training as leading to the end of the beginning of a career of challenges, over which they will always be looked upon to help devise solutions. In this perspective, the role of the teacher should involve more than the transmission of a limited cognitive content and the cultivation of intellectual virtues and conformist values. It is a more demanding role of all-round development of children in an ever changing society.

A further problem concerns the link between **unemployment** and the idea of **relevance** in schooling. It is a link which tends to veil problems of improving the quality of **Cameroon** primary schools. Historically, Cameroon has a record of unsuccessful attempts at integrating agricultural programmes in its primary school curriculum in both educational traditions (see 4.3.2). Nevertheless, the rhetoric persists, and is evidenced in nearly two decades of virtually frozen IPAR activities in the ruralization ideology of Cameroon educational change. The existence of an increasing number of educated unemployed in the country with university certification, requires a re-examination of this perspective to educational change, especially at the primary level.

Findings from a study carried out in 1984 by the researcher on the IPAR reform proposals for **Manual Work**, and from the research participants for this study, not surprisingly reveal certain shifts in opinion and others, in emphasis, on aspects of the proposals made towards Cameroon primary change. As one researcher at IPAR-Buea puts it:

> Our recommendations were and could at best be proposals made in the spirit of the ideology for change that emanated from the Presidency. They were provisional and were issues for debate, especially since we did not know what IPAR-Yaounde was planning. But it is a decade today since they were made and a lot has changed politically, and in the schools .... We are bound to reassess our position to see how founded some of the proposals are in the new and changing needs of society. Parents' views are important about the education their children should receive .... I have children myself ... there is a strong need not only to reassess our proposals, but to be sure that together with IPAR-Yaounde, we have a

common vision of things for a better and harmonized primary school programme ....

(Interview, researcher - Buea, 04/03/87)

The proposal to raise the entry age of primary school pupils for example, so that they could cope with the physical demands of agricultural activities (e.g., IPAR-Buea report, 1977:23), was no longer considered important. More meaningful and lasting solutions most participants thought, could be obtained from opening up more post-primary institutions, to obtain more concrete results from work-related activities initiated at the primary school. In fact, a concern for better channelling of primary school graduates into productive roles was envisaged in the Cameroon Third Five-Year Plan (1971-1976).

Recommendations were made for the creation of post primary institutions (see Figure 3), with a main aim to train 15 to 16 year-olds in skills needed in the productive sector of the economy. But, these efforts were limited to the erection of 'cultural and community action zones' (ZACCs) by the Ministry of National Education to provide training in a limited number of practical skills. They were started with some initial budgetary provision and expected to be self-financing. However, they did not prove to be self-sustaining as had been expected and were phased out. A similar development was the idea of 'integrated priority action zones' (ZAPIs), which aimed at encouraging agricultural production. In addition to the Ministry of Education, other agencies were involved in these activities (e.g., the Ministry of Youths and Sports) but in reality, the activities went on without any real coordination and were discontinued as well.

However, five headmasters interviewed during a SPEP seminar in Bamenda, were all of the opinion that work-related activities were important for pupils, but added that the majority of the primary school pupils today are relatively much younger than

their counterparts say, a generation ago. They are too young to expect a lot from them. The materials for handicrafts, they all complained, are not at the easy reach of every pupil, and unwilling parents are not ready to make sacrifices. During a group interview, one headmaster stressed:

> In fact if government is really serious that these activities be taken aboard, it must provide funds to buy sufficient materials for schools and make manual work a real subject which will be included in the first school leaving certificate and common entrance examinations .... To say that materials are local, therefore they will be cheap, is not true for all pupils. There are civil servants on transfer and so on ... once pupils reach class six and seven [last two classes of primary education], all that is done is coaching (i.e., that is past exam questions for a number of years are revised over and over) with the pupils, to obtain a good percentage pass at the first school leaving certificate, and at the common entrance exam into secondary schools. In fact everybody knows that is what the primary school is for.... This manual work affair is just a matter of double standards ....
>
> (Interview, Headmaster - Bamenda, 17/03/87)

The headmaster is convinced about what he thinks are the general expectations of the primary school - preparing for the selection examination into secondary schools. Though hesitantly, all five headmasters agreed that this was a general practice in their schools, and indeed in neighbouring schools, 'we are also careful to see to it that the children get the best education we can provide them', one of them added. However, quality improvements in schools will be hard to achieve, if habits like "coaching" persist in schools. The government on the other hand has to assist in avoiding these

ambivalent tendencies by school authorities by implementing clear and consistent policies towards educational change in the country.

The IPAR "ruralization" policy for primary change may serve as a useful illustration here. It emphasizes that the same curriculum be used for town and country (IPAR-Buea, 1977:8), thus evoking the notion of equal opportunity and provision in primary education. But, the idea would remain hollow without adequate considerations on how it could or should be implemented. Equal opportunity may have to be measured in terms of access (see 8.5.3) and the provision of improved teaching/learning environments for all schools in both rural and urban areas. Besides, the ideas should be practicable in the existing conditions of schools. Examination structures would have to be reformed to incorporate the new perspective to educational provision, and some legislation required to see to it that indeed all schools in the country do implement the changes. Nevertheless, the Cameroon reality reflects a situation where many primary schools, especially in urban or city areas do not have space even to run a little garden. Definitely, this reality was not carefully considered in making IPAR recommendations for practical agriculture to be included in the curriculum of all primary schools.

Furthermore, the link between quality in educational provision and the integration of work-related activities in primary schools has been experimented upon in other African countries and elsewhere (Blaug, 1973) without significant results. For example, Nyerere (1984) revealed that his bid to provide Tanzanian school children with self-reliant education through agricultural education in schools did not yield meaningful results. Writing about education in Tanzania in 1967 (The Arusha Declaration), he admitted having imagined, that since 98 per cent of the children in his country did not proceed to secondary education, what provoked the drift of young people

from rural to urban areas was the primary school leaving certificate. In retrospect however, he thinks that the problem was understood but wrongly approached (Sifuna, 1986:130).

The very first comprehensive report on education in Africa, the Phelps Stokes report of 1922, emphasized the need for vocational rural education and ever since, there have been countless experiments with the teaching of agricultural science, both as an academic and a vocational subject. These ventures have in the main failed because they run against the grain of African opinion, and particularly in Cameroon, Kale's study in 1979 relates to this argument, also endorsed by Blaug (1973). Indeed the researcher strongly contends that if the curricula of Cameroon primary schools are to be effectively ruralized, change must begin at the level of teacher training, and not at the level of teaching in schools. To dream up an ideal curriculum for a rural school for a typically rural country is one thing, to implement it in meaningful programmes is yet another.

Solutions to this pedigree of failure are not obvious, but many contemporary studies into the area linking education and employment (see 6.2.3) provide insights. While the teaching of the love of farming and initiating young people in agricultural activities in schools in a typically rural country like Cameroon is commendable (Tosam, 1984), a whiff of agricultural practice in largely poorly handled school gardens (where gardens exist at all), cannot be imagined to constitute some meaningful self-reliant pre-vocational education. Furthermore, the fact that there is relatively more agricultural space in the countrysides does not mean that local laws and customs put this land at the disposal of anyone who wishes to start a farm or some agricultural activity. The procurement of land, even in the heart of the villages need negotiations. In brief, it is arguable that it is the reward of farming rather than an

emphasis on the school curriculum that will determine the future of agriculture in Cameroon.

The plight of the growing masses of the young unemployed and the increasing numbers of educated unemployed and under-employed, will require studying the problems in depth, to ascertain just how much can be expected of the school in thinking about a solution mix. The link between education and agricultural production is uncertain (Colclough and Hallack, 1975), and evidence accruing from studies carried out by the researcher indicate that the teaching of agriculture in schools will not keep Cameroonians in the countryside. Statistics indicate that the rate of growth of the urban population in Cameroon is high and increasing (see 3.2.1). To keep Cameroonians in the countryside will require that it should be made a better place to live in. This will mean, the supply of electricity, improved water supply, installing health facilities (e.g., dispensaries), better housing, and so on. The rate of curriculum change or proposals for change in the primary school syllabuses is not matched with an equal emphasis on teacher training, even though more than half of the teachers in the field are not qualified and the teaching profession is increasingly used as a bridge into other professions. The researcher does not advocate radical solutions like the abolition of examinations or deschooling that do not provide a clear view of alternative and practical solutions.

Like Blaug (1973), he believes that if the **employment problem** and that of **rural exodus** is essentially a problem of **youth unemployment**, then educational authorities have a clear duty to devise policies to alleviate the problem. However, since the employment problem in Cameroon is essentially one of poverty (basic living standards difficult to reach), educational policy for curing poverty seems to lead to a single dictum: educate as many people as possible ! But the cure may come much later on. Indeed, in thinking about rural exodus, one cannot avoid

questions about the appropriate scale of the educational system, for, the content and quality of education are at least as important as matters of scale. What indeed can the educational system in place handle ?

These findings indicate that there is need to look elsewhere for alternative solutions towards achieving better quality schools. Another important area worth looking at, is that of examining the effectiveness of current administrative and supervisory approaches. Revision of administrative and supervisory approaches would be necessary in order to use the available resources (human and material), to achieve better results. Hawes and Stephens (in press), suggest a number of ways forward. These include:

- identifying and making the differences between quality and quantity linkages;
- rendering support systems like the inspectorate at the central and regional level more functional; and
- improving examination styles and techniques which encourage more process-based learning (discovery, and inquiry) than the mere acquisition of facts.

Lessons that could be learnt from these experiences, together with a clear government stance on the issue of harmonizing the two educational traditions in the country, discussed in more detail below, would provide new insights to thinking about achieving better quality Cameroon primary schools.

9.2   Cameroon Educational Change: harmonization and some constraints

9.2.1 Structural and content differences: a problem of progression

As mentioned earlier (9.1), perspectives to teacher education differ in the two educational traditions in Cameroon. The Science of Education, for example is largely considered by francophone Cameroon educational authorities to have the same weighting in teacher education as Mathematics, history, and so on. Whereas any other subject at the ENS can be taught over a five-year programme according to "reforms" decreed in 1979, the Science of Education is supposed to be taught for a maximum of two years after the Advanced Level General Certificate of Education ("A" level GCE) or the Baccalaureat.

Lebogso (1987:2-3) observes that the "préjugé défavorable de certains responsables" (shortsightedness on the part of certain decision-makers) makes it difficult for the ENS to teach students important notions in the relevant subject areas which embrace the Science of Education, resulting in precariously designed programmes at the ENS for training tutors for TTCs.

Cameroon secondary education is dissimilar in the two educational traditions and remains largely unchanged. The problem of harmonizing Cameroon education are rather increasing, with a recent trend towards implementing the "cours préparatoires spéciaux" (CPS) (special preparatory course - in language acquisition) intended to reduce the first two years spent in the "Section d'Initiation au Langue" (SIL) (Language preparatory section) of primary education in francophone schools to one year in the schools in Yaounde and Douala (the country's administrative and economic capitals respectively) - a trend which Mukam et al. (1986) see as 'irreversible' (because the Minister of National Education in office in

1985/86 had endorsed the idea), which among other things, going to increase **"la difficile campagne de sensibilisation auprès des Anglophones à propos d'un éventuel passage de la durée du cycle primaire de 7 a 5 ans, alors qu'ils étaient déjà fort hostiles au raccourcissement d'un an, compte tenu des objectifs utilitaires qu'ils assignaient à ce niveau d'enseignement"** (the rather difficult campaign to convince anglophones to reduce the duration of the primary school cycle from seven to five years, whereas they [anglophones] had been hostile to the suggestion of stepping down their primary school cycle by one year, on the basis of the utilitarian objectives they see desirable for education at this level). (1986:138-139)

The IPAR projects on the other hand, for nineteen years have remained frozen at the level of programme development. Furthermore, attempts to reform and harmonize the Cameroon educational system by level, without thought given to the implications of proposed changes for education at the other levels in the educational system are bound to be problematic.

The uniformization of educational content (official syllabuses) effected by replacing the one programme with another (e.g., replacing the Grade I and Grade II courses by the ENIA and the ENI), without the added justification that they are functionally better, may only create the illusion of seeming harmonization, with the effect that Cameroon does not exploit the advantage of getting the best out of the two foreign educational traditions in the country, towards synthesizing a unique system, appropriate to its needs in development.

9.2.2 Bilingualism and learning difficulties

The concept of harmonizing Cameroon education tends to be subsumed in the concept of reform, and veils important learning difficulties experienced by students, especially at the University of Yaounde (see 3.3.3 and 3.5.7). By government

regulations, the university exempts a student from continuing with a particular undergraduate course if he or she fails twice to proceed to the next class, and closes its doors to that candidate if a similar situation occurs in a different course.

The communication barriers that exist between francophones and anglophones intellectuals (including some university lecturers) in the country (see 4.3.3) only expose the plight of young Cameroonians undertaking higher education, especially at the University of Yaounde (see 4.3), who have to cope with the reality of studying in a second and third language (French and English). The language problems faced by such students are not only of expression (written and spoken). They are also of a cognitive derivative, and require students to cope with two distinct Western cultures (French and English) embodying different intellectual traditions.

A long-term solution may require a coherent language policy involving a deliberate programme of action, starting at least at the primary level to university education, while providing incentives for teachers, lecturers and other professional groups in education to be functionally bilingual.

In fact, the problem of bilingualism is inextricably linked to that of harmonizing Cameroon education (see 4.3.3), and thus, a clearer political stance on these issues will be required, towards educational reforms in the country. The general impression emerging from this research is that success in the Cameroon education system will depend on how such policies reduce or eliminate conflicting acculturative effects of the two foreign cultures in the country, which tend to stifle efforts (see 6.4.3) in building a common and better adapted educational system.

Language research focused on the problems associated with learning in one or both official languages mentioned above, may

prove very useful in thinking about more appropriate pedagogical approaches to teaching and learning in Cameroon schools.

9.3   Cameroon Educational Change: an institutional development perspective

9.3.1 An intra-institutional development perspective

An important source of failure with many innovation projects and indeed development programmes in general, relate to the capacity of institutions to effectively implement programmes of planned change. Many of them are managerial in nature, but also depend on other conditions in which they operate. A deficiency with many past evaluations on the IPAR experience for example, relates to the fact that they do not include crucial institutional development related issues. At times, even when measurable attributes are literally non-existent, some project evaluators try to force in input-output (quantitative) measures, offering little opportunities to make pertinent inferences from the data gathered (e.g., IPAR-Yaounde report, 1980).

The effectiveness of an organization is related to the clarity and stability of its objectives, but when strong forces work against such clarity or stability, they frequently succeed in forcing the said organizations to deviate from their original objectives or prevent them from adopting new ones (Kiggundu, 1983). Furthermore, where the expressed purpose of an institution or project is vague, the organization of work within its core tends to be diffuse. Innovation projects may have pertinent goals, but action can be without direction. The IPAR projects particularly suffer this fate thus far. In fact, I subscribe to the view held by Hawes and Stephens (in press), that good intentions without adequate action are not merely

valueless but even positively harmful (Hawes and Stephens, in press).

The **specificity** of an innovation project **relates** to its performance. Israel offers a useful definition of such specificity:

- the extent to which it is possible to specify for a particular project the objectives to be attained, the methods of achieving those objectives, and the ways of controlling achievement and rewarding staff; and

- the effects of the activity (i.e., how long it takes for them to become apparent, the number of people and other activities affected, and the practical possibilities of tracing the effects). (Israel, 1987:5)

On inspecting these two groups of elements, one observes that the higher the specificity, the more intense, immediate, identifiable, and focused will be the effects of an activity. The lower, the specificity, conversely, the weaker, less identifiable, and more delayed and diffuse will be the effects. In general terms however, innovations in primary education have a low degree of specificity, and with a vaguely defined concept like "ruralization" as a reform ideology, the the project activities are likely going to be diffuse.
Similarly, with the SPEP, the aims are broad. Apart from its proposed, though yet pending physical developments to be carried out at the five TTCs concerned, the school quality improvements that may be derived from SPEP seminars may be real, but very difficult to discern indeed.

Generally speaking, in any organization, important decisions have to be taken about the people working within it. These decisions concern areas such as recruitment, utilization and training of project personnel. The effectiveness of an

institution depends very much on the availability of competent staff.

It is erroneous any imagine that anybody from any profession can deal with institutional development issues. Generally, this may be evidenced by the profiles of those nominated to manage specialized institutions who may not have basic notions in the activities they control, with the result that they are incapable of knowing whether the institutions are running productively or not. The researcher finds it idle to pretend to establish a profile for project managers, but draws attention to some contemporary perspectives of project management which readers may find insightful. Incidentally, owing to a lack of specially trained personnel in educational administration and supervision in Cameroon, the tendency is to appoint school administrators and inspectors from serving teachers of "noteworthy ability" (Yembe, 1985).

Though an intellectual understanding of managerial functions is no guarantee that a manager is 1 perform effectively, there are a number of basic skills which he would be expected to possess. These include planning, analytical, organizational, and integrative skills which he would need in varying combinations in the performance of different managerial functions (Paul (1977:90). However, these skills can only be attained through experience. It is for this reason that it could be problematic when project administrators are frequently changed during project implementation. The turbulence caused by the frequent movement of project heads, adversely affects innovation projects. A new project head for example, does not only need time to acquaint himself with the project, he will need to build his managerial experience afresh, and this has the effect of slowing down projects. For example, a five-year project like the SPEP is planned to have three Chiefs of Party before the project ends. IPAR project Directors and the Ministers who nominate them, have also been in constant movement.

Another important influence on project management is the role played by technical assistants. Technical assistance at project level should include systematic efforts to strengthen the organization and structure of institutions, improving their financial management and planning, introducing proper accounting and auditing, and setting up monitoring and evaluation systems. The traditional approach of providing long-term technical assistance to execute a project and train local staff is increasingly giving way to better focused and more innovative approaches. Indeed, an important problem which emerges from the World Bank's experience in delivering TA for institutional development for example, is where to strike the balance between

- financing expatriates as resident advisers or technical experts or to carry out short-term studies, and

- using TA resources to develop national staff capabilities.

The Bank realises that though the question of training is very important, it tends to support the widely held view that relying on expatriates assigned to operational roles also to provide on-the-job training of local counterparts, frequently fails to provide the desired results. Available technical assistance may be directed towards strengthening local or regional training of senior officials and public sector managers through long-term support of specialized schools, university courses, staff colleges, local workshops, seminars and so on. Cooper (1986:4) also suggests, that donors could provide logistic support in building up research capabilities.

These problems relate to operationalizing project project units considering the resources available. The performance of a project unit however, is determined both by forces acting within it and more generally, the influence of other

institutions on which it depends in the administrative bureaucracy. This makes it incomplete to appraise the performance of a project without studying these relationships.

9.3.2 An inter-institutional development perspective

Organization and allocative efficiency

Before we develop on the concept of inter-institutional development of projects, it is important to remember that there is no accepted theory of organization. This is so because human behaviour is complex and since social reality is always changing, theories in the social sciences cannot be said to have cumulative characteristics. In fact, social structures are created and altered in a balance between the natural tendency to preserve a high degree of stability and the equally natural pressure towards change. More often than not, the patterns which these structures develop are very resistant to change, creating a situation where planned change requires that the architects of change devise tactics for moving in a different direction .

The process of implementing educational change is complex and involves decision-making at various levels. Often much inter-institutional cooperation and coordination is necessary, though apparently building and inaugurating new projects tend to be politically more attractive than maintaining or operating old ones. Indeed, the amount of waste implicit in the ineffective use of resources is undoubtedly at the core of underdevelopment (Israel, 1988:4). World Bank experience from the evaluation of many efforts in development programmes (including primary education) indicates that the greatest asset to institutional improvement and success is the country's commitment to the objectives of the programmes it runs. The right political and professional support can achieve much.

There are problems of Cameroon educational change which are administrative in nature, and could be easily resolved with a little loosening up or the implementation of slight reforms in the administrative bureaucracy. For example, the boundary walls separating ministries pose problems, since the problems of each ministry tend to be solved independent of each other. The strict application of administrative **textes** which detail and somehow, delimit the roles to be played by government officers nominated to positions of responsibility, may provide a means for accountability, but could be counter productive if this kills personal incentives and reduces collaboration and cooperation within and between ministries working towards similar goals.

The research corps in the country for example, is organized and supervised by the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research (MESRES), whereas nursery, primary and secondary education is the responsibility of the Ministry of National Education (MINEDUC). It is important to note that most of the government's efforts towards educational change have been focused in primary education, which is the prime responsibility of the IPARs, who are answerable to the MINEDUC.

The two ministries (MESRES and MINEDUC) could be separated for other justifiable reasons, but serious problems concerning research in primary education cannot be properly conducted outside the Ministry of Research and Higher Education which is better oriented for such activities. Better coordination and more cooperation will be necessary between the two ministries to enhance research into primary and secondary education.

At the moment, there is virtually no research into secondary education in the country. The broader problem of harmonizing and reforming the two educational traditions in the country cannot be treated as though the one level of education in the

country existed independent of each other. The various school levels together constitute an organic whole which is the education system. Similar institutional barriers separate the ENS which belongs to MESRES and the **"ENIs"** (TTCs) which belong to the MINEDUC. As we have just seen above.

Projects grow over a considerable period of time, and cannot be designed as machine-tools, precisely created, targeted, controlled and predicted. The efficient functioning of a project system is critical to its performance. Such efficiency depends on the provision of appropriately trained staff and on adequate logistic and material support given to innovation projects. Improvements should be on-going and sustained. These include, the suitability of their physical facilities (buildings, equipment), their staffing patterns, data bases (libraries, other information sources), preferred methodologies, formal and informal networks, funding patterns, and so on. In situations like the IPAR projects and the SPEP, where external aid is involved, it is also important to know whether institutional features are such that projects could be sustained, when donor props are withdrawn.

In fact, the short-term achievements produced by large infusions of expatriate management expertise and aid resources can be illusory, if that kind of manpower and resource availability is not sustainable at local level. Three TAs involved in the SPEP were doubtful whether the Cameroon government would be able to keep up with the same sort of expenses to run similar in-service training seminars in the provinces concerned if the project winds up as planned, in 1989. As one TA observed: 'Definitely not at the going rate. That [the expenses] could sound the whistle on the economy overnight. I guess some rethinking and modifications will need to be made ....' The early years of the IPAR-Yaounde project were marked by such achievements. One IPAR-Director complained

about 'a menial annual budgetary provision hardly enough even to buy enough stationery'. (Interview, IPAR-Director, 14/03/87)

Centralization and decentralization perspectives on project management

The IPARs are little more than distant services in the Ministry of Education, under the control of the inspectorate, with no influence over what goes on in Cameroon primary schools. Stephens (1985) rightly maintains that effective decentralization or acquisition of control by those at the periphery will depend on the structures and effectiveness of the bureaucracy in place. In fact, research participants (especially at the IPARs) often used centralization and decentralization arguments, to explain the difficulties experienced in operating the SPEP and the IPAR projects.

It is widely upheld in the literature on the sociology of organizations that decentralized organizations are more innovative than centralized ones (Argyle, 1967; Hage and Aiken, 1970; Zaltman et al., 1973; Moch and Morse, 1977). The approach to French administration is generally highly centralized in relation to the British or American (Anglo-saxon) approach. In the Cameroon reality however, a workable approach may not be an "either", "or" choice between centralization or decentralization. Empirical evidence elsewhere, does not confirm the proposition that decentralized organizations of innovations are more innovative than those that are centralized (Hurst, 1985) or even deconcentrated. The crucial problem to be addressed, is the inherent weakness of the bureaucracy, specially the lack of incentive provided for its employees to work efficiently for the public good. These weaknesses are as prevalent in decentralized local administrations as in centralized ones (Hurst, 1985).

The retention of the two IPAR institutes, and then separating them by educational tradition, be it implicitly, by posting solely anglophones to IPAR-Buea, and francophones to IPAR-Yaounde, added to the fact that either institute works independent of each other, will only perpetuate the rift between the two educational traditions. There are sure advantages in decentralizing research departments to cope with the problem of educational change, but if they are poorly managed, they may not necessarily be responsive to the local communities they are supposed to serve. Arguments for having decision-making and control over planning by one central unit may be favoured by considerations of equity, national unity and management efficiency, but in Cameroon, for similar reasons, it could be argued that considering the contrasts in the two educational traditions in the country, those who control at the centre may inadequately deal with the problems of the periphery, because knowledge about its special requirements may not be available or adequately presented. Authorities at the centre tend to make aggregate national proposals, which may not adequately satisfy sub-national needs. Thus, the creation of a common central institute cannot be seen as the solution. Indeed 'the comparative advantage of central authorities may depend on striking a critical and somewhat subtle balance between centralization and decentralization' (Clune, 1987:123).

Communication networks and initiative

Communication has been lacking horizontally between the IPARs, and vertically, between the IPARs and the other services in the central administration (e.g., the GIP) which influence and determine what actually goes on within the institutes on the one hand, and in the primary schools on the other. This situation is compounded by a language barrier. Even worse, most researchers and administrators brought up in the one educational traditions have only vague or no notions of the

workings of the other educational tradition. Thus, difficulties encountered with the IPAR experience, relate only in part, to the ambiguities in the government's ideology of ruralization in educational change in the country. The institutional provisions to implement the changes have been largely inadequate in terms of their physical plants, and the resources (human and material) allocated to the IPAR institutes. The coordination of the activities of the three projects in primary change (IPAR-Yaounde, IPAR-Buea and SPEP) thus far, has been poor, and the link with education at the other levels in the educational system obscure.

Indeed, clarity about the harmonization of the two conflicting educational traditions in the country will clear the mist for alternative perspectives to educational change in the country. For example, in a SPEP seminar in Bamenda in March 1987, the idea of using the seminar to devise a coherent syllabus for the anglophone provinces arose, and the TAs advised that the proposal could not be addressed in a seminar of the nature planned in the project design. Furthermore, the government was seeking ways through the IPAR reforms towards a common syllabus for all Cameroon, the TA added. The improvement of quality in educational provision in Cameroon is an important government pre-occupation. The question is: Which is the way ahead ?

Research is hardly the apolitical myth the scientific community in the country would like to make people believe of it. Pressure groups form easily. The model underlying the thrust in Cameroon educational change, is the research, development and diffusion (RDD) perspective (Havelock, 1971), embodied in influential works such as Clark and Guba (1965). The basic idea is that the education system can be made more effective through rational planning and scientific development of alternative approaches, which are then disseminated to the local level. These local educational institutions are however often regarded as largely passive and manipulable, though

sometimes perversely resistant to change (Papagiannis, Klees, and Bickel, 1982). Most education systems adopt this change model, but it is important to consider its pitfalls.

Often, planners and reformers use such terminology as change agents, **planned change**, and tend to believe that the use of the language and the logic of rational change imply a control of the change process itself. This is not the case in reality. However, a review of the educational reform and implementation literature, suggests that the rhetoric of reform is probably its most important manifestation rather than the change it claims to produce (Levin, 1980). These are linguistic habits of science and technology which obscure our understanding of the social, economic and political character of education.

The creation of research institutes is an important first step towards assuring that government policy decisions can be based on solid research. But to have them function properly, requires providing them with the right kind of institutional development facilities. Reynolds (1975) remarks that there is substantial evidence, to prove that many decision-makers in developing countries reflect three basic orientations to the scientific enterprise:

- they ignore the scientific enterprise altogether;
- they treat the scientific enterprise as a political pressure group, and thus support or utilize scientific research and knowledge only for purposes considered "politically safe";
- they treat the scientific enterprise as a political and social enemy, and reduce its influence by cutting financial support and imposing other restrictions.

Not totally unrelated to aspects of these orientations is the fact that for over two decades, various Ministers of Education have attempted to carry the IPAR planned reforms beyond the development stage, but there is little evidence that their

approaches have been guided by research per se. A more
comprehensive strategy to educational change is necessary
towards achieving better quality schools. For example, in
1987, the reform effort had moved to the GIP, with the Minister
of Education personally supervising the work. Also, not all
that is labelled research may be useful in decision-making.
Research institutes have to be supplied with the right
resources (adequately trained researchers and the right kind of
logistic support) necessary for them to function properly (see
8.3.1). Oliphant (1980), a nuclear physicist once remarked:

> [B]ecause it [education] is paid for by governments
> and is more easily subjected to financial controls
> than are the executive bureaucracies, this presents
> great dangers for all involved in education, for
> governments are concerned with the present, while
> those who teach are concerned with the future.

When the researcher asked an IPAR Director whether there could
not be a possibility that the Minister did not have confidence
in the work produced by the IPARs for some reason (e.g., lack
of expertise, and so on), he replied:

> We do have people here who are not qualified to do
> research as such. But we use them, because they are
> posted here by the Ministry [of National Education].
> Together with my assistants, I examine curriculum
> vitae of whoever we receive and fit the individual
> somewhere among our corps .... At times, we get too
> many people specialized or at least knowlegeable in
> one area [of the institutes's activities] and none in
> others. We make proposals to the Minister, but we
> cannot let some aspects of the work to be done to
> stand still. We deploy the staff maximally ... in
> all the sections, while waiting for a response.
>
> (Interview, Director (IPAR) - 15/03/87)

The majority of research participants at the IPARs were of the opinion (February/March 1987), that the IPAR proposals had not been amply trialled and implemented because various Ministers of Education did not "officialize" the proposals made. Indeed, only four researchers interviewed (see annex 1) thought the proposals made were in many ways inadequately conceived, and thus were not even suitable for trialling. However, no re-orientation has been made to the work carried out at IPAR-Yaounde for example, as advised by a UNESCO/UNDP evaluation commission in 1974 (see 6.4.5).

Past appraisals of the IPAR projects for example, which rightly see the decision or indecision of the Minister of National Education on seat, as the main determining factor in Cameroon educational change (e.g., Akoulouze, 1984a; Mukam et al., 1986), must not loose sight of other important institutional development issues that need addressing for the successful implementation of programmes of planned change, considering that ministries change hands easily (see 6.4.4).

Understanding problems of educational change may require an interdisciplinary approach. Development theory and practice have for a long time been largely in the hands of economists who have a monolithic tradition of focusing on the efficiency of resource allocation, rather than the most effective ways of using the allocated resources. Generally speaking, the persistence of this practice is partially explained by the fact that the dialogue between the policy-makers (e.g., ministers), managers (e.g., directors), and specialists (e.g., researchers, experts) from different disciplines may prove problematic in the existing bureaucracy in the country, but ways could be sought to overcome these barriers. Meaningful change in the Cameroon educational system, will only take place with serious rethinking and action about sounder institutional capabilities in educational research per se, and in choosing and managing

future innovation projects. Lessons may be learnt from the increasing realization (e.g., World Bank, 1985; 1988) that sustained development cannot take place in a state of virtually unending dependency on external assistance (funds and expertise). Furthermore, Caiden and Wildavsky (1975:1) emphasize the view that

> though the pressing needs of poor countries cry out for solution, little is more irritating than the well-meant, but perhaps ill-informed, advice of "experts." Confidence is further shaken as fashions change; the disastrous consequences of advice given in good faith yesterday become apparent today.

The need for countries in the LDCs to search for solutions to the changing nature of the problems encountered has led to the World Bank's initiative of Structural Adjustment Lending (SAL), directed towards resolving problems in institutional development. Some flexibility in educational administration in Cameroon could enhance efficiency tremendously, especially considering that school programmes can be implemented for long periods of time without being either updated or evaluated, unless yet another decree is passed aiming at reforms (e.g. decree No. 79/309 of August 1979 reviewing the organization, detailing the study programme and statute of the ENS). For example, the Director of Studies at the ENS remarks that if the lecturers at the ENS-Yaounde, had any knowledge of what was going on in the TTCs whose tutors it trains, it was "d'une maniere **tout a fait accidentelle**" (purely accidental) and blames this on the "**probleme de l'inexistence de structures de collaboration**" (the absence of officially laid down **textes** enabling such collaboration) (Lebogso (1987:2). How formal these structures are expected to be, relates more, I suppose, to how much room for initiative is permissible in the administrative bureaucracy than whether more centralization or decentralization in decision-making is necessary for the

effective administration of educational institutions. Indeed, for years, the ENS has kept on training tutors for TTCs (ENIA/ENIs), without a gist of the programmes these tutors use to train primary school teachers (Lebogso, 1987:2).

It can be argued that appreciable control may be required in circumstances where managerial structures in public administration are weak, but when teacher trainers at the TTCs and curriculum specialists at the ENS are not consulted over programmes for professional training which they have to teach, there is danger in implementing programmes for long periods as we have just seen, which are either inadequate or become outdated with the changing needs in the field. Training programmes could be more relevant and regularly updated, if the teaching staff are associated in their design and development, and given the responsibility to continually evaluate them, rather than wait for yet another decree modifying them as is the practice. Certain modifications that can be effected at the local or school level are more practical and immediate, and could improve the quality of education imparted in schools. However, this will depend on what room and incentive is given for personal initiative (i.e., outside instructions emanating directly from the central administration (see, 9.4.2)). Why are certain schools better than others ?, the question may be asked.

There is need to continuously evaluate, measure, or describe such environmental matters as the classroom ethic, and the learner's expectations, among a variety of other environmental issues, towards bringing about better primary schools. More generally, improved educational practice in the educational system may only be achieved with the active participation of those in the field, at least in matters of such technical relevance as programme designing for schools.

9.3.3 An extra-institutional development perspective

This perspective to institutional development concerns the
pertinence of project or institutional objectives in relation
to actual needs. It is important to establish whether the
projects aim at real needs. Levin (1976) rightly maintains,
that the only way we can obtain significant changes in
educational functions in society, is to forge changes in the
overall social, economic and political relationships that
characterize the country's polity. Kale for example, remarks
that agricultural education in Cameroon primary schools
represents a digression from the main function of the school as
perceived by the Cameroonian parents (Kale, 1979). A related
observation is made by King (1972):

> The more the curriculum is oriented towards rural
> life and work, the less likely it is that children
> studying it will achieve their aim of secondary
> school entrance ... people will only use educational
> institutions and undergo educational programmes when
> they suit their own basic objectives and purposes
> .... Even within the context of traditional primary
> schooling, there is evidence that people do not wish
> to participate in it when it is shown not to be
> helpful in furthering their long-term social and
> economic aims.

Colclough and Hallack (1975:26) remark that some people believe
that no matter how equitable a school system is, it cannot
alter the inequalities existing in the socio-economic system,
which in the end, dominate. Indeed, they argue that there may
be grounds for optimism in cases where comprehensive approaches
to reform are adopted, but

> the issues of employment and equity are more subtly
> connected than is often supposed, and the goal of

> reducing the labour surplus is likely to be better
> served by aiming at equity within the education
> system, than by setting up tailor-made general
> educational facilities designed to prepare different
> groups of people for different ways of life, whether
> in the rural or urban areas, the formal or informal
> sectors, in modern industry, or for life on the land.
> (1975: 26-27)

Furthermore, the legitimacy of schooling as a selection device, and as an agent for social mobility requires that constant enrolments be made at successive educational levels in order to absorb the social demand for increases in educational opportunity and access. Job opportunities for the educated however, have not expanded commensurably with increases in educational attainment. For these reasons, there are also employment problems with the educated. This situation makes providing pupils with a whiff of simulated work experience or skill training at the primary level, a highly unsatisfactory proposition towards curbing a societal problem like rural exodus (rural-urban migration by youth in search for a better living).

Judging from the tender ages of primary school children in Cameroon today (5-12), added to the fact that there is little or no motivation for both pupils and teachers to perform these activities (Beling-Nkoumba, 1967), and that they represent a mismatch of parents' aspirations for their children (Kale, 1979), more consideration needs to be given to the exact place they should occupy in the school curriculum. From the opinions widely held by research participants, one can conclude that meaningful programmes in manual work in schools cannot be achieved at low cost. In the prevailing circumstances in schools for example, it is idle to imagine that 'income from practical activities (sale of school farm produce, sale of craft items, carefully chosen contract work), and by the use of

locally made or collected teaching aids and materials, schools
are supposed to ease the financial burden of education' (IPAR-
Buea report, 1977).

Cameroon annual growth rate of primary enrollment between 1980
and 1983 was 4.3 per cent and for the same period, public
expenditure on education dropped from 20.3 per cent in 1980 to
17.2 per cent in 1983 (World Bank, 1988). With increasing
social demand for more and better schooling that is not matched
by a corresponding increase in the annual budget devoted to
education. The Cameroon government will need to demonstrate
more skill and flexible planning strategies for the years
ahead. In short, for a more efficient and effective school
system, a clearer vision about the nature of educational
change, and appropriate strategies to achieve it must be given
further considerations. Effective development strategies
depend, on accurate descriptions of systemic conditions and
upon the construction of mean-ends arrangements that are
contextually or systematically relevant (Landau, 1972). Caiden
and Wildavsky (1974:ix) rightly argue, that

> if planning is assumed to be an inherently good way
> of doing things, then it is definitionally impossible
> either to make mistakes or to learn from them.
> Formal planning becomes axiom rather than hypothesis;
> hence, it turns itself into a mode of problem-
> avoidance, not problem-solving.

Often 'what is called innovation is sometimes only a change
unrelated to a careful assessment of needs and objectives. The
result is that after all, very little has changed' (CERI,
1973:232). The strategy towards reaching the important goal
of improving the quality of primary education will need
rethinking, for, both the IPAR projects and the SPEP are
largely inadequate at the moment in their conception and scope,
to deal with the important problem of improving the internal

efficiency of the primary school, let alone curbing wastage in the primary school. Clignet's view (1980) on the other hand, that formal education facilitates urban migration and leads to a concentration of job seekers in the large cities is a surface appraisal of the problem of rural-urban migration (cf. 6.3.2 and 9.1). Martin (1980) has shown for example, that regional disparities in educational provision in Cameroon reinforce such migration (see 3.4.2).

In circumstances of high social demand and poor or declining economic performance, decision-makers have hard choices to make, no doubt. The ideal of achieving greater social equality, and participation through higher quality education, should not be neglected. Rather than succumb to financial pressures and neglect mass education, decision-makers should increase the share of public spending dedicated to both formal and non-formal education, and improve the quality of mass education, particularly primary education for marginal populations (Carnoy, 1986).

In 1980/81, 0.4 per cent of the school population were in post primary institutions (see 3.5.4) as compared to to 82.9 per cent in primary education and 13.6 per cent in secondary (general and technical education). By merely inspecting these figures, it is no surprise that the estimated average number of years of education attained by the Cameroon working age population in 1983 was 3.97 years (World Bank, 1988). Furthermore, when we consider that primary education (6-12), remains the only formal education that most children can aspire to in the country, the importance of improving its quality and expanding it cannot be over-emphasized. University education caters for less than one per cent of the school population yearly.

In the face of this stark reality, it is imperative to involve university lecturers and researchers in force, to ponder about

the problems of primary education in relation to the rapid rate of population growth, and the employment/unemployment dialectic in the country (e.g., Atangana-Mebara et al., 1984). The boundary walls separating the MESRES and the MINEDUC have to be very fine indeed, if boundaries there must be. The idea of a smooth progression from nursery to university education, makes the bridge between the two ministries a permanent one. Asked about his impressions on the IPAR proposed reforms, a lecturer at the University of Yaounde remarked:

> Que l'IPAR a échoué devait être attendu dès le début.
> Qu'est-ce qu'on s'attend des recherches à l'IPAR
> réalisées par des maîtres pour la plupart ... il faut
> une politique éducative claire et des gens qualifiés
> ... et on n'en manquent pas ... l'harmonisation et
> la réforme éducative proprement dit, ne sont pas
> commencées ...
> (Interview, Lecturer - Yaounde, 02/03/87)

Translated into English,

(That the IPAR experience has backfired was to be expected. What quality of research could be expected of the IPARs, carried out by primary school teachers in the main ... a clear educational policy and qualified people are needed and they are available ... the harmonization and reform per se of education [in the country] has not started ....)

Opinions from four other lectures (see annex 1) all stressed the fact that until such a time that the government policy on the harmonization and reform of the educational system as a whole was made more explicit, the process of change will continue to be one in which various Ministers will come and go, imposing their idiosyncratic perspectives on the nature and pace of change. And because they are also vulnerable to

transfers and dismissals, the path to educational change in the country will remain uncertain.

9.4   Conclusions

Despite the sense of urgency felt by Cameroon political leaders during the early days of nationhood to reform and harmonize the conflicting British and French educational traditions it inherited from the colonial era (Peltriaux, 1962; Lallez, 1974), there has been no significant shift in educational practice. Thus far, the IPAR projects and the SPEP are the main experiences, yet in the process of being tried out in the country, towards effecting similar changes in its two educational traditions, albeit limited to the primary level, and in parallel projects.

It is evident from various insights gained from this research, that the harmonization of the two educational traditions in Cameroon will require more than just a common core of knowledge for all pupils or students at a particular level. It may mean sitting identical or the same examinations, for common certificates. Examinations influence any educational enterprise in a very determining manner, and thus, the ideal of achieving common examinations for all Cameroonians will enhance the development process greatly: economically, this will reduce the duplication of effort; culturally, it will provide a common focus on what the Cameroonian sees as desirable for his children to be aware of; socially, it will erase doubts about criteria for establishing equivalences of certificates in the two educational traditions (e.g., Akoulouze, 1984a); and politically, it will strengthen national unity. Nevertheless, achieving identical programmes is the **end** of the process of harmonization. The more important problem perhaps is the **means** to it.

Since its inception, the activities of the SPEP thus far, have been limited to organizing some three or four seminars yearly, which bring together a relatively small proportion of teachers and members of other professional groups supporting them, as a strategy for increasing educational quality in primary schools in the provinces concerned. Other aspects of project implementation have lagged behind for various reasons (see 8.3 and 8.4). Thus, the change that it can effect in the prevailing situation in primary education in the four provinces concerned, are likely to be be very limiting indeed if the project winds up in November 1989 as planned. The IPAR projects yet need a sense of direction.

The crux of the problem in Cameroon educational change apparently lies, first in clearly establishing the criteria for harmonizing the two educational traditions in the country. To fuse them does not necessarily mean harmonizing them (see 1.3). It may not be totally wrong to assume that education reflects certain characteristics because of the goals pursued by those who control it. These characteristics change when new goals are pursued by those who have the power to modify its previous structural form, its definition of instruction and relationship to society (Archer, 1984:1). Considering for example, that IPAR efforts towards reform and harmonization of the Cameroon primary education are initiated by the government, and for nearly two decades the experience is unable to bear fruit, one is bound to ask

- whether the right goals are pursued with the wrong approaches ?
- whether the goals are too ambitious and thus unrealistic to achieve with existing resources (e.g., appropriately trained manpower and sufficient materials) (see 9.3.1) ?
- whether the goals are simply a mismatch to actual needs ?.

In the circumstances, it is only right to ask: Which is the way ahead ? The response admits to insights, not answers.

When complaints are made about falling standards in primary schools, for example, they refer to a general trend of declining pupil performances in the three Rs (arithmetic, writing, and reading) - a situation largely blamed, and rightly so, on the poor teaching in schools. The reform ideology of ruralization does not explicitly address the problem of wastage in Cameroon primary schools. The SPEP seminars on the other hand, are sporadic and do not directly address the problem wastage per se. Indeed, in 1983, about 84 per cent of the total school population was enrolled in Cameroon primary education, among whom 30 per cent were repeaters (various grades) (World Bank, 1988).

Imaginably, if the approach to educational change was not governed by an ideology like "ruralization", educationists would have immediately thought about revamping teacher education and addressing the thorny problem of wastage in schools. Thus, it may not be completely wrong to say that past IPAR efforts have constituted struggling to fit a round ideology into a square primary school problem.

While it is not demonstrable that these projects are 'pushed by international organizations' as is sometimes the case (CERI, 1973:233), it is evident that they were initiated without sufficient considerations of the reality and actual needs, not least, improved practice at the teaching/learning interphase. The SPEP is being undertaken on the assumption that the needs of professional groups in education in both educational traditions are the same even though the TAs readily admit that they are not very knowledgeable about these differences (e.g. the relative differences in perceptions of teacher training in the two educational traditions, the difference in scope and

content of primary syllabuses in the two traditions, and so on).

The problems of continuity in innovation projects involving foreign technical assistance are worth examining. In the SPEP, though Cameroonians were involved in the project design and were supposed to play active roles in its implementation, the TAs virtually run the entire project up to its present level of development (i.e., seminars). Indeed, they decide on the content of seminar themes and choose those to present them. Furthermore, when we realise that the accounting and data processing aspects of the SPEP are carried out at a computing centre at USC (USA), and that the data on which the IPAR-Buea report was drawn was analysed in the Federal Republic of Germany, these only indicate weak spots in institutional development in Cameroon educational and research institutions. (Cooper, 1986:5) reminds us, that

> as important as the design of institutional and policy reforms is the process by which these are arrived at. Nationals of the recipient country must be fully involved in this process from the beginning.

A World Bank approach to redress such institutional deficiencies, is to deploy the services of "process consultants", to help senior government officials and expatriate specialists to bring their knowledge together and to combine their experience in developing a commitment to carry through the reforms in question.' This is largely achieved through action planning workshops which would be very useful in future technical assistance in Cameroon innovation projects.

The incompleteness of systems in human or social terms, can be expressed in several ways. Factors such as conflict, factionalism, need, deprivation reflect various kinds of incompleteness in achieving a desired end state or goal

(Havelock and Huberman, 1977:25). Indeed, Cameroon cannot yet talk of an educational system per se, since in reality it operates two sub-systems, fused at the post secondary level.

However, to think of reaching an ideal system will be utopian indeed, but it is an ideal to strive at, and this is what human development is all about. To achieve this, Cameroon will require an appreciable degree of openness. In educational change, this openness is invaluable, because the process is complex and various actors from the two distinctly different educational traditions in the country have varying perceptions of the same ideals in change (see 1.3, 9.1). The government may have to be more articulate and clear about its programme towards educational change and development towards better prospects for its economic, social and cultural development. To spread the few appropriately trained researchers in many poorly coordinated institutes, will only lead to duplication of work and general inefficiency.

This research reveals, that attempts at implementing educational change in Cameroon manifest conflicts (especially those influenced by different allegiances to the foreign cultures in the country), barriers (mainly in communication), and institutional development problems. All of these have to be considered, in adopting alternative strategies in future efforts in the country's educational change. The prospects of better performance in such future projects, will require that future technical assistance schemes, and more government effort be directed towards better institutional development capacities than has been in the past. More meaningful national educational reforms may also require shifts in current structural and administrative arrangements, to accommodate these new ideas.

Past attempts to include agriculture in the primary school curriculum did not yield encouraging results. It has to be

realised that education is only one of the numerous
determinants of employment and unemployment, and thus, it is
misleading to consider it the solution for rural exodus (see
6.2.3), let alone a main one.

Some areas worth investigating in further research concern:

- the link between language of instruction and cognition in
  Cameroon schools, especially in relation to functional
  bilingualism;
- the link between quality education and the teacher's career
  (i.e., in situ, pre- and in-service training, teacher
  education);
- the characteristic differences in anglophone and francophone
  orientation to education at all the levels including teacher
  education;
- the phenomenon of internal migration (including rural
  exodus) and its determinants;
- the phenomenon of wastage, repeaters in relation to quality
  teaching;
- the relationship between educated unemployment and the
  broader problem of general unemployment (structure of the
  economy);
- how job creation and the theory of poverty affects primary
  school leavers;
- how the nature of exams determines the quality of education
  in schools and affects perspectives to work; and
- the concepts of learning and working rather than just
  educating and employing.

On a final note, the researcher reiterates the view, that
problems of Cameroon educational development and national
development in general, are those of change, and the
Cameroonian is the object of, and the means to this change.
There is need for more openness through debates, and other
forms of dialogue on what education Cameroonian parents and the

national economy would require of schools at the various levels in the educational system. Concrete and lasting proposals towards meeting such needs cannot be adequately achieved, if they are not based on findings derived from comparative studies in the two educational traditions in the country on an on-going basis, and in various interrelated fields (structures, contents, methods and evaluation procedures).

Annex 1: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

University of Yaounde

Five lecturers participated: three from the ENS
(Yaounde and Bambili), among whom
Dr. Nwana (ENS, Bambili)

USAID/Cameroon

Dr. McKenna, B.   (COP)
Dr. Meier, W.   (TA)
Mr. Gagne, B.   (TA)
Mr. Paul, M.   (TA)
Ms. Katowski, N. (TA)
Dr. Rideout, former (COP)

Ministry of National Education

The Provincial Delegate for North West province,
Mr. Gwanfogbe, M.
The Director of DPNE, Mr. Abdoulaye, M.
The Director of IPAR-Yaounde, Mr. Mballa, J.
Former Director of IPAR-Yaounde, Mr. Tsala, F.
The Director of IPAR-Yaounde, Dr. Akoulouze, R.
The Director of IPAR-Buea, Mr. Kajih, J. T.

Cameroon Inspectors of Education

Mr. Romanus Fomenky
Mr. Mbungwe Patrick
(In all five inspectors were interviewed,
three national, and five divisional)

Researchers in IPAR-Buea

Dr. Eben, S.N.,
Mr. Ndumbe W. E.
Mrs. Ngwa, H.
Dr. Kale, J.
Dr. Abangma, M.
Mr. Ngwabo, S.
Ms. Nsong, R. N.

Directors of TTCs

Mr. Boma, C.
Mr. Fonssi, E.

CNE

The Director, Dr. Bebbe-Njoh
Mr. Mukam, Research coordinator
Mr. Ndame-Essoh, Research Coordinator

Headmasters of Buea pilot Schools

Mr. Nwatiogbo Lucas W.O.
Mrs. Namondo Elinge
Mr. Esua

Primary school teachers attached to IPAR-Buea

Mr. Kema J. P.
Mrs. Enjema E. Martin

Others: group interviews conducted during intervals of two SPEP
seminars held in March 1987

- a group of three administrators of TTCs,
- two groups of four headmasters in (North West province)

N.B.

(1)   IPAR-Yaounde had no involvement with pilot schools when
      field work was carried out for this study.

(2)   The names of research participants, who for undisclosed
      reasons asked that their names should not feature in the
      research reporting are not included.

Annex 2: A copy of SPEP evaluation form

<u>MINEDUC/USAID/USC SUPPORT TO PRIMARY EDUCATION PROJECT</u>

<u>NORTH WEST PROVINCE PRIMARY SCHOOL IN-SERVICE TO THE DIVISIONS</u>

DATE: _____

LOCATION: _____

<u>EVALUATION FORM</u>

1. How valuable did you find this in-service?

      1.   Excellent   [ ]
      2.   Very Good   [ ]
      3.   Good   [ ]
      4.   Fair   [ ]
      5.   Poor   [ ]

2. How helpful were the following topics?

   a) Physical Education Activities

      1.   Very helpful   [ ]
      2.   Somewhat helpful [ ]
      3.   Not helpful   [ ]

   Would you use this information with your class? YES [ ] NO [ ]

   b) Methods of Teaching Reading

      1.   Very helpful   [ ]
      2.   Somewhat helpful [ ]
      3.   Not helpful   [ ]

   Would you use this information in your class?   YES [ ] NO [ ]

   c) Methods of Teaching Math

      1.   Very helpful   [ ]
      2.   Somewhat helpful [ ]
      3.   Not helpful   [ ]

   Would you use this information in your class?   YES [ ] NO [ ]

   d) Test Construction

      1. Very helpful   [ ]
      2. Somewhat helpful [ ]
      3. Not helpful   [ ]

   Would you use this information in your class?   YES [ ] NO [ ]

e)　Grouping
1.　Very helpful　　　[ ]
2.　Somewhat helpful　[ ]
3.　Not helpful　　　[ ]

Would you use this information in your class?　YES [ ]　NO [ ]

3.　List the three things you liked best about the in-service.

a.＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

b.＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

c.＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

4.　List the three things you would like to see improved.

a.＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

b.＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

c.＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

5.　Indicate other topics you would like to have included in future seminars.

a.＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

b.＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

c.＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

Other comments:　＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

Annex 3: Exchange rates

Some aspects of the IPARs project funding for 1972 and 1974, appear in the source documents both in francs CFA, and US Dollars. The following convertion table table has been used:

Exchange rate (CFA frs per US dollar)
("valeur du dollar EU en frs CFA")

1973   1974

US $1 = 235.40 frs CFA   US $1 = 222.22 frs. CFA

Source: African Statistical Yearbook (Annuaire Statistique pour
        l'Afrique) - 1980

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abangma, M.A. (1981), 'A Study of Primary Teachers' Attitudes Towards the Ruralization of School Curriculum in English-speaking Cameroon', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Institute of Education, University of London.

Adams, R.S. (ed.) (1978), Educational Planning: towards a qualitative perspective, Paris: IIEP/UNESCO.

Akoulouze, A.R. (1984a), La Réforme de l'Enseignement Primaire au Cameroun (1967-1984): les causes de la non mise en application, Yaounde: IPAR-Yaounde.

Akoulouze, A.R. (1984b), 'What Education for What Society ? The Elite Ideology of Social Change in Cameroon', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, USA, 306P.

Amin, S. (1972), 'Underdevelopment and Dependence in Black Africa - Origins and Contemporary Forms' , The Journal of Modern African Studies, 10 (4) pp.503-524.

Archer, M. (1979), The Social Origins of Educational Systems, London: Sage.

Argyle, M. (1967), 'The social psychology of social change' in Burns T. and Saul S. (eds.), Social Theory and Economic Change, London: Tavistock.

Atangana-Mebara, J -M., Martin, J -Y., & Chau, T.N. (1984), Education, Emploi et Salaire au Cameroun, Paris: UNESCO/IIEP.

Avakov, R.M. and Zagefka, P. (1980), 'The place of education in long-term projections for development' in Avakov, R.M. (ed.), The future of education and education for the future, Paris: UNESCO/IIEP.

Barnett, H.G. (1943), Innovation: basis for cultural change, New York: McGraw-Hill.

Beal, G.M. and Bohlen, J. (1968), 'Social action:instigated social change in large social systems' in Bertrand et al. (eds.), Models for Educational Change, Autin, Texas: Southwest Educational Development Laborartory.

Bebbe-Njoh, E. (1979), Réformes Scolaires et Recherches Pédagogiques - Réflections à partir d'une étude de cas: l'évolution de l'enseignement au Cameroun (a reprint of a 1977 version), Yaounde: CNE.

Bebbe-Njoh, E. (1980), La Réforme Educative au Cameroun: orientations générales, implications et contraintes, CNE – Yaounde (document réalisé avec la participation de Cesar Birzéa).

Becker, H. (1958), Sociological work: method and substance, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction books.

Becker, H.S. and Greer, B.(1982), 'Participant Observation: The Analysis of Qualitative Field Data', in Burgess, R.G. (ed.), Field Research: Sourcebook and Field Manual, London: Allen & Unwin.

Beling-Nkoumba, (1967), 'Le jardin Scolaire', in L'educateur camerounais, No. 15, 1966/67.

Bennis, W.G., Benne, K.D. & Chin, R. (eds.) (1969), The Planning of Change, New York: Holt, Reinehart and Winston. (2nd edn).

Bergmann, H. and Bude. U. (1974), Training Opportunities for Primary School-leavers in the Northwest and Southwest provinces of Cameroon (Buea).

Bernstein, N.I. and Freeman, E.H. (1975), 'Evaluation Research and Public Policies' in Nagel, S.S. (ed.), Policy Studies and the Social Sciences, Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Co.

Best, F. (1985), 'The position of primary school children in modern society (school, family, community) from the view point of learning rhythms', in Council of Europe (1985), op. cit., pp.65-80.

Bishop, G. (1986), Innovation in Education, London: Macmillan Publishers.

Blakemore, P. (1970), ' Assimilation and Association in French Educational Policy and Practice: Senegal, 1903-1939' in Battle, V.M. and Lyons, C.H. (eds.), Essays in the History of African Education, New York: The Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University, pp.85-104.

Blanc, P. (1953), Le régime du mandat et de la tutelle: leur application au Cameroun, Thèse de la faculté de droit de Montpellier, 2 vol. 470p.

Blaug, M. (1973), Education and the employment problem in developing countries, International Labour Office (ILO) publications, Geneva.

Blenkin, G.M. and Kelly, A.V. (1987), The Primary Curriculum: a process approach to curriculum planning, London: Harper and Row.

Bolam, R. (1975), 'The Management of Educational Change: towards a conceptual framework' in Houghton, V. et al. (eds.), Management in Education - Reader 1: The Management of Organizations and Individuals, Ward Lock Educational, Open University Press, Milton keynes.

Bolam, R. (1983), 'In-service teacher training in developing countries' in Bude, U. and Greenland, J. (eds.), In-service education and training of primary school teachers in anglophone Africa, Baden-Baden:Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, pp.133-141.

Boma, A.N. (1980), Information and Reflections on the Reform of Primary Education and Operational Strategies in Progress, Buea: IPAR-Buea.

Brand, J. (1975), 'The Politics of Social Indicators' in British Journal of Sociology, vol.26, pp.78-90.

Bray, M., Clarke, B.P., and Stephens, D. (1986), Education and Society in Africa, London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd.

Bray, M. & Coombe, T. (1987), 'Financing Educationin the Third World: constraints and strategies' in Gauhar, A. (ed,-in-chief) Third World Affairs 1987, London: Third World Foundation for Social and Economic Studies, pp.421-433.

Brickell, H.M. (1961), Organizing New York State for Educational Change, Albany, N.Y.: State Education Department.

British Council. (1984), Education Profile: Cameroon, Editorial Section, Central Information Service, London: The British Council. 17 p.

Brownstein, L. (1972), Education and Development in Rural Kenya, in Foster, P. (1980).

Bruner, J. (1968), Towards a theory of instruction, New York: Vintage.

Bruner, J. (1974), The Relevance of Education, Harmondsworth: Penguin Education.

Bude, U. (1985), Primary Schools, Local Community and Development in Africa, Baden Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft.

Buell, R.L. (1928), The native problem in Africa, (2vols.) New York, 2, 61.

Bulmer, M. (1982) (ed.), <u>Social Research Ethics</u>, London: Macmillan.

Caiden, N. and Wildavsky, A. (1974), <u>Planning and Budgeting in Poor Countries</u>, London: John Wiley and Sons, pp. i-xvii.

Campbell, J.P. et al. (1970), <u>Managerial Behaviour, Performance and Effectiveness</u>, New York: McGraw-Hill.

Carley, M. (1980), <u>Rational Techniques in Policy Analysis</u>, Policy Studies Institute, London: Heinemann Educational Books.

Carnoy, M. (1986), 'Educational reform and planning in the current economic crisis' , <u>Prospects</u>, vol. XVI, No. 2, pp. 205-214.

CERI. (1973), <u>Case Studies of Educational Innovation: vol. IV: Strategies for Innovation in Education</u>, Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Paris.

Chau, T.N. (1985), 'Equity and the Decentralization question' in Lauglo, J. & McLean M. (1985), pp. 96-99.

Chesler, M.A. and Worden, O. (1974), 'Peristent Problems in Power and Social Change', <u>The Journal of Applied Behavioural Science</u> 10 (September 1974), pp. 462-72.

Clark, H.H, and Clark, V.E. (1977), <u>Psychology and Language</u>, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Inc.

Clarke, J.I. (1981), 'Cameroon: Physical and Social Geography' in <u>Africa South of the Sahara</u>, 1981-82, Eleventh Edition, London: Europa Publications Ltd., pp.223-228.

Clifford, S. (1978), 'EIA -Some Unaswered Questions' in <u>Built Environment</u>, vol. 4, pp.152-160.

Clignet, R. (1980), 'Education and Employment after Independence', in Simmons, J. (ed.), <u>The Education Dilemma: Policy Issues for Developing Countries in the 1980s</u>, (for the World Bank) Oxford: Pergamon Press Ltd.

Clune, W.H. (1987), 'Institutional Choice as a Theoretical Framework for Research on Educational Policy', in <u>Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis</u>, Summer vol. 9, No.2, pp.117-132.

Codd, J.A. (1984), 'Epistemology and the politics of educational evaluation' <u>Education Research and Perspectives</u>, Vol. 11, No.1, pp. 60-69.

Cohen, D. and Garet, M. (1975), <u>Reforming educational policy with applied educational research</u>, Harvard Educational Review, 45, 17-43.

Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1970), <u>Research methods in Education</u>, London: Croom Helm.

Colclough, C. and Hallak, J. (1975), 'Some issues in rural education: equity, efficiency and employment', Seminar Paper No.24, Paris: IIEP/UNESCO.

Coleman, J.S. (1972), <u>Policy Research in the Social Sciences</u>, Morristown N.J.: The General Learning Press.

Coombe, T. (1988), <u>Integral Planning for the Staffing Function in Education</u>, Paper presented at the International Conference on EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT: SHARING OUR EXPERIENCES, Department of International and Comparative Education, Institute of Education - University of London, 15-17 March 1988.

Coombs, P.H. (1985), <u>The world crisis in education:the view from the eighties</u>, New York: Oxford University Press.

Coombs, P.H., Prosser, R.C. and Ahmed, M. (1973), <u>New paths to learning for rural children and youth</u>, International Council for Educational Development.

Cooper, W.D. (1986), 'Some issues relevant ot the involvement of consultants in institutional development work', a paper presented at the Seminar on "Improvement of Performance in Institutional Development", the Project Management Institute - Netherland, Amersfoort, September 11-12, 1986.

Commission of Technical Cooperation in Africa South of the Sahara/Scientific council for Africa South of the Sahara (CCTA/CSA), <u>Meeting of Specialists on the Teaching of Second European Language</u>, Yaounde, 15-21, November 1961, Lagos: CCTA/CSA).

Coverdale, G.M. (1974), <u>Planning Education in Relation to Rural Development</u>, Fundamentals of Educational Planning Series No. 21, Paris: IIEP/UNESCO.

Coulby, D. (1984), 'Dependency theories and education' in Treffgarne, C.B.W. (ed.) <u>EDC Occasional Papers, No. 6</u>, Institute of Education, University of London.

Council of Europe. (1985), <u>Research into primary education</u>, Third All-European Conference of Directors of Educational Research Institutions, Neusiedl (Australia) 4-7 December 1983, report, collected and edited by the Secretariat of the Council of Europe, Lisse: Swetz and Zeitlinger.

Council of Europe, (1988), Innovation in Primary Education, Final report, Project No. 8 of the CDCC, School Education Division, Council for Cultural Co-operation, Strasbourg.

Courade, C. and Courade, G. (1977), Education in Anglophone Cameroon (1915-1975), Yaounde.

Cummings, W.K. (1986), Low-Cost Primary Education: Implementing an innovation in six nations, Ottawa: International Development Research Centre (IDRC).

Dalin, P. (1973), Case Studies in Educational Innovation: IV. PARIS:OECD/CERI, PP.44-51.

Dalin, P. (1978), Limits to Educational Change, London: Macmillan Press Ltd. in association with The International Movement Towards Educational Change.

Dohrenwend, B.S. and Richardson, S.A. (1956), 'Analysis of the interviewer's behaviour', Human Organization, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 29-32.

Dove, L.A. (1981), 'The deployment and training of teachers for remote rural schools in less developed countries' in EDC Occasional Papers No. 1, Department of Education in Developing Countries, Institute of Education, University of London, pp.28-49.

Dror and Yehezkel (1968), Public Policymaking Re-examined, Scranton, Pa: Chandler Publishing

Dulay, H., Burt, M. and Krashen, S. (eds.)(1982), Language Two, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.112-120.

Dumont, R. (1977), 'School versus manual work', in Prospects, VII, 3, 356-357.

Eckstein M.A. and Noah, H.J. (1985), 'Dependency theory in comparative education: the new simplicitude' Prospects, Vol. XV, No. 2, pp.213-225.

Eden, C., Smithin, T. and Wiltshire. (1980), 'Cognition, Simulation and Learning', Journal of Experimental Learning and Simulation, vol. 2, pp.131-143.

Eliou, M. (1976), 'Educational Inequality in Africa: an analysis', Prospects, Vol. VI, No. 4, pp. 558-570.

Epote, R. (1976), 'Les Activités de Coopération Technique de l'UNESCO au Cameroun', Mémoire présenté en vue de l'obtention du Diplôme de 3è cycle en relations internationales (M.Ph), IRIC, Yaounde.

Faure, E. (1972), Learning to be: The World of Education Today and Tomorrow, International Commission for the Development of education, Toronto.

Faure, E. et al. (1972), Learning to be, Paris: Unesco.

Fetterman, D.M. (1986), 'The evolution of a discipline' in Fetterman, D.M. and Pitman, M.A. (eds.) Educational Evaluation: ethnography in theory, practice, and politics, London: Sage Publications, pp. 215-221.

Filstead, W.J. (1970). Qualitative methodology, first hand involvement with the social world, Chicago: Markham.

First, R. (1980), 'Political and Social Problems of Development', in Africa South of the Sahara 1980-1981, Tenth Edition, London: Europa Publications Ltd.

Fishman, J.A. (1968), 'Nationality - Nationalism and Nation-Nationism' in Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta (Eds.), Language Problems of Developing Nations, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1968, pp. 39-51.

Flanders, N.A. (1970), Analysing teacher behaviour, Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.

Fonlon, B. (1963), "A Case for Early Bilingualism", Abbia, Revue Culturelle Camerounaise [Abbia, Cameroon cultural Review], 4 (December 1963), pp. 65-67.

Forster, P. J. and Sheffield, J.R. (1974), (eds.), Education and Rural Development, World Yearbook of Education, London: Evans.

Foster, P. (1980), 'Education and Social Inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa', The Journal of Modern African Studies, 18, 2, pp.201-236

Fullan, M. (1982), The meaning of educational change, New York: Teachers College Press, Ontario Institute for the Studies of Education.

Garrido, G.L.J. (1986), Primary Educationon the Threshold of the Twenty-First Century, International Yearbook of Education, Vol.38, Geneve:Unesco/International Bureau of Education (IBE).

Getzels, J.W. and Jackson, P.W. (1962), Creativity and intelligence, New York: Wiley.

Giaquinta, J.B. (1973), 'The process of organizational change in schools', in Kerlinger, F.N. (ed.), Review of Research in Education, Itasca, IL: F.E. Peacock Publishers Inc.

Gifford, P. and Weiskel, T.C. (1971), 'African education in a colonial context: French and British styles' in Gifford, P. & Louis, W.R. (eds.) France and Britain: Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule, New Haven, London: Yale University Press, pp. 663-711.

Glaser, B.G. and Strauss, A.L. (1967), The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research, Chicago: Aldine.

Glennerster, H. & Hoyle, E. (1973), 'Educational Research, and educational policy', in Taylor, W. (ed.), Research Perspectives in Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.211-233.

Goetz, J.P. and LeCompte, M.D. (1981), 'Ethnographic research and the problem of data reduction' Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 12, 51-70.

Goetz, J.P. and LeCompte, M.D. (1982), 'Problems of Rliability and Validity in Ethnographic Research', Review of Educational Research, Vol. 52, NO.1, pp. 61-91.

Gordon et 1. (1977), 'Perspectives on policy analysis' Public Administration Bulletin, vol. 25, pp. 26-35.

Government of the Federal Republic of Cameroon. (1963), West Cameroon Education Policy; investment in education 1963, Buea: The West Cameroon Government Press, p.4.

Government of the Federal Republic of Cameroon. (1966), Second Five-Year Development Plan (1966-1971).

Government of the United Republic of Cameroon (GURC). (1971), Draft Request for Assistance from the United Nations Development Programme to set up a National Instiute of Education in Cameroon, Yaounde, December 1971.

Government of the United Republic of Cameroon (GURC). (1981), Fifth Five-Year Development Plan (1981-1986).

Government of the Republic of Cameroon (GRC). Sixth Five-Year Development Plan (1986-1991).

Gould, W.T.S. (1974), 'Secondary school admission policies in East Africa: some regionalisms', Comparative Education Review, Vol. 18, No. 3.

Gowin, B.D. and Millan, J. (1974), Appraising Educational Research: a case study approach, Englewood Cliff, N.J.: Prentice-Hall INC.

Green, H.R. (1982), 'Cameroon Economy' in Africa South of the Sahara 1981-1982, Eleventh Edition, London: Europa Publications Limited, pp. 228-237.

Greer, B. and Becker, S.H. (1982), 'Participant Observation: The Analysis of Quantitative Field Data' in Burgess, G.R. (ed.) Field Research: A Source-book and Field Manual, London: Allen and Unwin, pp. 239-250.

Gross, N., Giaquinta, J.B., and Bernstein, M. (1971), Implementing Organizational Innovations: A Sociological Analysis of Planned Educational Change, New York: Harper and Row.

Guba, E.G. (1978), 'Toward a methodology of naturalistic inquiry in educational evaluation', CSE Monograph Series in Evaluation, L.A., Californis: Centre for the Study of Evaluation.

Gwei, N.S. (1975), 'Education in cameroon: Precolonial and Colonial Antecedents and the Background of Higher Education', University of Michigan, Ph.D. Thesis, 555p.

Habermas, J. (1971), Knowledge and human interests, Boston: Beacon Press.

Hage, J. and Aiken, M. (1970), Social change in complex organizations, New York: Random House.

Hallak, J. (1976), Migration from rural areas: employment and education, Seminar Paper No. 26, Paris: Unesco.

Hallack, J. & Caillods, F. (1980), Education, Work and Employment -I, Education, training and access to the labour market, Paris: UNESCO/IIEP.

Hamilton, D. et al. (eds.) (1977), Beyond the Numbers Game, Basingstoke and London: MacMillan Education.

Harrison, P. (1983), The Third World Tomorrow, London: Penguin Books.

Havelock, R.G. (1970), A Guide to Innovation in Education, a handbook on the innovation process for change agents, Institute fo Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Havelock, R.G. (1971), Innovations in education, strategies and tactics, Working paper, Centre for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Havelock, G.R. and Huberman, M.A. (1977), Solving educational problems: the theory and reality in innovation in developing countries, Paris: Unesco/Internatonal Bureau of Education (IBE).

Hawes, H. (1979), Curriculum and Reality in African Primary Schools, London: Longman.

Hawes, H. & Coombe, T. (eds.) (1986), Education Priorities and Aid Responses in Sub-Saharan Africa, London: Overseas Development Administration/University of London Institute of Education.

Hawes, H. and Stephens, D. Questions of Quality: Primary Education and Developing Countries, in press.

Hedges, A. (1985), 'Group Interviewing' in Walker, R. (ed.), Applied Qualitative Research, London: Gower.

Heijnen, J.D. (1968), Development and education in the Mwanza District, Tanzania, a case study of migration and peasant farming, Centre for the Study of Education in Changing Societies/University of Utrecht, Amsterdam (Holland).

Holmes, B. (1983), Educational Development Trends, International Yearbook of Education, Vol. XXXIV, Paris: Unesco.

House, R.E. (1983), 'Assumptions Underlying Evaluation Models' in Madaus, F.G. et al. (eds.), op. cit., pp.45-64.

Hoyle, E. and Glennerster, H. (1973), 'Educational research and educational policy', in Taylor, W. (ed.), Research Perspectives in Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 211-133.

Huberman, A.M. (1979), Understanding Change in Education, Paris: Unesco.

Hurst, P. (1981), 'Some issues in improving the quality of education', Comparative Education, 17 (2), 185-193.

Hurst, P. (1983), 'Implementing Educational Change: A Critical

Review of the Literature', EDC Occasional Papers, No.5, Department of Education in Developing Countries, University of London Institute of Education.

Hurst, P. (1985), 'Decentralization: panacea or red herring ?' in Lauglo, J. & McLean M. (1985), The Control of Education, Lonod: Heinemann Educational Books, pp.79-95.

Husen, T. (1979), The School in Question, Harmondsworth: Oxford University Press.

IPAR-Buea. (1977), Report on the reform of primary education, (Buea, April)

IPAR-Yaounde. (1977), Rapport sur la rencontre des deux IPARs a Yaounde 13 - 15 Avril 1977, Yaounde.

IPAR-Yaounde. (1980), Rapport d'évaluation de la pre-expérimentation de la réforme des programmes et méthodes de l'Enseignement Primaire, Yaounde: IPAR-Yaounde (July 1980)

Isaksson, A. (1982), "Reflections on education and work", Prospects, vol XII, No.4, p.442.

Israel, A. (1987), Institutional Development: incentives to performance, Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press (Published for the World Bank).

Johnson, K.R. (1979), "Readability", The School Science Review 60 (212).

Jones, S. (1985), 'The Analysis of Depth Interviews' in Walker, R., op. cit., pp. 56-70.

Jones, S. (1985), 'Depth Interviewing', in Walker, R., op. cit., pp.45-55.

Joyce, B. and Showers, B. (1980), 'Improving in-service training: the messages of research' in Educ. Leadership, 1980 (37), 379-385.

Kale, J.K. (1979), A Study of the Relation between Parents' Perception of School and their Attitude towards the Reform of Primary Education in Cameroon, unpublished M.A. thesis, Laval university, Quebec - Canada.

Kale, J.K. (1983), The IPAR Project: A study of variation in the implementation of an Educational Innovation, unpublished Ed.D. thesis, University Teachers College, Columbia - USA, 196 p.

Kane, H. (1973), 'Secondary Education, Training and Employment: confronting the hopes of young Africans', (report on conclusions adopted by a Unicef Ministerial Conference, based on studies carried out in Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Chad and Togo), in Prospects, vol. . III, No. 3, pp. 333-341.

Kemmis, S. (1976), Evaluation and the evolution of knowledge about educational programmes, unpublished Ph.D. thesis University of Illinois (USA).

Kennedy, M.M. (1984), 'Assessing the validity of qualitative data' Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 366-377.

Khoi, Le Thanh (1976), Aspects of educational reform and planning in Cameroon. Draft report. (Yaounde, October) - a translation of original version in French

Khoi, Le Thanh (1980), 'The future shape of education ?' in Avakov, R.M. (ed.), The Future of Education and the Education of the Future, Paris: UNESCO/IIEP.

Kiggundu, M.N. (1983), 'Administrative Theory and Practice in Developing Countries: A Synthesis', in Administrative Science Quarterly, vol 28, pp. 66-84.

King, K. (1975), 'Development and education in the Narok District of Kenya', in African Affairs, Vol. 17, No. 285.

King, K. (1980), 'Education and Self-employment' in Education, Work and Employment, Vol II, IIEP/UNESCO, pp.217-283.

King, P. (1986), An African Winter. London: Penguin Books.

Kitchen, H. (ed.) (1962), The Educated African: a country-by-country survey of educational development in Africa, London: Heinemann.

Klein, W. (1986), Second Language acquistion, London, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kogl, R. (1962), 'The role of the school in national life', in Unesco report (1962) by Education Planning Group, op. cit., pp.39-52).

Koppelman, L.K. (1983), 'The Explication Model: An Anthrological Approach to Program Evaluation' in Madaus, F.G. et al. (eds,). pp.349-356.

Krammer, F.A. (1975), 'Policy Analysis as Idoelogy' Administration Review, Vol. 35, pp. 509-517.

Kuhn, T. (1970), The structure of scientific revolutions, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ladd, J. (1975), 'Policy Studies and Ethics' in Nigel. S.S (ed.), pp.177-184.

Lallez, R. (1974), An Experiment in the Ruralization of Education: IPAR and the Cameroonian Reform, (Study prepared for the International Bureau of Education)-UNESCO, Paris.

Lambert, E.W. (1978), 'Some Cognitive and Sociocultural Consequences of Being Bilingual' in Alatis, E.J. (ed.), International Dimensions of Bilingual Education, Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics 1978, Washington: Georgetown University Press, pp. 214-229.

Lambert, E.W. and Anisfeld, E. (1969), 'A note on the relationship of bilingualism and intelligence', Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science 1, 123-128.

Landau, M. (1972), "Linkage, Coding and Intermediacy," in Eaton, J.W. (ed.), Institution Building and Development From Concepts to Application, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, pp.91-109.

Larocque, G., Le Thanh Khoi. and Vandevelde, L. (1977), La Réforme de l'Enseignement au Cameroun: Projet de Rapport, Yaounde: IPAR-Yaounde.

Lauglo, J. and McLean M. (1985), The Control of Education: international perspectives on the centralisation-decentralization debate, London: Heinemann Educational Books (for the Institute of Education, University of London).

Lebogso, M.E. (1987), Programmes de formation à l'Ecole Normale Supérieure (ENS) des élèves-professeurs des ENI-ENIA: essai d'analyse critique, Séminaire de Bamenda orgainsé à l'intention des responsables des ENI-ENIA, SPEP seminar, 16-19 March 1987, 7p.

LeCompte, M.D. and Goetz, J.P. (1982), 'Problems of Reliability and Validity in Ethnographic Research' Review of educational Research, Spring 1982, vol. 52, No. 1, pp.31-61.

Lehne, R. (1983). 'Research Perspectives on State Legislatures and Education Policy' in Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis Spring. Vol.5. No.1., pp. 43 - 54.

LeStage, A. et al. (1974), Pédagogique de la Réforme de l'Enseignement Primaire au Cameroun, Yaounde: IPAR-Yaounde.

Levin, M.H. (1980), 'Dominant views of education and work', Education, work and employment -II, Paris: UNESCO/IIPE, pp.129-131.

Levin, M.H. & Carnoy, M. (1976), The limits of Educational Reform, New York: McKay.

Le Vine, V.T. (1964), The Cameroons from Mandate to Independence, Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Lewis, L.J. (1962) (ed.), Phelps-Stokes Reports on Education in Africa, London. ·

Lillis, K. (1981), Attempts to diversify secondary school curricula in developing countries: a literature review and some additional hypotheses concerning causes of failure, Brighton: University of Sussex (Centre for educational technology).

Lipppitt, R., Watson, J. & West, B. (1958), The Dynamics of Planned Change, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co.

Little, A. (1986) 'From educating and employing to learning and working' in Prospects, XVI, 1, pp.11-33.

Lofland, J. (1971), Analyzing social settings, New York: Wadsworth.

Lusigna, De-G. (1969), French-speaking Africa Since Independence, London: Pall Mall Press.

Lynch, J. and Plunkett, D.H. (1973), Teacher Education and Cultural Change, London: Allen and Unwin.

Lyons, R. (1985), 'Decentralized educational planning: is it a contradiction ?' in Lauglo, J. & McLean M. (1985), The Control of Education, Lonod: Heinemann Educational Books, pp.159-168.

Mackay, L.A. (1977), The Harvest of a Quiet Eye: A Selection of Scientific Quotations, London: The Institute of Physics.

Madaus, F.G., Scriven, S.M. & Stufflebeam, L.D. (eds.) (1983) Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation, Boston, Lancaster: Klumer-Nijhoff Publishing

Mann, D. (1976), 'Making change happen ?' in Teachers College Record', Columbia University, 77, 3, 313-322.

Marchand, C. (1974), 'Tentatives d'adaptation de l'enseignement aux réalités camerounaises: l'enseignement agricole, 1921-1970', Revue Canadienne des Etudes Africaines, vol 8, no. 3, pp. 539-551.

Marchand, C. (1975), 'La scolarisation française au Cameroun 1920-1970', Thèse de 3 ème cycle, Université de Laval, Québec, Tome I et Tome II.

Marriott, S. (1985), <u>Primary education and society</u>, London: The Falmer Press.

Martin, J -Y. (1978), <u>Social Differentiation And Regional Disparities: educational development in Cameroon</u>, Paris: ORSTOM - UNESCO/IIEP.

McCall, G.J. (1969), 'Data quality control in participant observation', in McCall G.J. and Simmons, J.L. (eds.), <u>Issues in paricipant observation: a text and reader</u>, Reading, Mass.: Addison Wesley.

McKenna, B. (1986), SPEP report (1986), op.cit.

Medawar, P.B. (1979), <u>Advice to a Young Scientist</u>, London: Harper and Row Ltd.

Mehan, H. (1979), <u>Learning lessons: Social organization in the classroom</u>, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press.

Merton, R.K. (1968), <u>Social Theory and Social Structure</u>, (3rd edn.) New York: The Free Press.

Miles, M.B. (1964), <u>Innovation in Education</u>, New York: Teachers College Press.

MINEDUC. (1973), <u>**Rapport final sur le séminaire d'information des cadres politiques et administratifs sur la réforme de l'enseignement primaire au Cameroun**</u>, Yaounde.

MINEDUC. (1974), <u>**Rapport sur la mission d'évaluation UNESCO/UNDP/UNICEF, 12 février au 10 mars 1974**</u>, Yaounde.

MINEDUC. (1976), <u>**Rapport du deuxième séminaire national sur la réforme de l'enseignement primaire**</u>, 23-28 fevrier 1976.

MINEDUC, (1977), <u>**Rapport sur la rencontre des deux IPARs a Yaounde, 13-15 Avril 1977**</u>, MINEDUC, Yaounde.

MINEDUC. (1982), <u>**Rapport National sur l'Education au Cameroun et ses perspectives d'évolution**</u>, Yaounde (February).

Mishan, E.J. (1974, 'Flexibility and Consistency in Project Evaluation' in Economica, vol 41, pp.81-06.

Moch, M. and Morse, E. (1977), 'Size, centralization and organizational adoption of innovations', <u>American Sociological</u> <u>Review</u>, Vol. 42, No. 5.

Mougoue et Beling J. (1983), <u>**Oriéntations et problèmes de l'éducation au Cameroun: essai de synthèse**</u>, CNE, Yaounde.

Mukam, L. (1978), <u>**Proposition de structures pour la réforme de l'enseignement au Cameroun**</u>, Projet II, CNE, Yaounde.

Mukam, L. et al. (1986), La Réforme del'Enseignement primaire au Cameroun: bilan (1967-1985) et stratégies de relance, CNE, Yaounde.

Ndame, E. (1978), Problèmes poses par le système éducative camerounais, Etudes et Documents de l'ISH, CNE, Yaounde.

Ndzino, J. (1979), Une esquisse d'une philosophie camerounaise de l'éducation, Yaounde: CEPER.

Ngijol-Ngijol, P. et al. (1978), Etudes sur l'enseignement des langues et cultures nationales, CNE, Yaounde.

Ngoue J. et al. (1978), Prolegomènes a une réforme de l'éducation, CNE, Yaounde.

Nicholas, E.J. (1983), Issues In Education: comparative analysis, London: Harper and Row Ltd.

Njeuma, L.D. (1986). 'Aid to education' in Hawes, H.; Coombe, T.; Coombe, C.; and Lillis, K. (eds.). Education Priorities and Aid Resposes in Sub-Saharan Africa. Report of a Conference at Cumberland Lodge, Winsor 4-7 December 1984, Overseas Development Administration (ODA)/University of London Institute of Education, pp. 135-143.

Njiale, M -P. (1984), 'L'Enseignement au Cameroun sous le mandat at la tutelle de la France (1916-1960): ses idéologies et ses contradictions', Thèse de Doctorat de 3è Cycle en Sciences de l'Education, Un iversité RENE DESCARTES, Paris V.

Oettinger, A.G. (1969), Run, Computer, Run: The Mythology of Educational Innovation, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Oliphant, M. (1980), 'Teacher Education for National Developemnt', The International Magazine for Science and Mathematics Teachers, vol. 23, No.5, May/June 1980.

Omo-Fadaka, J. (1982), ' Education and endogenous development in Africa', Prospects, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp.261-268.

Palma, G. (1978), 'Dependency: a formal theory of underdevelopment on a methodology for the analysis of concrete situations of underdevelopment', World Development, 6, 7 - 8.

Papagiannis, G.J, Klees, S.J, & BIckel, R.N. (1982), 'Toward a Political Economy of Educational Innovation' in Review of Educational Research, Summer 1982, 52, 2. 245-290.

Patton, Q,M. (1978), 'Evaluation of Program Implementation' in Sechrest and associates (eds.), Evaluation Studies, Review Annual, vol. 4, London: Sage Publications, INC.

Paul, S. (1977), 'A framework for Curriculum Planning' in Black, J.E, Coleman J.S. and Stifel, L.D. (eds.), Education and Training for Public Sector Management in the Developing Countries, A Special Report from the Rockefeller foundation, U.S.A., pp. 85-93.

Paulston, R.G. (1971), 'Socio-cultural Obstacles to Educational Development', Journal of Developing Areas (April), pp. 401-416.

Paulston, R.G. (1976), Conflicting Theories of Social and Educational Change: A typological Review, University Centre for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh - USA.

Pelto, P.J. and Pelto, G.H. (1978), Anthropological Research: The structure of inquiry (2nd ed.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Peltriaux, R. (1962), ' Primary Education and Teacher Training' in Unesco report (1962) by Education Planning Group, op. cit., pp. 15-38.

Peters, R.S. & Hirst, P.H. (1970), The logic of Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Peterson, P.E., and Williams,T.W. (1972) 'Models of decision making' in M.W. Kirst (Ed.). State, School, and politics research directions. Lexington, Mass.:Lexington Books.

Petite, J. (1986), Expectations at secondary level and trends in primary education in Europe, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, DECS/EGT (85) 64.

Phillips, H.M. (1975), Basic education - a world challenge: measures and innovations for children and youth in developing countries, London: Wiley.

Piaget, J. (1973), To understand is to invent, New yoek: Grossman.

Platt, J. (1976), Realities of Social Research, London: Chatto and Windus for Sussex University Press.

Popham, W.J. (1975), Educational evaluation, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Pressman, J.L. and Wildavsky, A. (1984), Implementation, (3rd ed.), Berkeley: University of California Press, USA.

Psacharopoulos, G. (1985), <u>Planning of Education: Where do we stand ?</u>, Education and Training Series, Discussion Paper No. EDT4 (August), The World Bank, Washington DC.

Psacharopoulos, G. and Woodhall, M. (1985), <u>Education for Development: An Analysis of Investment Choices</u>, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Psathas, G. (1973), <u>Phenomenological sociology: issues and application</u>, New York: Wiley.

Raymaekers, E. and Bacquelaine, M. (1985), 'Basic education for rural development' in Prospects, XVI, 3, 455-470.

Razzell, A. (1979), 'Primary schools: a particularly raw deal,' in Rubinstein, D. (ed.), <u>Education and Equality</u>, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Reid, A.W. (1975), ' The Changing Curriculum: Theory and Practice' in William, A.R. and Decker, F.W. (eds.), <u>Case Studies in Curricum Change: Great Britain and the United States</u>, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Reynolds, D.P. (1975), 'Value dilemmas in the professional conduct of social science', <u>Internal Social Science Journal</u>, vol.XXVII, No.4, pp.563-611.

Rideout, W. (1985), SPEP report (1985), op.cit.

Romain, R. (1985), <u>Lending in Primary education: Bank performance review</u>, 1962-1983, Education and Training Series, Discussion Paper No. EDT20, The World Bank, Washington DC.

Rowley, C.D. (1971), <u>The politics of educational planning in development countries</u>, Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning/Unesco.

Rubin, N. (1971), <u>Cameroun, an African Federation</u>, London: Pall Mall.

Salifou, A. (1977), <u>Considérations sur les conclusions du séminaire sur la réforme des Programmes de l'Enseignement Primaire au Cameroun (25-29 avril 1977)</u>, Yaounde, CNE, Yaounde.

Sander, B. (1985), 'Education and dependence: the role of comparative education', <u>Prospects</u>, Vol. XV, No. 2.

Santerre, R. (1973), <u>Pédagogie d'Afrique Noire. L'école coranique peul du Cameroun</u>, Montréal: Presse de l'Univers.

Santerre, R. and Mercier- Tremblay, C. (1982), La Quête du Savoir: essais pour une anthropologie de l'éducation camerounaise, Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal.

Schaeffer, F.S. (1981), 'Increasing national capacity for educational research', Prospects, XI, 3, 326-341.

Schatzman, L. and Strauss, A.L. (1973), Field Research: Strategy for a Natural Sociology, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Schultz, T. (1961), 'Investment in human capital', American Economic review, 51, pp. 1035-38.

Schwartz, M.S. and Schwartz, C.G. (1955), 'Problems in participant observation', American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 60, No. 4, pp. 343-353.

Scriven, S.M. (1983), 'Evaluation idelogies' in Madaus, F.G. et al. (eds.), pp.229-260.

Searle, B. (ed.) (1985), Evaluation in World Bank Education Projects: Lessons from three case studies, Education and Training Series, Discussion Paper No. EDT5 (August), The World Bank, Washington DC.

Siffin, W.J. (1977), 'Two Decades of Public Administration in Developing Countries' in in Black, J.E, Coleman J.S. and Stifel, L.D. (eds.), Education and Training for Public Sector Management in the Developing Countries, A Special Report from the Rockefeller foundation, U.S.A., pp. 49-60.

Sifuna, D.N. (1986), 'The vocational curriculum in primary education in Kenya: an evaluation' in Prospects, XVI, 1, pp. 125-134.

Simmons, J. (ed.) (1980), The Educational Dilemma: Policy Issues for Developing Countries in the 1980s, London: Pergamon.

Sinclair, E.M. (1977), 'Introducing work experience programmes in Third World Schools', Prospects, VII,3,362-378.

Smith, H.W. (1981). Strategies of social research, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall.

Smith, R.L. (1979), Progress Towards Universal Primary Education, A Commonwealth Survey, Education Division Commonwealth Secretariat, Pall Mall, London.

Somerset, H. (1982), Examination Reform: the Kenya experience, Education and Training Series, The World Bank, Washington DC.

SPEP. (1981), Project Paper (PP), MINEDUC, Yaounde.

SPEP. (1985), Annual report, Project Year 1 (November 20, 1984 - November 20, 1985), USAID project No. 631-0033, MINEDUC, Yaounde.

SPEP. (1986), Evaluation report: Primary School Teachers (MEGAs) Workshop (June 31 - July 10, 1986), SPEP/MINEDUC, Yaounde.

SPEP. (1986), Annual report, Project Year 2 (November 20, 1985 -November 20, 1986), USAID project No. 631-0033, MINEDUC, Yaounde.

Stake, R.E. (1976), Evaluating educational programmes, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

Stake, R.E. (1983), 'The Case Study Method in Social Inquiry' in Madaus, F.G. et al. (eds.).

Stark, M.F. (1980), 'Federalism in Cameroon: the shadow and the reality' in Kofele -K.N. (ed.), An African Experiment in Nation Building: the Bilingual Cameroon Republic since Reunification, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, pp. 101-132.

Steinmetz, A. (1983), 'The Discrepancy Evaluation Model' in Madaus, F.G. et al. (eds.), Evaluation Models: viewpoints on educational and human services evaluation, Boston, Lancaster: Klumer-Nijhoff Publishing, pp.79-99.

Stenhouse, L. (1975), An Introduction to Curriculum Research and Development, London: Heinemann.

Stephens, D. (1985), 'Decentralization of Education in Northern Nigeria: a case of continuing "indirect rule" ?' in Lauglo, J. & McLean M. (1985), The Control of Education, Lonod: Heinemann Educational Books, pp.159-168.

Stern, H.H. (1969), "Languages and the Young School Child" in Caroll,J.B. (ed.), Oxford University Press.

Tadadjeu, M. et al. (1978), Propositions pour L'Enseignement des Langues Camerounaises, Yaounde: Centre de Recherche sur les Langues et Tradition Orales Africaines (CERELTRA), 29pp.

Tadadjeu, M. (1985), 'For a Policy of Cameroonian Linguistic Integration: Extensive Trilingualism' in THE CULTURAL IDENTITY OF CAMEROON, proceedings of a colloquium - May 16, 1985, Yaounde: Ministry of Information and Culture, Department of Cultural Affairs, pp.178-192.

Tansam, J.K. (1987), The Teaching Profession Today, IPAR-Buea (Cameroon).

Tcheuma, L.L. (1975), La rentabilite du système éducatif du Cameroun, University of Yaounde, Yaounde.

Tchoungui, G. (1977), Le bilinguisme au Cameroun: bilan et perspectives 1960 - 1980, CNE, Yaounde.

Thiam, D.A. (1986), 'The context of change: perspectives from one country' in Hawes et al., (eds.) (1986), pp.23-26.

Thomas, R.M. and Kobayashi, V.N. (1987), Educational Technology: Its creation, development and cross-cultural transfer, Oxford, New York: Pergamon Press.

Thompson, A.R. (1981), Education and Development in Africa, London: Macmillan Press.

Timsit, G. (1976), 'Modèles administratifs et pays en voie de développement', International Review of Adminstrative Sciences, 42 (4): 349-359.

Tosam, F.J. (1980), 'Education in Cameroon: retrospect and prospect', unpublished M.Ed. dissertation, Chelsea College, University of London.

Tosam, F.J. (1984), Village Technology: an initiation into appropriate technologies towards professional and technical education in Cameroon primary schools, Yaounde: BREDA/UNESCO, pp.86.

Treffgarne, C.B.W. (1978), 'Language Usage and Policies in Senegambia: local responses to the anglophone /francophone division of a multilingual region', Ph.D. thesis, Department of Education in Developing Countries, Institute of Education, University of London.

Treffgarne, C.B.W. (ed.) (1984), 'Contributions to the workshop on "Reproduction and Dependency in Education": Parts 1 & 2, EDC Occasional Papers, No. 6 & 7, University of London Institute of Education.

Tsala, F. (1972), 'Rurally-oriented pedagogy in cameroon: report of an evaluation mission' in Ponsioen, J.A. (eds.) Educational innovations in Africa: Policies and Administration, Tilberg, Netherlands: Bergmans, pp.83-95.

Tyler, W.R. (1983), 'A Rationale for Programme Evaluation' in Madaus, F.G. et al. (eds.), op. cit., pp. 67-78.

UNDP. (1972), **Projet IPAR-Yaounde: rapport trimestriel**, Yaounde.

UNDP. (1975), **Dossier IPAR-Buea**, Yaounde.

UNDP/UNESCO, **Rapport de la Mission d'évaluation** [de l' IPAR-Yaounde] (12 fevrier au 10 mars 1974), MINEDUC, Yaounde.

Unesco. (1961), Final report: Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, 15-25 May 1961, Paris: Unesco.

Unesco. (1962), CAMEROON: Report of first mission (March 10 - May 20 1962), Cameroon Education Planning Group, Paris: Unesco (a translation from French).

Unesco. (1962), Report of the Advisory Commission for the Development of Higher Education in the Federal Republic of Cameroon, Paris: Unesco.

Unesco/OAU. (1968), Conference on Education and Scientific and Technical Training Related to Development in Africa, Final report, Nairobi, July 1968, Paris: Unesco.

Unesco. (1976), Moving Towards Change: some thoughts on the new international economic order, Paris: Unesco.

Unesco. (1976), Innovations in African Education, Conference of Ministers of Education of African Member States (Lagos 27 January - 4 February 1976), Paris: Unesco.

Unesco/ECA/OAU. (1982), Report on Education and endogenous development in Africa: trends, problems, prospects, Conference of Ministers of Education and those Responsible for Economic Planning in African Member States, Harare, 28 June - 3 July 1982.

Unesco. (1983), **Problèmes de la culture et des valeurs culturelles dans le monde contemporain**, Paris: Unesco.

Unesco. (1984), Reflections on the future development of education, Educational studies and documents, No.49, Paris: Unesco publications.

Unesco. (1986), International year book of education vol. XXXVIII-1986 on Primary Education on the threshold of the twenty-first century, Geneva: International Bureau of Education (IBE).

Vandenberghe, R. (1984), 'Teacher's role in educational change', in Brit. J. in-service edduc., 1984 (11), No.1, 14-25.

Vandenberghe, R. (1988), 'The process of innovation: an exploratory analysis', in Council of Europe (1988), Final report, op. cit., pp. 151-165.

Van den Berg, R.M. and Vandenberge, R. (1987), Strategies for large-scale innovation in education: dilemmas and solutions, (ISIP Book, 2) Leuven, Acco, 1987.

Velloso, J. (1985), 'Dependency and education: reproduction or conspiracy?' Prospects, xv, 2, 205-212.

Vengroff, R. (1977), 'Dependency and Underdevelopment in Black Africa', The Journal of Modern African Studies, 15 (4) pp. 613-630.

Vernon-Jackson, H.O.H. (1967), Language, schools , and government in Cameroon, Centre for Education in Africa, New York: Teachers College Pess, teachers college, Columbia University.

Versluis, J. (1973), 'Secondary education, training and employment: the qualitative mismatch in developing countries', Prospects, Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 349-356.

Verspoor, A.M. (1985), Project Management for Educational Change, Discussion Paper, Education and Training Series Report, No. EDT12, The World Bank, Washington DC.

Vielle, J -P. (1981), 'The Impact of Research on Educational Change', in Prospects, vol. xi, no. 3, pp. 313-325.

Walker, R. (1985), Applied Qualitative Research, London: Gower.

Waring, M. (1979), 'The implementation of curriculum change in school science in England and Wales' European Journal of Science Education, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 257-275.

Waterston, A. (1966), Development planning: Lessons of experience, Baltimore: MD, John Hopkins University Press.

Watson, G. (1967), 'Resistance to change', in Watson, G. (ed.), Concepts for Social Change, Baltimore: (National Training Laboratories) National Education Association for COPED.

Watson, K. (1982), Education in the Third World, London: Croom Helm.

Wax, R.H. (1971), Doing fieldwork: Warnings and advice, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Webster, J.W. and Stufflebeam, L.D. (1983), 'AnAnalysis of Alternative Approaches to Evaluation' in Madaus et al. (eds,), pp.23-44.

Weiler, H. (1979), Notes on the comparative study of educational innovation, Paper presented at the International Workshop on the study of Innovations in the Public Sector, International Institute for Comparative Social Research (W2B), West Berlin, December 14-18 1979.

Weiler, H.N. (1978), 'Education and Development: From the Age of Innocence to the Age of Scepticism', Comparative Education, Vol. 14, No. 3 (October).

Wilbois, J. (1934), Le Cameroun: les indigenes, les colons, les missions, l'administration francaise, Paris: Payot.

Williams, P. (1986), 'African education under seige' in Hawes, H., Coombe, T., Coombe, C. and Lillis, K., (1986) (eds.), pp. 91-105.

Wilson, J. (1966), Education and Changing West African Culture, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wilson, S. (1977), 'The use of Ethnographic Techniques in Educational Research', Review of Educational Research, Vol. 47, No. 2, pp. 111-127.

Wilson, S.P. (1971), Interest and Discipline in Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Wirt, F.M.(1970). 'Theory and research needs in the study of American educational politics.' Journal of Educational Administration, 8, 53-86.

Wolfgang, K. (1986), 'The process of language aquisition' in Second language aquisition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-32.

Wolfgang, M. (1985), 'Conclusions', in Council of Europe (1985), pp.7-14.

World Bank. (1980), Primary Schooling and Economic Development: A review of the evidence, Washington D,C.

World Bank. (1983), 'Project and programme management' in World Development Report 1983, New York: Oxford University Press, pp.88-100.

World Bank. (1985), <u>Teacher Training: a review of World Bank experience</u>, Education and Training Series, Discussion Paper, No. EDT21, The World Bank, Washington DC.

World Bank. (1985), <u>Institutional Development in Education and Training in Sub-Saharan African Countries</u>, Education and Training Series, Discussion Paper No. EDT22, The World Bank, Washington DC.

World Bank. (1988), <u>Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: policies for adjustment, revitalization and expansion</u>, Washington D.C.: The Internaional Bank for Reconstruction and development/The World Bank.

Worthen, B.R. and Sanders, J.R. (1973), <u>Educational Evaluation: Theory and Practice</u>, Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones.

Yembe, O.W. (1985), 'Cameroon: system of education' in Husen, T. and Postlethwaite, T.N. (eds.), <u>The International Encyclopedea of Education: research and studies</u>, vol.2 (C), Oxford, New York, Paris: Pergamon Press.

Yembe, O.W. and Kale, J. (1980), 'Reforms in the educational system: A case study of IPAR', in Kofele-Kale, N. (ed.) <u>An African Experiment in National Building: The Bilingual Cameroon Republic since Reunification</u>, Colorado: Westview, Boulder, pp. 313-327.

Zaltman, G. (1973), <u>Processes and Phenomena of Social Change</u>, New York: Wiley-Interscience.

Zaltman, G. et al. (1977), <u>Dynamic Educational Change</u>, New York: The Free Press.

Zeigler, H.L. (1972), 'Who governs American education research strategies ?' in M.W. Kirst (Ed.).