

A STUDY OF PRIMARY TEACHERS' ATTITUDES  
TOWARDS THE RURALISATION OF SCHOOL  
CURRICULUM IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING CAMEROON

by

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ABSTRACT

In 1974, Institut de Pédagogie Appliquée à Vocation Rurale\* (I.P.A.R) Buea was set up to collect and collate information, carry out research, and prepare a report with proposals to the Cameroon Government suggesting what curricular and other related reforms should be introduced into the primary school system to give it a greater environmental and rural orientation. In 1977 I.P.A.R produced its Report on the Reform of Primary Education which called for some major and radical changes in curricular, structures, organisation, examination process, teaching methods, and other pedagogical practices of primary teachers.

This study is concerned with the proposed reform and with the attitudes of primary school teachers towards some of the major and radical proposals in the report. Specifically an attempt is made to ascertain how favourable or negative primary teachers are to some of the proposals. A further objective is to improve the understanding of the sources of different attitudes by relating positive attitudes (or reform-mindedness) to a series of 'explanatory' variables which include a set of biographical background; characteristics of the teachers' pedagogical background; and aspects of the teachers' orientation towards their occupational role.

A broad hypothesis was adopted that 'primary teachers' attitudes towards the different reform issues will be correlated to reflect a common attitudinal dimension of general reform-mindedness'. Statistical analysis confirmed this hypothesis. Other minor hypotheses which were adopted were either confirmed or rejected depending upon the 'explanatory' variable used to analyse the teachers' responses.

The thesis is divided into five parts. The first part (Chapters One and Two) consists of the conceptualisation of the problem and analyses the framework within which the proposed reform has to operate. Part two (Chapters Three and Four) describes the primary school system, its curriculum, its historical genesis, its present nature and the pressure for change. Part three (Chapters Five and Six) outlines the major reform proposals, indicating items chosen for the questionnaire and describes the characteristics of the primary school teachers. In part four (Chapters Seven and Eight) the survey design is described and hypotheses adopted. The last, part five (Chapters Nine and Ten) analyses the results, discusses these results and considers some of the implications deriving from them leading to certain suggestions on the way future policy may evolve.

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\* The translation of the French phrase approximates to Institute of Practical Educational Research for Rural Development. (See the Foreword to Thesis)

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Above all, I am indebted to my supervisor, Mr H.W.R.Hawes whose unrelenting guidance and encouragement for the past three years has led to the submission of this study. Term-time or during vacation he was always there when needed. I owe him gratitude for the systematic chapter-by-chapter corrections, criticisms and suggestions which enabled me to re-examine the various issues in this study in their wider contexts.

To my widowed mother I express my appreciation of her voluntary patience in foregoing my attention which was absorbed by my study abroad. I am also grateful to my wife, Grace, who in spite of her own studies found time to go through my statistical calculations.

ABBREVIATIONS

C.A.A.S.T.	- Cameroon College of Arts, Science and Technology
C.E.G; C.E.S.	- Collège d'Enseignement Général; Collège d'Enseignement Secondaire
C.E.T.	- Collège d'Enseignement Technique
C.U.S.S.	- Centre Universitaire des Sciences de la Santé
E.N.S.A.	- Ecole Nationale Supérieure Agronomique
E.S.P.	- Ecole Supérieure Polytechnique
E.M.	- Ecole Ménagère
E.N.I.R;	- Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs à Vocation Rurale
E.N.I.A.	- Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs-Adjoints
E.N.E.M.C.	- Ecole Normale d'Enseignement Ménager et de Couture
E.N.S.	- Ecole Normale Supérieure
E.S.I.J.Y.	- Ecole Supérieure Internationale de Journalisme de Yaoundé
E.T.T.C.	- Elementary Teacher Training College
H.E.T.T.C.	- Higher Elementary Teacher Training College
I.A.E.	- Institut d'Administration des Entreprises
I.N.J.S.	- Institut National de la Jeunesse et des Sports
I.R.I.C.	- Institut des Relations Internationales du Cameroun
S.A.R.	- Section Artisanale Rurale
S.M.	- Section Ménagère

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FOREWORD TO THESIS

1. Cameroon became an independent and unified nation in 1961 after 77 years of a varied history. German rule from 12 July 1884 to 1 January 1920 when the Treaty of Versailles came into force; French rule in French Cameroun from 1920 to 1960; and British rule in British Cameroon from 1920 to 1961. At independence and unification the official name of the country was decreed to be Cameroon in English and Cameroun in French. This study has employed these names.
2. As used in this thesis, the term voluntary agencies always means Christian missions since no other voluntary agency was engaged in educational work at the primary level at the time of my field work in Cameroon.
3. The terms vocational education, handwork, handicrafts, and local technology overlap considerably in meaning and are often used almost interchangeably in public documents and secondary source materials, hence I have found it impossible to make precise distinctions in this thesis.
4. The term IPAR (Institut de Pédagogie Appliquée à vocation Rurale) approximates to Institute of Practical Education Research for Rural Development, but in public documents in English-speaking Cameroon, it is simply known as the Institute for Primary School Reform. I have also found it convenient to use this abridged form in most parts of the thesis.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THESIS

This study is one contribution to a vital and running theme: how a nation and people within that nation seek to reform its educational system; why they decided to undertake these changes; how they set about them; what difficulties they experienced; and how far they succeeded in overcoming them. It deals with the economy, people, politicians, and administrators - but principally the teachers who work in the nation's primary schools; their opinions and attitudes to the proposed changes. These teachers, like all homo sapiens, are different and complicated and subject to all manner of contradictory influences. Hence my analysis of what shapes the course of school reform and more importantly the attitudes of teachers who undertake it will necessarily be wide and the results of my investigation diverse and in some measure contradictory. Any other treatment would be superficial. And no sober person who has interest in curriculum change or educational reform in Africa either as an observer or participant or who knows the complexities of such change can afford to be superficial.

This seems as good a place as any to make three further points relevant to the presentation of this study. Indeed, if the three points are made now, they need not be repeated throughout the thesis. First, it should be underlined that the major objective of this investigation has been descriptive and not prescriptive. The main focus has been on describing the attitude profile of primary teachers as a group; describing within group attitudes of teachers; and also describing some relevant intervening variables on the teachers' attitudes.

The second decision I have had to make, but not the most difficult, has been whether to try to include as much recent information on the

economy, people, and educational statistics as possible or whether to limit myself to a base date of 1975 when research for the reform of the school system was begun. I have settled for a compromise. In my main analysis of the present school statistics, the people, the curriculum existing in schools prior to 1975, and other socio-economic data, I have included information only up to 1975, but not beyond as the reform proposals are based, in the main, on information available to the researchers prior to 1975. But in the appendices I have, where possible, included recent information. There is, I must say, very little in the way of recent information that would have made any substantial difference in the reform proposed. In any case, the latest reliable information available is 1978.

Finally, the most difficult decision I have had to make concerns the statistical analysis in Chapter Nine. In reading through some relevant theses in the University of London Institute of Education Library, I noticed that the customary procedure in attitude studies is to run the raw scores through a computer applying more and more complicated statistical formulae and producing results that are completely incomprehensible to the average educational planner or classroom teacher. There is, of course, nothing fundamentally wrong with this. Certain experimental controls and complex statistical analyses are obviously essential and a researcher should be considered negligent in his duties if he were not aware of them.

Similarly, it is also his duty to see that under no circumstances does his research so deviate from its context and reality that his final conclusions, although statistically significant, are meaningless in their wider application. But there is little doubt that the closer



a piece of educational research comes to the laboratory experiment, with all the strictness and controls and statistical analysis that laboratory researchers like to impose, the further away in practice this is from the actual situations which prevail in schools. I may, for example, use very sophisticated statistical techniques to say that grade III and II teachers have identical opinions or attitudes towards the proposed school reform. But this does not mean that in their teaching environments and classrooms both sub-groups of teachers would apply the same teaching techniques or teach the new curricula with the same enthusiasm. Attitude scales and statistical analysis are only an aid to what teachers might do. As a result of these considerations the statistical analysis in Chapter Nine has been kept simple and uncomplicated.

PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

## 1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

### 1.1.0 Introduction to the Study

#### 1.1.1 Educational Reform Trends in Africa

The desire of independent African states to reform their educational systems began with the Addis Ababa Conference sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA).<sup>1</sup> The deliberations of that seminal conference resulted in a very comprehensive report which may be regarded as a blueprint for educational change on the continent. The two main points expressed with unequivocal clarity were, first, that education in Africa should be viewed as an investment, intimately related to over-all economic and social development, and second, that the way to increase the immediate and long-term pay-off of schooling is through careful planning. These were almost entirely new concepts in African educational history.

But the follow-up conference (to the Addis Ababa plan) of African Ministers of Education, held in 1964 in Abidjan, Ivory Coast,<sup>2</sup> showed (from the reports submitted by participating States) that educational development was still lagging behind the Addis Ababa targets both in quantity and quality. However, there was some evidence to show that the prevailing tendency among African States was to accept those targets as a matter of stated policy. The desire to reach those targets and the increased demand of education by the local populations became almost an excuse to avoid much needed qualitative changes which were called for

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1. UNESCO (1961), Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa: Final Report: Addis Ababa (Paris).
  2. UNESCO (1964), Conference of African Ministers of Education, Abidjan, Ivory Coast, 17-24th March, Final Report (Paris).

by the Addis Ababa plan. As a result, the curriculum remained essentially unchanged - bookish, literary with a strong urban focus. Not surprisingly the optimistic convictions of the 1960s that formal education would accelerate socio-economic and political modernisation failed to materialise.

The second half of the 1960s saw the beginning of some new approaches to educational reform, particularly at the primary level, in most parts of Africa. The new approaches very often differed in form and substance from one country to another, but the underlying rationale - a closer integration between schools and their communities - runs through all the approaches. Some of the general trends that have emerged since have been outlined in An African Primary Curriculum Survey undertaken by Hugh Hawes and Audrey Aarons in 1975.<sup>1</sup>

They include, first, an awareness and the increasing willingness among curriculum planners to undertake, sometimes rigorous and systematic, research into the material conditions in schools and communities they serve, the goals and aspirations of society before embarking on curriculum reform.

A second trend has been the realisation that the primary school curriculum (and primary school reform in general) must be planned as a whole and not piecemeal, that artificial subjects boundaries must be bridged - 'that integration between subjects is desirable within the limits of teachers' abilities to effect it'; and, a third trend in the words of Hugh Hawes has been the attempt exemplified by Tanzania 'to integrate the culture and approaches of home and local society with

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1. Hawes, H.W.R. (1976), 'An African Primary Curriculum Survey', Innovation, No.10; UNESCO: Newsletter of the International Educational Reporting Service, pp.6-8.

that of the school'.<sup>1</sup> Having identified some of these new approaches, I now have to admit that although some of them have found their way into national reports, most of them are still shelved in cupboards of Education Ministries. The Report on the Reform of Primary Education (1977) Cameroon and the Zambian Education Reform Proposals and Recommendation (1977) are good examples. In actual fact, most systems - in the main - have then gone on doing what they had been doing in the early 1960s.

#### 1.1.2 Research for Educational Reform in Cameroon

In English-speaking Cameroon where the present study is based, systematic and rigorous research was undertaken as preliminary to primary school reform and curriculum development. The research was undertaken by a research institute, the Institute for the Reform of Primary School Education (Institut de Pedagogie Appliquée à vocation Rurale: I.P.A.R). The institute (I.P.A.R) was first started in Yaoundé, capital of the then five French-speaking provinces, in 1967.<sup>2</sup> In 1974 a similar institute was started in Buea<sup>3</sup> (formerly the capital of English-speaking Cameroon), with the same terms of reference discussed in some detail in Chapter Six.

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1. Ibid, p.7.
  2. The Institute began initially as a teacher training centre - L'Ecole Normale d'instituteurs à vocation Rurale (E.N.I.R), changing its name later to Institut de Pedagogie Appliquée à vocation Rurale (I.P.A.R).
  3. See Presidential Order No.277/CAB/PR of 10th October 1974.

The two centres were set up with reasonable resources in terms of personnel and adequate funding jointly from Cameroon Government, the United Nations Development programme, the German Agency for Technical Co-operation, with some assistance at a later stage from the British Council. However, the staffing of IPAR-Buea differed in the orientation of its brains trust. A team of international experts from the funding agencies and a contingent of local talents, once assembled, began to collect and collate data, carry out empirical research and finally prepared a report with proposals and recommendations for reform and related measures for closer integration between primary schools and their communities. The report of the institute (prepared under the auspices of the Minister of Education) was submitted in April 1977 after a reasonable time scale of almost three years. The present study is an offshoot of the report.

### 1.1.3 The Objective of Study

The study has two main objectives. The first is to examine critically the proposals and recommendations contained in the institute's report against the background of the economy, the people, the present educational system and, more importantly, teachers who work in the system. Two main questions about the reform which I attempted to answer are: What were the major factors which influenced it? How far do the proposals reflect the goals and aspirations of the society and to a lesser extent the growth and development of children?

The second and major objective is to survey primary school teachers' attitudes to aspects of the reform proposals and to ascertain whether a

general reform-'mindedness dimension'<sup>1</sup> exists among the teachers. As part of this objective, an attempt is made to identify sources of attitude differences among teachers by relating reform-mindedness to a series of 'explanatory variables'<sup>2</sup> which were grouped into four main categories: first, characteristics of the teacher's biographical background such as age and sex; second, a set of characteristics related to a teacher's pedagogical background including teaching experience, professional training, academic attainment and position held in school; third, characteristics of the school in which an individual is employed such as urban, rural, and/or Catholic, Government, or Presbyterian; and fourth, aspects of the teacher's orientation towards his teaching role. The teacher's occupational role which is conceptualised as a continuum along a Restricted - Diffuse - Extended dimension is analysed in some detail in Chapter Seven. From these analyses certain implications for research and action are inferred in Chapter Ten.

#### 1.1.4 Assumptions and Some Reasons for the Objectives

In the following paragraphs an attempt will be made to outline some assumptions and rationale for selecting the objectives above as an appropriate avenue of research for educational reform and implementation. The general assumption is that there is some relationship between education and socio-economic development. The massive expenditure on education by Third World politicians stems from this assumption that investment in education is an optimal investment for social and economic

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1. Reform-mindedness approximates to open-mindedness, as used by Rokeach, M. (1960), The Open and Closed Mind (Basic Books).
  2. The term is loosely used. It is not tied into any deductive system.



development. As my Cameroonian authorities forcibly put it:

The question no longer arises therefore as to whether education is a factor of social and economic development; what we want to know in our underdeveloped countries is how it can contribute still further and in a harmonious way to this development. This is in fact the heart of the problem of educational planning and the reform of educational systems.

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As this relationship seems central to educational reform, it is important to explore it in some detail. In order to provide a background against which to explore this relationship, it is necessary to define development. In its least complex form development is a lineal and temporal concept. In so far as all societies have a history, at various times they undergo a uni-directional process of transition from simple to ever complex and higher production and societal forms. The history and destiny of societies are then conceived in terms of evolution that go back for some centuries. Thus, in the doctrine of stages of growth, Rostow (1960) stated:

This book presents an economic historian's way of generalising the sweep of modern history. The form of this generalisation is a set of stages of growth. ... These stages ... have an inner logic and continuity. They have an analytical bone-structure, rooted in a dynamic theory of production. They constitute, in the end, both a theory about economic growth and a more general, if still highly partial, theory about modern history as a whole ...

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Although all exponents of 'stages of growth' realise the arbitrariness in the selection of operational factors and assumptions believed

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1. Ministry of National Education: 'Seminar for Administrative and Political Cadres' on The Reform of Primary Education in Cameroon (1973), p.6.
  2. Rostow, W.W. (1960), The Stages of Economic Growth - A Non-Communist Manifesto (London: Cambridge University Press), pp.1,4,13,12.

to be significant for growth, all strategies of development derived from these stages involve the adoption of techniques for accelerating the transition of society from one stage to the next. Builders of stages of growth also ignore the close relationship between economic development policies and the combination of human factors. To the economic concept, therefore, have to be added social, cultural, political, demographic and attitudinal factors.<sup>1</sup>

Hagen (1962) correctly appraises the significance to be attached to what he calls 'non-economic' factors in development when he argues:

Since the economic state of a society is closely related to its political state, and the forces that bring change in the one also bring some sort of change in the other, a model that explains economic (development) must take into account non-economic as well as economic aspects of human behaviour.

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Although many economists and students of development and change in the developing societies cite these human factors, many of them 'treat these (non-economic) factors much as Mark Twain accused everyone of treating the weather. Having mentioned non-economic factors, they then proceed to ignore them and discuss development as though only economic factors bring it about'.<sup>2</sup> And yet, as far as social and economic development is concerned, society needs not just accumulation of capital, specific knowledge and specific skills, but attitudes and habits which may become rapidly obsolete and inimical to change.

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1. Hagen, E. (1962), On the Theory of Social Change: How Economic Growth begins (Homewood, The Dorsey Press Inc.), p.25. Also see Curle, A. (1963), Educational and Social Factors in Relation to Economic Growth (London, Tavistock Publications), pp.2-3.
  2. Hagen, E. (1960), 'Turning parameters into variables in the theory of economic growth', American Economic Review, Papers and proceedings 1, No.2, pp.624-5.

By most Western writers, African development is seen as a fusion of economic, political, and social advancement. This involves the application of Western science and technology, capital, and manpower with the help and co-operation of Africans, upon Africa for the exploitation of her natural resources. As a result, development strategy is usually framed within the narrow confines of the economic and political spheres, and planning is reduced to simple economic models or statistical factors, assuming that investment will by itself engender development.

Real development cannot be calculated by running economic data series through computers nor judged by general national product, or balance of payments. Real development involves human freedom. In his attempt to accelerate development in China, Mao was concerned, for instance, in many ways not with economic issues, but with the 'spiritual transformation' of individuals and society. The task of creating a new type of man, with new attitudes and habits, and society purified of all corruption still occupies an elevated place in Chinese development strategy. Without first liberating man from being controlled by a power elite, his enthusiasm and creativity for bringing about an independent and technologically modernised country cannot be realised.

The individual must not only liberate himself from corrupt tendencies, but also from his environment. 'Development', President Nyerere has written, 'brings freedom provided it is development of people ... But people can't be developed; they can only develop themselves. For while it is possible for an outsider to build a man's house, an outsider cannot give a man pride and self-confidence in himself as human being. Those things a man has to create in himself by his own actions. He

develops himself by what he does; he does himself by making his own decisions, by increasing his understanding of what he is doing and why; by increasing his own knowledge and ability and by his own full participation - as an equal - in the Life of the Community he lives in'.<sup>1</sup>

This definition and others like it give four characteristics (which are not mutually exclusive) of the concept of development.

- i) Development begins with freedom and political independence.
- ii) Development does not start with goods; it starts with people, their education, attitudes of mind, discipline and self-reliance.
- iii) We should think of development not so much in terms of evolution, but of creation.
- iv) Development is equity and the elimination of extremes of poverty.
- v) Development is participation in ways which affect decision-making process. This will involve the flow of ideas, the inevitable clash of values and the creation of new images.

It is possible to subject each of the above points to scrutiny. However, I am going to concern myself only with those aspects of the definition which are relevant to the present study.

The first of these is the relationship between development, people, and education. The first thing to be said about this relationship is that development and education have common ends. They are for the good of man; for the eradication of endemic diseases, minimising of poverty, combating of ignorance and the promotion of social justice, so that man

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1. Nyerere, J.K. (1973), Freedom and Development (London: O.U.P.), p.60.

may be free to become what he is capable of becoming and to contribute what he can to his fellow men.

Second, education aids economic and social development by providing skilled manpower. As a recent World Bank paper on education states: 'It (education) prepares and trains skilled workers at all levels to manage capital, technology, services, and administration in every sector of the economy. Experience has shown repeatedly that development projects are not well implemented unless investment of capital and transfer of technology are accompanied by adequate human knowledge and skills. Studies have also shown that economic returns on investment in education seem, in most instances, to exceed returns on alternative kinds of investment, and developing countries obtain higher returns than the developed ones'.<sup>1</sup>

The Bank also considers the imparting of favourable attitudes, habits, and values by the educational system as necessary for economic and social development. There is no doubt that attitudes and certain behaviour patterns inhibit economic, social, cultural, and political development; also such things as repressive cultures, repressive political systems and unwillingness to accept such things as birth control; all attitudes do not constitute fertile soil for development. As Tugan (1975) states, 'Low levels of living, institutional deficiencies, and unfavourable attitudinal frameworks induce and indirectly, negatively affect the conditions of (development)'.<sup>2</sup> Cairncross (1961), like Tugan

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1. World Bank (1980), Education Sector Policy Paper, pp.13-14.
  2. Tugan, M.I. (1975), Education, Society and development in underdeveloped countries (CESO), p.190.

(1975) writing on development problems advances the proposition that, if economic development is to be effective, it has to take place within fitting institutions and attitudes. Cairncross writes:

Development is not governed in any country by economic forces alone, and the more backward the country the more this is true. The key to development lies in men's minds, in the institutions in which their thinking finds expression and in the play of opportunity on ideas and institutions.  
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In Cameroon, as elsewhere in black Africa, there exist a number of beliefs about causal chains (which are often lumped together under 'superstition') which are the main obstacles to development. The following extract from Dongmo (1974) defines the problem in very clear terms:

We want to master seriously science and technology and gain access to the world of the developed countries. But can we do this and at the same time retain our customs, our beliefs, our traditions, our mentality? ... Certainly, our artistic values can be fully preserved without jeopardising the development of a scientific, technical and industrial mentality. On the other hand, certain practices and beliefs have to be adapted to the modern world, others will have to be abandoned because they endanger the full development of this mentality ... He who lives under the yoke of the beliefs, wherever they come from, without trying to control them by reasons, is not a free person'  
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Some of the beliefs which Dongmo had in mind include beliefs related to illness and to farming. For example, the autopsy carried out on people believed to have been killed by witches or to have been witches themselves, or the farmer who would put his charms into the

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1. Cairncross, A.K. (1961), 'International Trade and Economic Development', Economica, Vol.XXVIII, No.109.
  2. Dongmo, Andre (1974), Les origines du sens commercial des Bamileke (Yaoundé: Cameroon), pp.66-7. Also see IPAR-BUEA (1977), pp.123-4.

farm rather than use fertilisers and insecticides recommended by an agricultural extension officer, or the sick who would consult a native doctor rather than go to a medical clinic or dispensary.

'Such a mentality', writes Dongmo, 'can only be undermined by education, not by measures taken by the authorities. It is thus a task for the educators, the teachers whose influence on the younger generation can be decisive'.<sup>1</sup> We can now make three concluding remarks.

First, that the core of development is development of people. Successful economic, political, and social development ends up with making human lives richer and happier. Second, in Cameroon, and elsewhere in Africa, an important task of education in seeking to promote development must be to inspire and activate rural and urban peoples in order that they may form new attitudes, new habits towards work, forge new ways of co-operation between various ethnic, religious, or economic groups, and adopt new methods of farming. In broad terms, this is one of the objectives of primary school reform in Cameroon. It is an attempt to make curricula adequately relevant to modernisation and development. But available evidence suggests that curricular contents alone are not sufficient to ensure compatibility of the educational system with the requirements of development. Qubain (1966) for example writes that although in many Arab countries the elementary school curriculum has been considerably modified, 'it continues to be, in large measure, non-functional and divorced from the life and environment of the students'. Statements of this kind draw attention to the fact that mere change in

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1. Ibid., p.67.

curricular content would not automatically produce the intended results; certain conditions have to be fulfilled if the curriculum is to achieve desired results.

The first condition relevant to this section of the study concerns the quality of teachers which also leads us to our third concluding remark: that teachers are undoubtedly a crucial factor in changing attitudes as they are the main adopters and transmitters of new values and habits. But if teachers are to change the values and attitudes of their pupils, it is necessary that they themselves have favourable attitudes towards work and co-operation. However, the quality that teachers need above all as far as this study is concerned, is the ability to promote development-mindedness among their pupils and the community.

The specific assumption for the present study is, therefore, based on the thesis that the success of educational reform, like the one proposed for primary school in Cameroon, depends not only on a clear understanding by the teachers of what the reform entails and their attitudes towards the major proposals but equally - if not more - important on their perception of what constitutes development and modernisation in Cameroon. For example, if a vast majority of teachers see development as the application of Western science and technology, accumulation of capital and sufficient manpower, it is likely that they would regard subjects such as 'environmental studies', or 'agriculture' with some suspicion. As I shall show in the last chapter teacher education should inculcate in their student teachers the correct concept of development in terms of Cameroon.



#### 1.1.5 Some Reasons for the Major Objective

There seems to be some consistency in the pattern of data relating to general resistance of teachers to educational reform, sparse though the data may be. These data seem to indicate that a logical starting point for the introduction of new ideas and practices is the target person's prior attitude towards the new ideas or practices. Of course, the tendency of individuals, professions, unions, or groups of individuals to resist change is not a new phenomenon. Over four hundred years ago Machiavelli (1469-1527) noted that 'there was nothing more difficult to carry out nor more perilous to conduct, or more uncertain in its success, than to initiate a new order of things for the reformer has enemies in all those who profit by the old and only lukewarm defenders in all those who would profit by the new'.<sup>1</sup>

The Prince, from where the above passage is taken, is a work of political philosophy as well as history. The temptation is, therefore, to dismiss such pessimism with educationists' retort, 'that may be true of political change, but ...'. But in educational reform, more so than in political change, innovators are dealing with an institution and a profession whose characteristic permanency has built-in factors which make not for change, or the acceptance of change, but rather the resistance of it.

From the enormous amount of data presented in his compendium Innovation in Education, concerning resistance to change among teachers, Miles (1964) agrees that there is a general tendency among teachers to resist change. That diffusion rates in educational systems are, as a

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1. Machiavelli, N. (1532), The Prince.

result, slower than those found in industrial, agricultural, or medical systems. He suggests several reasons, including: (1) the lack of economic incentive to adopt innovations; (2) the absence of valid scientific research findings; and (3) the lack of change agents to promote new educational ideas. However, while recognising the importance of innovative teachers and their possible effect in changing schools he is constrained to say:

... group support for individual innovators does seem particularly important, whether it is group support for a single innovator or mutual support among a number of innovators. If the innovative group draws high-status members from the target system in which innovation is contemplated it is more likely to have its recommendations accepted; particularly if the group is strongly legitimated by the system, and maintains clear open communications with it. However, these conditions, if met thoroughly, also mean that the norms and demands of the target system exert a good deal of influence on the innovating group; thus the innovations achieved are likely to be moderate rather than radical in nature.

Similar evidence is provided by social psychological research and occupational psychology. In an attempt to unravel the complexities to change among human beings, Watson (1967) divides evidence from various studies into two broad categories. Category One comprises individual characteristics which lead to resistance to change. Category Two is made up of characteristics of resistance to change in social systems. A brief summary of the evidence collated by Watson (1967) is presented in (Appendix 1). The two tables seem to indicate that in attempting to overcome resistance to changes at the work place, both the individual and group variables must be taken into account.

Miles (1964) argues that while individual or group reactions do tend to exert some influence in the rejection process, it can be shown

that inadequate planning, insufficient attention to preparing teachers for the change, lack of commitment by teachers or the community and other deficiencies in resources or power are equally as potent.

Almost similar conclusions have been reached by Paul Hurst (1980) from work he has done for the World Bank. He writes:

... it is customary to attribute resistance or difficulties (of educational reform) to non-rational and exogenous causes, and to conceive strategies of implementation accordingly. By contrast I shall argue that greater success will accrue to strategies which postulate rational or logical factors and which consist of analyses of and responses to the internal cognitive styles and strategies of those who are expected to change their practice ...

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What is important to underline is that in the study of teachers' resistance to educational change, endogenous factors which arise out of the pedagogical practice within the structures of the educational system are more potent than exogenous factors. At this stage it seems appropriate merely to draw the reader's attention to the lesson that may be learnt from this study. The broad conclusion that arises from the foregoing analysis seems to be that in introducing educational reform both the individual and group psychological variables of teachers may be potent forces for or against change. It is also worth making the point that since teachers are individuals and there are different recognizable groups and educational contexts are diverse attitudes to change may vary and this study seeks to find this out.

It is advisable, therefore, that as strong an emphasis should be placed upon group influences in attempting to promote change as one

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1. Hurst, Paul (1980), ibid., p.2.

would place upon changing individual attitudes. The next paragraphs will examine evidence available for training and in-service courses as a means of changing attitudes. One of the most popular instruments in studying teachers' attitudes has been the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory (MTAI). This scale consists of a series of statements for each of which responses are made on a five-point scale of agreement-disagreement.

Callis (1950) found that student teachers score on MTAI increased during the course of training, especially in the first six months. Dickson (1965) found that the mean MTAI scores of American and British students specialising in secondary school teaching were much more the same in the third year of college courses than for those in their first year. This finding, however, was not found to hold for British primary teachers. Evans (1967) found sharp increases during training in the scores of British graduate student teachers.

The Manchester Opinion Scales in education (Oliver and Butcher, 1962) is an instrument less value-laden than the MTAI and consists of three scales of naturalism, radicalism and tendermindedness. Butcher (1965) and McIntyre and Morrison (1967) found fairly consistent tendencies for scores on all three scales to increase during training, both in colleges and university departments.

Results from both the (MTAI) and the (Mose) indicate a general (but not universal) tendency for attitudes to become progressive and liberal during training. The differential influences of initial scores and the nature of the training institution have been shown to be important. Other differences have been found to be present depending upon the year of study in which students were tested. For example, Finlayson and Cohen

(1967) found that students in their second year of training were significantly more child-centred and radical in their attitudes than those in their first and third years.

From the point of view of this study, the most significant studies on the effectiveness of teacher training are those concerned with changes in expressed attitudes before and after on-the-job experience. 'Almost every relevant investigation, whatever the instrument used, has found that the changes in expressed attitudes during training are followed by changes in the opposite direction during the first year of teaching' (Morrison and McIntyre, 1969).

Morrison and McIntyre (1967) found that for three-year trained students this reversal of attitudes far from cancels out all the changes which occurred during the training period. In the case of one-year trained graduates the overall effect was of no significant change by the end of the two-year period. These investigators conclude: 'Changes in the direction of increased naturalism, radicalism and tendermindedness among teachers in training are to some extent reversed as a result of full-time teaching and this reversal is taking place within a relatively brief period after leaving college.'

Similarly Shipman (1967) showed that the expressed attitudes of teachers changed in their first six months of teaching from being similar to those expressed by college staff to becoming much closer to those expressed by the majority of teachers in the types of school in which they are teaching.

McLeigh (1970) in his full report gives a very comprehensive bibliography of 430 entries relating to both students and teachers. The research is concerned with students' attitudes and the changes that occur

under the influence of the environment of the college or training centre. He uses various well established tests including (MTAI) and (MOSE), some with slight modifications, and the work is a valuable source of material.

Although, as has been indicated, literature on teachers' attitudes is voluminous, it is based mainly on studies that have been carried out with European and North American teachers. It may be dangerous, therefore, to attempt to apply evidence from these studies to the African situation. As Wilson and Goethals (1960) point out, there are the three types of influence which have a bearing on the accepted values of a given occupational group. They are pre-adult socialisation, occupational selection, and professional socialisation.

As a result of pre-adult socialising processes, it can be expected that teachers in Cameroon and elsewhere in Africa, would have different values from their European or North American counterparts. In the latter, teachers come predominantly from the middle classes or, because of occupational mobility, tend to adopt the values appertaining to the middle class. This difference may show in different attitudes towards education between African and European and North American teachers. Against this, however, there is evidence - sparse though it may be - that in broad terms persons with similar occupations would tend to have similar values even across cultures (Wilson and Goethal, 1960).

The selection process in the two situations also differs. In Cameroon, as elsewhere in Africa, the majority of teachers until recently left primary standard VI at various ages, taught for at least two years as 'pupil teachers' before entering a teacher training centre. So, most 'pre-service' trainees in Cameroon and in most of Africa are often 'in-

service' trainees. With at least two years of teachings experience behind them, their attitudes towards educational issues may differ from their European or North American counterparts who are all pre-service trainees. The third process, socialisation for the professional role, with all the attendant but differing pressures may also have the effect of producing different attitudes between European and Cameroon teachers.

At this stage, I merely want to draw the reader's attention to the fact that pre-adult socialisation, occupational selection, and professional socialisation each influence educational values of teachers and all three must be taken into account when reviewing studies concerning teachers' attitudes across cultures.

A few African studies have implicit relevance to the present study. Ferron (1965) measured attitudes of West African teachers and students towards the modern approach in teaching. He concluded that there is a tendency in the attitudes of West African teachers and students towards innovation in teaching, but the factors involved were not clearly identified in the study. Ferron suggests that the development of a favourable attitude towards innovation depends on adequate communication and satisfactory emotional interaction between those responsible for the training of teachers and their students. In his own study, attitudes of British and East African student teachers towards teaching, Hamel El.Abd (1969) discovered that the British students were theoretically more progressive than the East African students in their attitudes towards principles of education, child development and discipline.

A third study, by Obanya (1974) was undertaken to find out the intensity and the direction of Nigerian teachers' reception of the French

syllabus. The results of his study showed that teachers involved in the study, irrespective of qualification, teaching experience, or age were in favour of the new French syllabus. He, like Ferron, concluded that the initial 'hostile' reaction to the French syllabus was due to a failure on the part of the innovators to ensure adequate participation by school teachers during the planning stages and lack of adequate communication during the implementation of the syllabus.

It seems appropriate, sparse though the data may be, to infer that attitudes of student teachers are temporarily changed by training, only to revert to those attitudes most prevalent in the schools in which they actually work as professionals. It is, therefore, reasonable to say that the best solution to the problem of attitude change may be one which encompasses both the expert training of individual teachers and the identification and modification of group influences within the school. The studies from Africa suggest an adequate participation in educational innovation by teachers and adequate communication between teachers and curriculum reformers. At the end of this study an attempt will be made to indicate how group influence might be harnessed to promoting positive and yet realistic attitudes towards change.

#### 1.1.6 Definition of Terms

The title of this thesis contains at least two terms which require clarification. The task is undertaken for two reasons. First, although a description of literary education in Cameroon, as elsewhere in Africa, necessarily involves the use of Western-type concepts, economic and political expediencies have led to some of these terms taking on national characteristics. Second, such a clarification makes for a



better understanding of the variegated nature of the educational change particularly from the point of view of its content and implementation strategies.

The first of these words in the title of this thesis is 'attitudes'. Gordon Allport (1954) describes the attitude concept as 'the primary building stone in the edifice of social psychology' and the voluminous literature that has accumulated in the past twenty years seems to support this contention. Although thousands of pages have been written and the term variously defined, the most lucid definition remains that of Allport. He defines attitude as 'a mental and neural state of readiness, organised through experience exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual response to all objects and situations with which it is related'.<sup>1</sup> This definition is relevant to this study in so far as the investigation attempts to go beyond the mere verbal knowledge of how far teachers favour or do not favour proposed changes in primary school education, to an exploration of the nature of reasons they offer for their expressed opinions. It is assumed, as in most attitudinal studies of this kind, that attitudes are relatively stable responses within individuals which influence both their verbal expressions and their actions<sup>2</sup> or, as Cohen (1964) succinctly put it, 'attitudes are always seen as precursors of behaviour, as determinants of how a person will actually behave in his daily affairs'.

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1. Allport, G.W. (1935), 'Attitudes' reported in Handbook of Social Psychology.
  2. Wicker, A.W. (1969), 'Attitudes versus actions', in Journal of Social Issues, vol.25, No.4, argues to the contrary that there is 'little evidence to support ... the existence of stable, underlying attitudes'. See Chapter Ten for my argument.

The phrase 'ruralisation of education' was first popularised by René Dumont in his book L'Afrique noire est mal partie (1962). His argument was based on the fact that, although most African countries are predominantly agricultural, the educational system continues to orient the children to the cities by providing the pupils with irrelevant, abstract, and literary education. This practice, Dumont argued, instils in the African child a contempt for manual work and results, at present, in a glut of unemployed primary school leavers in urban centres. His solution was to use the rural schools to train agricultural workers offering a basic education and vocational training. Dumont suggested that initially these farm-schools should recruit children from ten to fourteen years old for a three- or four-year course of study; manual labour would then be introduced into the formal educational system, and a restructuring of the salary schedules to reimburse technical personnel at a higher level than comparable administrative staff.

The problem with Dumont's solution is that this concept of 'ruralisation' is too narrow for any effective policy on education for rural development. While one fully recognises the predominance of agriculture in rural areas, any strategy for rural development that ignores the non-agricultural sectors is bound to run into serious problems. There are, however, other problems involved in the definition of 'ruralisation' popularised by Dumont and taken up by the World Bank (1974). In the first place the definition does not take sufficient account of areas that are neither rural nor urban - the areas between the two. But perhaps the biggest danger is that a country may resort to or inadvertently devise a dual system of primary school education;

an inferior one for the rural areas and communities and the other for urban areas.

To allay these fears President Ahidjo of Cameroon has astutely defined ruralisation in broad terms when he explained:

When I say, 'ruralisation of education' I do not mean an inferior education aimed merely at the child of a peasant. For the National Cameroon Union (the only political party) and the government, ruralisation signifies the adaptation of education to the realities of this country, which is essentially agricultural. A truly ruralised education is one that integrates the African man into his community and which, drawing its strength and originality from the African soul, enables every boy and girl, to the best of his or her abilities to participate in the labour force with its modern techniques ...

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There is no doubt that Ahidjo has been influenced by both Dumont and Nyerere. Despite underlying differences in political theory between Nyerere and Ahidjo, there seems to be a considerable degree of common ground in the two proposals. First, primary education is seen primarily as a preparation for rural life, to a much lesser extent as a preparation for higher education. Second, there are demands for much closer integration between life and attitudes of the school and those of the community. Third, there is concern with the vocational aspects of the later primary school course, either through the inclusion of specifically vocational items in the curriculum, or through the establishment of very close links with some form of after-training. This inevitably raises the problem of the age at which children leave school and it will be noticed that the IPAR proposal attempts to overcome this problem by recommending the raising of the school entry age.

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1. Ahmadou Ahidjo (1970), extract from a speech to Graduating Teachers.

However, it is important to note that by accepting Ahidjo's conception of ruralisation of primary school education, it follows that the content of ruralisation must be flexible. As events and environments change schools will alter the type of learning they plan and provide and there will be considerable variations by one school and by another.

CHAPTER TWO

WEST CAMEROON - BACKGROUND

## 1.2 WEST CAMEROON - BACKGROUND

### 1.2.1 Introduction

As I indicated in Chapter One, this study is about the reform of primary school education in the English-speaking region of Cameroon and teachers' attitudes to aspects of the reform proposals. This reform cannot, of course, be undertaken without reference to the society in which the 'old' schools existed and for which the 'new' schools will operate. Nor can teachers' attitudes towards the reform proposals be considered in isolation from the main trends of the educational system and other intervening variables within society. For example, teachers' political orientations, ethnic loyalties, religious affiliations, linguistic and other cultural factors will all shape teachers' attitudes towards relevant sections of the reform proposals, discussed in some detail in Chapter Five. This section attempts to isolate some of the more important political and economic factors which provide the context within which the reform will be undertaken and teachers' attitudes analysed.

### 1.2.2 The United Republic of Cameroon: General Setting

Although the Republic of Cameroon occupies a central, if not a strategic, position (see Appendix 2) between West and Central Africa, it remains (at a time when most African countries seem to attract attention only when there is a military coup, or through the notoriety of their Leader, or when factional warfare erupts) one of the less known countries in black Africa. With an area of 475,000 square kilometres, it falls among the smaller states in the continent. It covers less than two per cent of the total surface area of Africa and ranks

twentieth among the non-insular states. In contrast to many large countries like Sudan, Algeria, Libya, Chad, Nigeria, Egypt, which rank far ahead of it, Cameroon has no desert space and practically the whole territory may be used for agriculture, forestry, or ranching.

### 1.2.3 Position and Implication

Cameroon's vast latitudinal extent, from two degrees to thirteen degrees of latitude north of the equator and its highly diversified topography ranging from less than one foot above sea level on the Atlantic coast to over 4,000 metres on top of Cameroon Mountain, gives rise to a wide range of physical and human environments. This variety is amplified by a gamut of peoples, religions and cultures as well as different European influences.<sup>1</sup> These differences are further emphasised by its emergence in 1961 as the first bilingual state in black Africa, representing a union of territories formerly under French and British mandates. As the reader will see in reading Chapter Six of the present study, these cultural and environmental differences have been taken into account and have influenced the proposed primary school reform by IPAR.

### 1.2.4 English-Speaking Cameroon

The English-speaking Cameroon, where the present study is based, is wedged between gigantic and sometimes turbulent Nigeria, and dominant

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1. See Clarke, J.I. (1966), 'Cameroon', American Geographical Society, vol.XVI, No.7.

and French-speaking Cameroon.<sup>1</sup> Geologically, the two English-speaking provinces lie on a fault zone with volcanoes and high mountains which render the land rugged and inaccessible. These features present many problems for educational planners and administrators. With relatively vast expanse of the territory, the presence of fast running rivers, lack of good internal communications, including a very poor system of roads, the difficulties and cost of providing backup resources to teachers and supervising educational innovation in most areas is great (see map 2). In the remote areas, the knowledge and the attitudes of the teachers to the innovation will determine whether it succeeds or fails.

#### 1.2.5 Demography of English-Speaking Cameroon

The population of this region is small, 1,600,000 in 1976 demographic census, and unevenly distributed, with seventy per cent of the people in twenty per cent of the area.<sup>2</sup> There are considerable regional variations in population density (see Appendix 3). The largest concentrations are in Victoria, Kumba, and Mankon townships where densities reach sixty persons per square kilometre. By contrast, Ndian, parts of Meme and Menchum, and most of Manyu administrative regions, the population densities vary from less than ten persons to twenty per square kilometre. Primary schools are naturally and predominantly situated in population pockets, even in semi-urban areas.

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1. As Clarke (1966), ibid. has written, 'With 91 per cent of the area, 79 per cent of the population, and 87 per cent of the value of exports, East Cameroon (French-speaking) is obviously the dominate partner; supplying the President, the capital city and the main impetus'.
  2. Calculated from (1976) Demographic Census: Combien Sommes-nous.



Two other features of the demography are pertinent to the educational reform in the region. The first of these concerns the relatively large number of young people. Forty-four per cent of the population is calculated to be under the age of fifteen,<sup>1</sup> resulting in a heavy burden on both the economy and the primary and secondary schools systems. The second concerns rural-urban migration. Internal migrations in this part of Cameroon, and indeed in the whole of Cameroon, as elsewhere in Africa, have been characterised by movements from rural to urban areas, and as Clarke (1970) observes, from areas of low economic opportunity to those which offer greater economic promise.<sup>2</sup> Greater educational opportunity in urban and semi-urban areas also accounts for internal migrations among the youths.

#### 1.2.6 Ethnic Groups and Cultural Differences

The population is made up of a bewildering variety of ethnic groups. Although the (1976) census count does not list the population by ethnic group (a political ploy to underplay ethnic differences), there are over thirty-six separate groups.<sup>3</sup> There are wide cultural variations in cultural patterns between various ethnic groups. Traditional organisations of the society vary from strong centralised chiefdoms among the Bali,

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1. Ibid., see the Demographic Census 1976.
  2. Clarke, J.I. (1970), 'Population Distribution and Dynamics in Cameroon', in Zelinsky et al. (eds), Geography and Crowding World (OUP, Inc., N.Y.).
  3. Le Vine, V.T. (1963), ibid. Also Appendix 4.

Bafut, Nsaw, and Ngemba in the Northwest province to clusters of small clans with elected councils and chiefs among Bayang, Bakweri, Bakossi, and Balundu in the Southwest province. Patterns of family structure and occupation also vary as widely. There are matrilineal and patrilineal societies, agriculturalists and pastoralists. An appreciation of this variety is essential to the understanding of IPAR's proposals for the decentralisation of primary school education to serve local needs.

#### 1.2.7 Language

All Cameroonians speak as their mother-tongue the language of their mother's ethnic group,<sup>1</sup> and others have an additional knowledge of at least one, but sometimes more than one, Cameroonian language. While the multiplicity of ethnic language groups has remained the same but, by successive governments' policy, European languages - German, French, and English - have succeeded each other in the schools and also in common use. The majority of people in the region with at least primary schooling today speak English at varying levels of proficiency, but also pidgin English as well. Pidgin English is the lingua franca for the region.

#### 1.2.8 Some Implications

With all these basic differences one can hardly expect anything but vigorous efforts of the government to be directed towards consolidating her nationhood and towards achieving economic as well as politi-

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1. It is not necessarily the mother's language which is the dominant one. The dominant home language can be the father's, particularly when it is a mixed marriage or the wife is a non-Cameroonian, or even that of the locality if the family have migrated; but in the majority of cases it is the mother's language which is dominant.

cal independence. The quest for national unity has sometimes been pursued vigorously with the resultant curtailment of freedom of expression both for the individual and the press. The overruling commitment to National Unity has repercussions, more or less direct, on the way primary schools are organised, on the attitudes of those who teach in them, and above all, on what is taught and how it is taught.

The Government's determination to achieve national unity through the establishment of a powerful and unchallenged central political power suggests that any curriculum package or other educational innovations lacking unifying political ingredients or which advocates the advantages of decentralised curricula has little chance of being adopted. This may in part explain why the report on the Reform of Primary Education (1977) described at the outset of this study and analysed in some detail in Chapter Six has not been adopted in full and why no positive statement has in fact been made about the greater portion of the report.

#### 1.2.9 The Economy

The economic structure of the region is similar to that of most regions at an early stage of development. The economy is based, primarily, on peasant farmers in subsistence agriculture. Although the region was once renowned for its bananas, the giant Cameroon Corporation (CDC) plantations have had a remarkable decline in the production of bananas and other agricultural products because of the fall in world prices. The keen competition among producer nations, unfavourable climatic conditions, plant disease and the loss of Commonwealth preference when the Southern Cameroons left the Commonwealth to reunite with the Republic

of Cameroon in 1961, have all contributed to the misfortunes of this region.<sup>1</sup>

The soil and climate of the region are favourable to increasing agricultural production. Because of the variable climate and altitude, cash and food crop production varies in importance within the geographical and political boundaries. The main export crops are coffee, cocoa, palm produce, tea, rubber and bananas. While the Northwest province of growing a wide range of temperate zone produces equatorial crops and vegetables more forcibly and in a wider context: the world can successfully grow the wide range of crops in West Cameroon. These range from the temperate zone and in the tropics to those common food crops'.<sup>2</sup> Breeding conditions are also favourable for livestock. Agriculture in Cameroon as elsewhere in Africa can be divided into the traditional and plantation sectors. The traditional sector is the most important sector of the cultivated land and is characterized by small holdings with little or no capital inputs and the use of traditional machinery.<sup>3</sup> As a result agricultural production is based on traditional practices and cultivation. The traditional sector learns about agricultural practices from the preceding generation. In the words of IPAR's (1977) report,

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1. Benjamin, J. (1973), 'Le Federalisme Camerounias', Canadian Journal of African Studies, vol.5, No.3, pp.281-300.
  2. Robinson, R.W. (1967), Present situations and development potential for Vegetables and other Food Crops in West Cameroon (Washington, D.C.: Near East Foundation/AID Report No.NEF/C-3), p.2.
  3. Barclays Bank (1976), 'Cameroon' Country Reports.

'the process of agriculture is highly repetitive without sufficient appreciation of the long-term efforts, poor agricultural practices can have on the land. In Cassava growing communities, Cassava is grown continuously without any thought to maintaining the fertility of the soil'.<sup>1</sup>

The dependence of the country on agriculture poses a dilemma for those who would seek to reform primary schools and gear them to agricultural development, for on the one hand what employment opportunity this region has, stems - as it has in the past - largely from the land and very largely peasant agriculture. On the other hand, in terms of monetary wealth, the farmer is poor and unlikely to act as an incentive to school leavers. Though gross monetary yield from agriculture rises yearly despite the whims of world markets and variations in harvest, it is unlikely that the farmer finds himself better off as a result. Though he may receive a little more money every year, taxes and school fees, other increases in clothing items, salt, soap, food items which he does not produce himself, and imported agricultural tools increase yearly. While food prices tend to vary according to the annual harvest, they gradually spiral upwards while prices of domestic necessities such as those mentioned above rise very steadily.<sup>2</sup>

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1. IPAR (1977), p.99.
  2. The index of retail prices in Buea, the provincial capital of Southwest province demonstrate this point, sample for five years.

1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
132.7	155.5	176.6	201.2	243.1

Source: Annual de statistiques: Direction de la statistique la comptabilité national: Ministre de l'économie et du plan, p.56.

By contrast salary and wage earners do very well. Minimum wages, particularly in urban centres have risen steadily over recent years. A Government grade two teacher with ten years of teaching experience earns over sixty thousand Cameroon francs (about £125). A Government employee on scale 'A' does even better with one hundred and twenty thousand francs per month. The wages of the manual worker are low compared with the professional, but perhaps double the amount for an average peasant. Hence there are big gaps (and these grow yearly) between the earnings of the peasant and the unskilled urban labourer, between the unskilled urban and rural worker, and between the professional and the unskilled urban worker. The effects of these inequalities in part encourage urban migration among school leavers who have received an education that was not geared to life and values of the rural communities.

The next section is taken up by a historical analysis of the structural evolution of the educational system and the factors which led to the attempts to reform the system. The approach will also be analytical in the sense that I will consider how the historical and structural factors are related to each other and how they have influenced change.

PART TWO

THE NATURE OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN CAMEROON

CHAPTER THREE

A BRIEF HISTORY OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN CAMEROON



## 2.3 A BRIEF HISTORY OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN CAMEROON

### 2.3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I propose to analyse the historical development of Western education, particularly the development of the curriculum in primary schools in Cameroon and the effects of the educational traditions so created on the curriculum today and on the attitudes of teachers, pupils and their parents to school education.

Mainly following the chequered political history of the region, the development of Western education in English-speaking Cameroon from its inception to the present day may conveniently be divided into: (1) the period of exclusive missionary pioneership to 1884; (2) the German period from 1884 to 1915; (3) the inter-war years 1916 to 1945; (4) the pre-independence, 1946 to 1960; and the post-independence educational upshot, 1961 to 1979.

### 2.3.2 The First Phase 1844-1884

The first historical period (1844-1884) was one of growing missionary dominance. The first primary schools in Cameroon developed from bible and catechism classes.<sup>1</sup> The first teachers were European missionaries and the Cameroonians they had trained as evangelists. As an evangelical agent, these classes were considered as an integral part of the missionary work (schools with definitely stated reasons for their establishment) which, in the case of British missionaries, each missionary leaving for colonies had to understand.<sup>2</sup>

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1. It is a matter of opinion when these classes could actually be termed schools, for instruction in basic school subjects took place informally from the first missionary contact.
  2. For example: 'In your field of Labour you may probably be called to engage in the establishment of schools. This is highly im-

It is clear from this that evangelism was (at least in its seminal years) a separate movement with differing purposes and objectives from colonialism. The former for spiritual ends, and the latter for economic and political aggrandisement; the one employed the medium of schools, churches, and later hospitals for the expansion of its sphere of influence and the perpetration of its ideals, the other was obliged to assume administrative and governmental functions, which included not only the running of districts offices, courts and prisons, but later also such social services as hospitals and schools in order to raise critical minimum number of capable 'natives' to meet the exigencies of colonial administration.

In either case (whether as a colonising agent or as an evangelising agent) the schools which were established were organised and modelled after the pattern at home. The main characteristic of such schools was the monitorial system with pupil-teachers under the central supervision of an often untrained schoolmaster. Commonly the emphasis was on Reading, Writing and Arithmetic; also memorisation, recitation, drill, notes, set questions and answers, illustrated reading primers, the use

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(Footnote 2 continued from previous page)

portant ... but while general knowledge is beneficial and the diffusion of knowledge, and much of it exceedingly valuable, as a direct means of advancing religion, which is proper subject. Let your plans, therefore, provide for the communication of spiritual wisdom, with secular instruction', BMS Fifty-first Annual Report, 1843, p.XIII. Or, 'At first, persons of very moderate acquirements will be in contact with the minds of their countrymen; and a knowledge of the common acts of life, and the power of instructing others in reading, writing and arithmetic, seems sufficient for the first pioneers who, thus qualified, if they are sincere and zealous Christians, will find sufficient opportunity to spread their opinions', ibid., p.36. Also James Douglas (1822), Hints on Mission Edinburgh (William Blackwood), pp.47-8.

of writing slate, religious studies, hymn singing (all accompanied by corporal punishment).

That children readily attended these classes, albeit often irregularly at the beginning of the schools' establishment, and with little urging, was indicative of local chiefs' and parental support. One reason for this, quite apart from the religious motives of the missionaries, has already been given, that of being able to read and write, they understood that they would 'become better teachers, not be so easily cheated as they have hitherto'.<sup>1</sup> The children in the day schools were taught writing, reading, number work, vernacular in some schools and religious knowledge. Two factors from this earliest period are of particular importance not only to the growth and development of the present system, but also to the deficiencies that have led to the present reform. The first is the inequality of distribution of early schools. The great majority of these were founded in the coastal (Victoria and Douala) areas. Only gradually did the other parts of the region, particularly the hinterlands and the north, receive attention and even then only in the provision of elementary schools.

The second factor is that although gradually the school curriculum was enlarged, it remained essentially foreign from the point of view of the children and their parents and the society at large. This neglect of the local environment stemmed in part from the low regard missionary bodies had for the African culture, and in part from the original objectives of establishing schools which was to teach converts to read the Scriptures. For example, while locally translated, printed and

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1. B.M.S. (1844), The Missionary Herald, vol.III, No.lviii, p.255.

bound primers and bible story extracts in the Douala language were being produced locally, orders for textbooks from England (for both teachers and pupils) are indicative of an enlarged, but essentially foreign curriculum.<sup>1</sup>

### 2.3.3 The Second Phase 1884-1915

The second period (1884-1915) was the one in which for the first time the control of education entered Germany's Imperial Government schedules of duties on Cameroon (Kamerun) soil. The first mission stations which were founded on the coast of what became Cameroon, at Bimbia and at Akwas Town in 1844 and Victoria in 1858 soon increased and spread into the hinterland. At each of these stations a physical and organisational trilogy became the invariable pattern: a chapel, a dwelling house, and a school. This was to be repeated wherever other mission stations which began to work later in Cameroon (see Appendix 5) were established. The schools and their curricula remained the responsibility of the various missionary societies operating in Cameroon until 1910 when the Germans produced the first Education Ordinance, Schulordnung und Lehrplan für die Missionschulen in Kamerun (Education Ordinance and Timetable for Mission Schools in Cameroon), in Cameroon.

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1. A typical textbook order sent in 1867 from the Bethel Mission Station comprised the following items: twenty-four copies of Cromwell's Young Composer; nine copies of Allen and Cromwell's large School Grammar; five copies of the Union Spelling Books, Books I to VI; fifteen copies of Barlow's Astronomy simplified; and one copy each for teachers' lesson preparation of Evans Introduction to the Knowledge of Life; and Evans Introduction to Knowledge of Science. See B.M.S. Document No.713. Unpublished letter from Rev. Alfred Saker at Bethel Station to Rev. Alfred Henry.

The Ordinance claimed other 'firsts'.<sup>1</sup> It was the beginning of government interference with the content of education. It was also the beginning of the official use of the German language as the sole medium of instruction in all schools, in pursuance of the new policy of propagating teutonic culture in Kamerun.<sup>2</sup>

On 28 March 1911, six months after the 1910 Ordinance, a syllabus Lehrplan für die Missionschulen for mission schools was issued. The syllabus gave a plan of courses ranging from a first course to a fifth course and corresponded to the five classes of the elementary school. With the institutionalisation of education and the arrival from Germany of missionaries whose concern was entirely with school education, it was almost inevitable that the syllabus reflected not only what was going on in Germany, but what obtained at the time when the missionary teachers themselves were at school. Except for one period a week in class IV allotted to the study of local climate, local plants, animals, and German possessions in Africa, the syllabus contained very little, in terms of subject and material, that was Cameroonian.

But in one respect, in the sphere of industrial education, the German educational system which had now emerged differed fundamentally

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1. Others: for the first time, government and missions became partners in the education of 'natives', and for the first time also the Government Treasury paid out public funds to mission schools which satisfied prescribed conditions in the ordinance.
  2. See Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstages, Band 262, p.3618D for the emphasis (Nachdruck) Reichstag placed on stamping the German character on the colonies at this stage of its colonial history when the problem of language and the struggle for cultural supremacy (Nationalitätenkämpfe) seemed to receive more concern than before.

from the French and British systems which succeeded it. It would appear that it had been a practice for German colonial administration elsewhere to attach special importance to vocational education, possibly as a means for making 'natives' more useful in the various schemes for exploiting the colonies. Thus in a document issued in Germany we see the metropolitan government regretting the delay to establish industrial education by the colonial administration in Kamerun. 'Die Frage der Ausbildung eingeborener Handwerker für die Kolonien ist eine ausserordentlich wichtige ... seitens der Verwaltung sind in Kamerun und Togo'.<sup>1</sup>

But the period 1910-1914 saw both the lively contribution of government to agricultural and industrial education as well as its active encouragement of post-elementary school institutions for agricultural and industrial education by the missionary societies. Vocational education is, therefore, the distinguishing mark of German education in Kamerun, or at least for the period (1910-1914). On the eve of the outbreak of the war, one finds the government making strong representation to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Colonial Economic Committee (das Kolonialwirtschaftliche Komitee) for approval to be given to his proposals for establishing more government industrial institutions in Cameroon.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See File 4082, Handwerkerschulen in Kamerun, 1 Band, p.58 ff. Our version of the quote is as follows: The question of manual training for natives in the colonies is of extraordinary importance ... no special manual arts or industrial schools have up till now been established by the administration in Kamerun and Togo.
  2. See Shu, S.N. (1972), ibid., pp.125-7. Also see File 4082 for the Governor's letter of 17/6/14 to the Secretary of State for the Colonies about his application.

#### 2.3.4 The Third Phase 1920-1945

The year 1920 marked the legal termination of German rule in German Kamerun and opened a period of post-war reconstruction. Above all, 1920 marked the legal beginning of French and British occupation as well as the root beginnings of what has today come to be called Cameroon's bilingual and bicultural system. Finally, 1920 marked the more serious restructuring of educational work in both British and French Cameroon. The educational systems in both sectors of Cameroon acquired in this period their modern setting. In this period the education system in British Cameroon, in common with that of other former British dependencies in Africa, developed as an adaptation of current English organisation and practice to the demands of the colonial situation.

The policy of indirect rule, although efficient and popular, when applied to educational development in former British dependencies in Africa had one great disadvantage. It meant that for a long time Whitehall formulated no educational policy for her African territories. As a result, it was the Christian missionaries rather than colonial governments who were the agents for educational development in Nigeria and Cameroon.

However, the legal instrument for synthesising educational effort in Nigeria and the Cameroons was eventually launched on 27 May 1926 as Nigerian Education Code 1926; its declared purpose being 'to make better provision as regards to Education in the Colony and Southern provinces', and its first Article<sup>1</sup> confirmed that the venue for formu-

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1. It carried the following citation, 'This Ordinance may be cited as the Education Ordinance, 1926, and shall apply to the Colony and Southern province, including the Cameroons province under British Mandate'.

lating Cameroon educational policy had moved from Buea to Lagos<sup>1</sup> and was destined to remain there until 1954 when the constitutional changes brought it back to Buea.<sup>2</sup>

The Code established the Board of Education in Article 4 defining its composition and functions; Article 6 dealt with the Registration of teachers; Article 7 was on school committees; Article 9 was on the opening of new schools, schools returns, functions of Managers and proprietors; Article 11 dealt with the closing of schools; and Article 14 dealt with Grants-in-aids.

From its inception the Education Department (under a Director of Education, a Deputy Director of Education, and Assistant Directors of Education with their Staff) assumed the role, as it did in other African countries, of policy maker and co-ordinator, inspector, paymaster and provider of higher education. But the day-to-day management of schools remained very largely in the hands of the voluntary agencies.

The Code was partly influenced by the memorandum entitled Education Policy in British Tropical Africa which was published in 1925, but was also a result of pressure of leading colonial governors, Lugard of Nigeria, who wrote, 'Education in Southern Nigeria has been in the hands of missions since 1845, and it is only since 1900 that the Government assumed any control, whether the efforts of government have been all that could be desired I shall make it my business to investigate'.<sup>3</sup>

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1. See my footnote 1, page 63.
  2. See my footnote 2, page 92.
  3. See page I of this five-page typed memo entitled Education in Nigeria (1912).



In a meeting held with the representatives of the various missionary societies of eastern Nigeria (to which the Cameroons was appended), the Lieutenant-Governor for the Southern provinces (Mr H.C.Moorhouse) speaking from the chair made the following observation which touched the heart of the problem from the point of view of the local administrative authorities in Nigeria and the Cameroons: '... at present the government has no legal authority to prevent the opening of any school whether by a recognised Mission Society or Church, a school boy, or any scallywag just out of prison'.<sup>1</sup>

And so with the growing concern for the controlling power's role in educational and moral advancement of the natives (influenced partly by the League of Nations' principle of Trusteeship 1919) grew also the felt need for the establishment of new and well-defined relationships with the interested parties. And with the appearance of the broad principles and policy for education in Tropical Africa launched by the Advisory committee in 1925, the next natural consequence was the introduction of the 1926 Nigerian Education Code (Gold Coast following the same line of development issued the 1925 Gold Coast Education Code).

#### 2.3.5 Attempts to Reform Colonial Education

Before leaving this section it would seem worth while to glance at the aims and priorities of the Memorandum on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa (1925) in its attempt to orient education policy

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1. See Report on a Conference with representatives of the various missionary societies operating East of the Niger on the subject of the opening of Mission Schools and matters connected therewith held at Aba on 11/5/1923, p.I.

in the colonies to local needs for human resource development. The policy statement was organised into manageable units, each section dealing with a specific interest. The section that is relevant to this study is the third section, entitled unfortunately, Adaptation to Native Life, which was all too often taken to mean keeping the African in his place.

This section went on to develop the idea that the aim of education should be to help each individual become more resourceful in order for the community to advance pari passu in health, character, intellect, and 'the training of the people in the management of their own affairs'. Adaptation to native life was intended to focus education on the needs of the community and assist the individuals achieve a higher standard,

'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 native industries, the improvement of health, the training of people in the management of their own affairs and the inculcation of the true ideals of citizenship and service'.

Elementary education, conceived as being mainly in the vernacular, should be related to local conditions. There should be co-operation in curriculum planning: 'among scholars with aid from Governments and Missionary Societies in the preparation of vernacular textbooks. The content and method of teaching in all subjects, especially History and Geography, should be adapted to the conditions of Africa'.<sup>1</sup>

As a statement of objectives for curriculum reform the Memorandum was an admirably clear document and, in respect of its advice on syllabus

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1. Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, CMD 2374, 1925, p.6.

construction and textbook reform, certainly possible to implement, providing the will and the resources to do so were present. In Nigeria and the British Cameroons the will was present, but the resources in terms of finance and personnel were scarce.

An examination of the content of both syllabuses and textbooks, which were produced as a result of this policy, reveals genuine attempts to translate the principles of adaptation into practice, often with considerable imagination, as in the elementary vernacular combined Geography and History syllabus. But in spite of the good will and co-operation received in preparing the new syllabus, adaptation failed for a number of reasons (which I shall not go into in any great length in the present study) which originated from a complex network of factors.

Some of these factors were the lack of adequate administrative and personnel machinery, and the lack of sufficient understanding and support on the part of those who were to carry out the policy. For as Philip Coombs (1967) suggests, 'it becomes vitally important, as part of the planning process (for change) not simply for what should happen for the educational system, but to provide for the administrative arrangements, procedure and personnel to make it happen'.<sup>1</sup> The former involving training and retraining of teachers, ensuring adequate supervision, all ultimately dependent on adequate planning and adequate funding. With the benefit of hindsight, it is now known that the rate and magnitude of educational reforms must take into account the important area of the prevailing attitudes towards the phenomenon of change. The

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1. Coombs, Philip (1967), 'A View of Educational Planning', Yearbook of Education, p.72.

framers of the new policy faced massive problems on both counts.

Attitudes to the ideas of adaptation, as interpreted through the more practical elements of the syllabus, remained sceptical. The society (parents, children and teachers) had not been prepared enough to see advantages in adaptation. Moreover, it could be readily observed that the majority of those who taught teachers and those who supervised them might preach adaptation, but continued to reward examination (based on the three R's) success. So agriculture, nature study, craft work were accepted in schools very much in proportion to the enthusiasm of those who introduced them,<sup>1</sup> but there was never much doubt either in the minds of teachers, pupils or their parents where the real priorities lay.

Administratively they had to contend with an over-extended school system which, because of its fundamental links with evangelisation, the missionary societies were unwilling to limit. Their priority was to train teachers for this system and if possible provide in-service training along the lines envisaged by the Memorandum. They had to provide increased and effective supervision in a country where schools were scattered and communications poor:

Numerous, widely-scattered (hedge schools) and with fluctuating fortunes, it is difficult to form a clear view of their achievement. Old schools constantly being moved from place to place, school buildings being moved to another part of the same town and being called by a different name, all this contributed to form a confused kaleidoscope of educational activity, difficult to focus and somewhat beyond the mission's supervising capacity.

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1. See Hawes, H.W.R. (1970), 'The primary school curriculum in Uganda', The Journal of the Uganda Society, 34, 2, pp.179-93.
  2. See Section 213 (p.86) of UK Reports on British Cameroons, 1930.

This state of affairs, even if slightly exaggerated, at least explains the difficulty of supervising educational reform. This, and the fact that both government and missionary education services carried on their work in conditions of extreme penury proved decisive for the failure of the policy of adaptation.

#### 2.3.6 The Fourth Phase 1945-1960

The period after the Second World War can be divided in two. The first period refers to the period from 1945 to 1960 (or the pre-independence period) and the second refers to the post-independence period from 1960 to 1975 when the present educational reform was launched into motion. The first post-independence period, the ten years from 1945-55 was similar to that experienced in other dependencies; not spectacular, there was no economic growth and political pressure was directed towards achieving political autonomy rather than for educational expansion or change. The political autonomy which was finally achieved in 1954 and the effects it had on educational development have been discussed in the next section (under 'the present curriculum in primary schools').

After the constitutional changes, apathy gave way to enthusiasm, and communities which had shown no particular interest in education began petitioning the Education Department for schools. They were prepared to give their free labour towards the construction of schools, to pay school fees; they had discovered the rich rewards of the educated. The number of schools doubled, school enrolment quadrupled.

TABLE 3.1: SOUTHERN CAMEROONS: ENROLMENT IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Year	No.of schools	Males	Females	Total
1954	315	31,345	7,345	38,700
1958	454	42,190	12,654	54,844
1962	590	67,454	27,705	95,159
1966	744	94,058	58,242	152,300

Sources: Compiled from West Cameroon Department of Education: Annual Reports for the years 1954,1958,1962,1966.

These figures show that from 1954 when the Southern Cameroons became a separate region with its own Government responsible for the development of the territory, the number of primary schools had more than doubled by 1966 and it seems more parents than ever before were willing to send their daughters to school.

In the preceding section (2.3.1 - 2.3.6) I have attempted to analyse the influences that have affected the school curriculum during the first eighty years of formal education in Cameroon. I have noted first, how the Christian missionary tradition moulded and shaped attitudes to the primary school and its curriculum. Second, how the organisational structures of the Christian Missionary tradition have persisted, and made it impossible to have far-reaching reform in primary education. Third, how the demand for quantity in primary education on the one hand, coupled with a continual lack of money for its qualitative development on the other, contributed to the creation of a self-perpetuating tradition of poor instruction and fourth, how two conflicting traditions of adaptation to rural life and preparation for wage employment can be traced, and how the teachers, the parents and the children rejected the one and accepted the other.

### 2.3.7 Structure and Development of Education After 1966

In the first part of this section I have outlined some factors (mainly historical) which have influenced the nature, growth and development of education in English-speaking Cameroon. It remains only to describe briefly the present structure and organisation of the system and factors which brought about the educational reform.

Figure I shows the structure in 1980. Three important conclusions can be drawn from this information. The first is the formality of the system. Education takes place in schools only. There is no system of part-time, or out-of-school institutions to help school leavers.

The second conclusion is that the system remains very close to the system devised by British missionary societies in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Elsewhere in Africa departures are being made, particularly in the later secondary and higher education structures. The final important aspect of the system is that the percentage of pupils who achieve secondary education (see Figure II) is still very small compared to those who start in the system, and the percentage who receive higher education tinier still; that the cut-off examinations at the primary Leaving, School and Higher Certificate levels are still the main barriers at which pupils drop out of the system. To a pupil or his parents the passing of examinations is the key to higher education, thus greater employment possibilities, higher income and higher status. It is quite unrealistic to expect them not to regard examination success as a first and overriding priority.

FIGURE I: STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING CAMEROON 1980

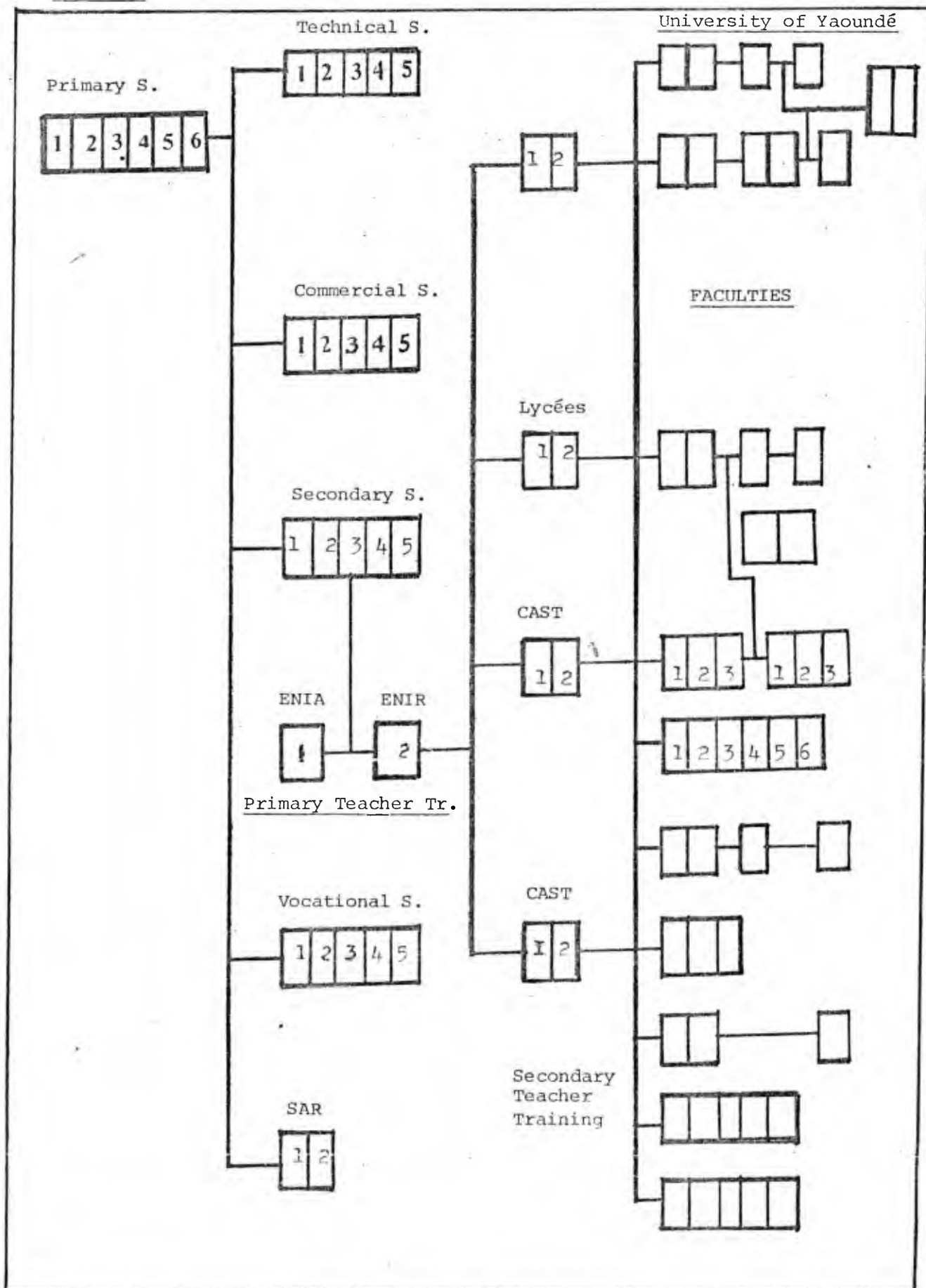




FIGURE II: ENROLMENTS: PRIMARY, SECONDARY GRAMMAR AND SECONDARY MODERN 1974

Category	Enrolment	Category	Enrolment	Total
H2	535	HIGH	656	1191
H1	656			
SCHOOL CERTIFICATE OR G.C.E O/L				
S5	1285	SECONDARY	2471	3756
S4	1978			
S3	2471			
S2	2622	FIRST LEAVING SCHOOL EXAMINATION	13786	16408
S1	3273			
PRIMARY SCHOOL				
P7	13786	25066	30244	44030
P6	19807			
P5	25066	31401	34523	51860
P4	30244			
P3	31401			
P2	34523			
P1				
				51860

### 2.3.8 The Problems and Reform

In a study of this nature, the use of some truisms is inevitable. For to say that immediately after independence English-speaking Cameroon experienced the same pressures and reacted in the same way as other countries elsewhere in Africa<sup>1</sup> is a truism. As indicated earlier, the demand for education generated by pupils, their families and missions for educational opportunities and the response of politicians to these requests constituted a major force which stimulated a rapid expansion. The need for more graduates from the secondary schools to supply the middle and high-level manpower needs of the country, and the assumption that an educated populace contributes more to modernisation than an uneducated one, also produced pressures for a dramatic expansion of primary, secondary and higher education.

As a result of the dramatic expansion (Table 3.1) resulting in increased enrolments at all levels, the State's financial resources were under great strains as the rate of economic development, determined partly by the whims and vagaries of the World Markets, was not showing any comparable dramatic improvements. In the following paragraphs, an attempt will be made to outline the economic strains in greater detail.

### 2.3.9 Administration and Financing Problems

The administration and organisation of primary schools in English-

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1. See Bergmann, H. and Bude, U. (1977), 'A Survey of primary schools and their communities for general education policy-making. The case of two provinces in Cameroon', International Review of Education, XXIII, 1, pp.3-34.

speaking Cameroon was under the jurisdiction of the State Government until 1972 when the unitary system of Government was introduced in June of that year. The State Government made laws concerning the primary educational system and its own Department of Education endeavoured to enforce these laws with a system of inspectors, education officers and visiting teachers that varies greatly in size and competence from one division to another. The West Cameroon Government received financial support from the Federal Government for primary schools and used most of this money to give grants-in-aid to various mission bodies who controlled most primary schools in the state during the first decade of unification.

After unification, the ability of the West Cameroon Government to finance its rapidly expanding system of primary education steadily decreased. The system became more dependent upon the Federal Government subvention. The Federal Government found itself financing a primary education system, the expansion of which it could not control. In West Cameroon, the system of financing primary education was based largely upon the British model. The Local Council Schools were financed by the Local Councils themselves with a subvention from the Ministry of Education; the mission administered schools were also financed by Government subvention. As is the case with most economically poor countries where there is a strong public pressure for Government provision of educational facilities and a Government response to this pressure, education was the major social service provided by Government for its citizens and its provision took a large proportion of the Budget (Appendix 6) (in spite of its somewhat eccentric accounting system). Educational expenditure was the largest single item in the West Cameroonian budget and within the

educational expenditure the largest items were the subventions to Mission Schools (Table 3.2). The largest number of Mission Schools and the still unsatisfied demand for schooling meant that the State Government had an open-ended commitment to finance an educational system expanding from year to year.

TABLE 3.2: WEST CAMEROON: COST OF FINANCING PRIMARY EDUCATION  
BY AGENCY, 1971-1972, in CFA FRANCS

Agencies	Number of schools	Running ex-penses and salaries	Agency administrative expenses	Total
Catholic	250	273,298,000	10,587,000	283,885,000
Presbyterian	204	217,507,000	8,823,000	226,330,000
Baptist	80	99,637,000	3,530,000	103,167,000
Government	150	256,954,000	7,060,000	264,014,000
Salary for additional Inspectorate Staff	-	-	-	15,000,000

Source: Secretariat of Education, Buea, July 1971  
Primary Education in West Cameroon, Some Important Facts

Although both East and West Cameroon Governments had depended upon Federal Government subventions in order to balance their budgets, the problem was greater and the subventions more important in West Cameroon, where financial harmonisation had involved giving up income from customs dues. Thus the size of the Federal subvention was proportionately and sometimes absolutely larger in West Cameroon. The reliance of the West Cameroon budget on the Federal subvention can be seen from Table 3.3.

TABLE 3.3: WEST CAMEROON GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE SHOWING  
BALANCING SUBVENTIONS FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT,  
1963-1969, in FRANCS CFA

Year	Total Budgeting Revenue	State Revenue	Federal Balancing Subvention
1963-1964	1,920,541,669	648,841,669	1,272,000,000
1964-1965	1,841,405,894	641,405,894	1,200,000,000
1965-1966	2,465,659,899	715,659,899	1,750,000,000
1966-1967	2,836,601,092	844,446,999	1,550,000,000
1967-1968	2,899,475,952	1,035,601,092	1,800,000,000
1968-1969	2,917,475,952	1,247,475,952	1,640,000,000
1969-1970	2,633,775,996	1,143,775,996	1,490,000,000

Source: Secretariat of Education, Buea, July 1971

Primary Education in West Cameroon: Some Important Facts

The concentration of the West Cameroon Government upon educational expenditure meant in effect that the Federal Government was being used to finance primary education in West Cameroon (see Appendix 6).

2.3.10 The Federal Intervention in West Cameroon Primary Education

The anomaly of the increasing expense and autonomy of West Cameroon primary education had existed since unification. Nothing was done to resolve the situation until 1970, and even then it took place by a purely administrative action. The results of the intervention in primary education were, however, different from those in other sectors of education, in which harmonisation had been accepted as an additional obstacle in the way of obtaining the necessary certificate. There was a limit to the control which could be exercised as long as the Federal structure of the Republic remained. However, as the disparity between

the administration of primary education in East and West Cameroon grew wider, educational administrators in Buea and Yaoundé were determined, although 'somewhat indecisively, that something would have to be done about West Cameroon primary education'. Harmonisation had already been attempted with the reduction of the West Cameroon primary course from eight to seven years so that it conformed to the situation prevailing in East Cameroon.<sup>1</sup> The rise in expenditure was accelerating: 'In 1967 the opening of new primary schools and teacher training colleges was abolished. But because the existing schools and colleges could not but grow, costs continued to rise'.<sup>2</sup>

By the financial year 1970-1971 there was a large and growing deficit in the budget of the Education Department which could only be met by extraordinary Government subventions, over and above the Federal Government subvention to the West Cameroon Government. In 1970 the growing deficit created a number of problems including that of paying the primary school teachers of West Cameroon, many of whom were suffering from serious arrears of salary. The Federal Government provided the West Cameroon Government with an exceptional subvention of 330 million francs CFA, in order to meet its obligations.<sup>3</sup>

The only way of reducing educational expenditure was by actually closing schools, and a series of meetings were held in the Ministry of

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1. See Rubin, N. (1971), Cameroon: An African Federation (Pall Mall, London), p.165.
  2. See West Cameroon Gazette, vol.II, No.21, Buea, 22 May 1971.
  3. Minutes of a Meeting Held on 23rd April 1971 to Discuss Problems Relating to Primary Education (Under the Chairmanship of the Hon. N.N.Mbile, Minister of Primary Education), Ministry of Primary Education, Buea.

Education to examine the problem: 'It may not be possible for the Government to take over all Voluntary Agency Schools but no new schools be authorised and a definite effort should be made to take over a certain number of schools'.<sup>1</sup> It was proposed that a fixed grant of 600 million francs CFA should be given to the voluntary agencies which in turn would force them to reduce the size of their educational commitments.<sup>2</sup> The administrative action of the Federal Government, therefore, provoked a rethinking of the relationship between the West Cameroon Government and voluntary agencies. At first it was hoped that if only the voluntary agencies could somehow be persuaded to contribute something to the deficit, the West Cameroon Government could throw themselves at the President's mercy.

1. The committee appreciates and recognises the existence of a problem of great magnitude that threatens the very existence of our primary school system. It also agrees that an additional sum of 213,249,560 francs CFA will be required to maintain the system.
2. The committee further agrees that the problem exists because the Voluntary Agencies, whose continued contribution to education in the way of capital works is recognised, have not been contributing to the recurrent expenditure on primary education.
3. The Voluntary Agencies should be told immediately what their respective contributions towards the cost of Primary Education in 1971-72 will be.
7. The matter may be placed before His Excellency that he would reconsider the possibility of another extraordinary subvention.

3

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1. Notes on the Discussion Held on 5th and 6th May, 1971 in Yaoundé by Hon. N.N.Mbile, Secretary State for Primary Education, with the Minister of Education, East Cameroon, Secretary of State and management of the English Language Primary School, Yaoundé. Ministry of Education: Buea.
  2. Vice-President Muna, An Address to Voluntary Agency, Education Secretaries on the matter of a Lasting Solution to the Problem of the Rising Cost of Education, Ministry of Primary Education, Buea, 18th May, 1971.

(Footnote 3 see following page)

It soon became clear that this was wishful thinking both in terms of obtaining money from the Missions and in hoping for 'mercy' from the President:

1. From informal discussions with the Voluntary Agencies it was doubtful that they would make any financial contributions.
  3. The committee shared the sentiments of the members of the House of Assembly that if the Voluntary Agencies in fact made no contribution to the recurrent cost of education, Government should take over the administration of all primary schools.
- 1

The financial crisis has been outlined in greater detail for two reasons. First, the unviability of the region helped to accelerate the process of transforming the Federal into a unitary system of government. Second, it led to a rethinking of the whole system of primary education and eventually led to the reform attempt. But whether this apparent economic unviability of the region was the effect of the arbitrary division of what revenue should accrue to the region and what revenue to the Federal government, or whether this phenomenon can simply be explained by the conclusion that the region was naturally poor, are matters calling for separate examination.

#### 2.3.11 Enrolment, Drop-out and Repeaters on the Eve of Reform

It is, as indicated earlier, easy to see that the educational system

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3. (see previous page) Minutes of a meeting Held in the Prime Minister's Office to examine the repercussions of the 600 million Francs Fixed Grant to Voluntary Agencies in the Financial Year 1971/72 on June 23 1971, Ministry of Primary Education, Buea, p.2.
  1. Minutes of the Second Meeting Held in the Prime Minister's Office on 30/6/71 to examine the repercussions of the 600 million francs CFA Fixed Grant to Voluntary Agencies in the Financial Year 1971/72. Ministry of Education, Buea.



in English-speaking Cameroon is a selective institution rather than a comprehensive one. The primary school is conducted as if its principal task were to screen the intellectual elite and to pass them on through the primary school to the secondary school, while keeping large numbers of other students in the first class for all of their school life, as a sign that they have not been 'chosen'.

Selectivity is not only apparent between the schooling levels, e.g., the entrance requirement for admission to secondary school, but also within an educational level, an observation amply borne out by the significant drop-out repeating rate in primary schooling. Examinations, conforming to a rigorous national standard, are held at the end of each school year, and the pupil is not allowed to proceed to the next level unless he or she is successful in the examinations. Those children attending schools with poor teaching standards and minimal equipment - of which there are many - have very little chance of progressing beyond the first three classes. Some stay in schools for several years repeating classes, and eventually they give up the unequal struggle and leave. Table 3.4 reflects both drop-out and repeater phenomena, as enrolment, particularly in the infant classes is artificially swollen by repeaters.

The figures indicate an overall drop-out and repeating rate of about sixteen per cent throughout the system, higher in the top and bottom classes - lower in the middle of the school. Although these figures are bad, they are not as horrifying as those in the French-speaking sector, where the official rate is estimated at more than 30 per cent. There are no independent surveys against which these figures could be checked, but examination results reveal that the

TABLE 3.4: WEST CAMEROON ENROLMENT, DROP-OUT AND REPEATERS, 1974

Class	Enrolment
1.	51,860
2.	34,523
3.	31,401
4.	30,244
5.	25,066
6.	19,807
7.	13,786
1.	33
2.	9
3.	4
4.	17
5.	21
6.	30
7.	

Source: Compiled from the Ministry of Education Statistics  
Ministry of National Education, Yaoundé.

numbers enrolling in class one and the numbers reaching primary seven (now primary six) and obtaining the First Leaving School Certificate (FLSC) are small indeed. Looked at in this way, therefore, the fairly encouraging picture which emerges from official statistics is completely altered. The drop-out rate in the primary system could easily be as high as seventy per cent. The total pattern of Cameroon's primary school system, as in other parts of Africa, is therefore very different from that conveyed by official statistics.

Enrolments are still rising, although not as sharply as they did during the first decade of independence. While this is partly due to higher fees (this being only a guess), it may also reflect waning en-

thusiasm for school education among parents who are beginning to learn, perhaps painfully, that a primary school certificate is no longer rewarded by an office job. Parents may not therefore see the need to send their children to schools, some of which may be one or two days' trek from their villages.

Latest published figures (1978) indicate that there were 306,000 children studying in primary schools, of whom 124,000, or 41 per cent were girls.<sup>1</sup> This represents roughly 75.8 per cent of the projected figure for the 5-14 age group. This percentage conceals wide regional variations as Table 3.5 below reveals.

TABLE 3.5: WEST CAMEROON DIVISIONAL VARIATIONS IN ENROLMENT

District	Estimated no. of children in 6-14 Age Group*	School Enrolments	% A of B
1. Fako	62,600	64,500	103
2. Meme	45,000	37,200	82
3. Ndian	45,600	18,500	40
4. Manyu	55,700	47,300	84
5. Momo	38,000	14,500	38
6. Mezam	55,600	48,200	86
7. Bui	34,500	25,000	72
8. Donga Mantung	37,100	25,900	69
9. Menchum	33,900	24,900	73

\* Based on 1976 Demographic Estimates

Variations in enrolments between sexes also differ widely. Attempts to express enrolments as percentage of school age populations are only

1. Education Statistics, Ministry of Education, Yaoundé (1979).

valuable as a source for annual comparison. Although trends do indicate that parents are sending their children to school earlier, sometimes even before they are six, there is still little correlation between the 6-14 age group and primary classes 1-7 school group. It is also true to say that in some of the schools, particularly those in rural areas, there are a large number of children who are above the upper limit of 14 years of age.

#### 2.3.12 The Primary School Leavers

This section on the 'problems' cannot be complete without a consideration of the future which awaits those who complete primary school education. The school leaver 'problem' arises when there are insufficient opportunities for them to use their capacities in productive work or where avenues for them to develop their skills further are limited.<sup>1</sup> In Cameroon (and indeed all over black Africa) one of the most persistent questions is what to do with the hundreds of thousands of school leavers whose aspirations can never hope to be fulfilled within the economic framework of the society which has educated them.

The basic factors affecting this situation have already been indicated. They are: (1) Despite the high wastage rate in primary education, very large numbers of young people every year do sit the First School Leaving Certificate Examinations and equally large numbers go through successfully. Figures for ten years between 1964-1974 are shown in Table 3.6.

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1. See Peter Williams (1975), The School Leaver in Developing Countries. Report of a workshop held in March 1974 (University of London Institute of Education), p.13.

TABLE 3.6: CERTIFICATES AWARDED IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING CAMEROON

Year	Candidates	Passed
1964	5,887	2,683
1965	12,702	5,688
1966	10,975	5,961
1967	10,121	5,910
1968	10,071	3,972
1969	10,181	5,047
1970	9,922	6,019
1971	11,251	8,129
1972	12,277	8,553
1973	12,501	8,007
1974	13,358	11,873

Sources: Compiled from Education Statistics: Secretariat of State for Education 1965-1970; Ministry of National Education Statistics, Yaoundé 1971-1975.

(2) Although practically all those who take their Leaving Certificates desire further formal education, opportunities for them are very severely limited. Compare those who passed in 1974 (11,873) with those who entered secondary grammar and secondary modern(3,273) during the same year.

(3) Opportunities for wage employment exist only in the towns. These are also limited. Far from keeping pace with rising school outputs, wage employment at this level has hardly risen at all. And it is this sort of employment most school leavers desire for a number of reasons. First, wage employment ensures a regular cash income which peasant farming does not. Second, it carries with it a certain prestige loosely connected with the type of job held and more specifically with the amount of money being earned.

In search of non-existent jobs, the school leavers drift to the towns. Of course, the town offers for most youths a variety of experiences, an escape from boredom, freedom from the traditions and constraints of a closely knit rural society. These are very attractive to young people, particularly in view of the fact that going to school has already in a sense set the children apart from village life, and the school's curriculum has conditioned them to look forward to further education or wage employment.

For the girls the position is better. Few qualify and parental pressure for them to stay at home is considerable. Although employment prospects for them are fewer still, most of them easily get married, in most cases to men working in towns. For those with neither a husband nor a job to fall back to, life can be very difficult. Some of the girls become barmaids/prostitutes working in the very numerous bars in towns and semi-urban centres. Such is the plight of the school leaver in Cameroon.

The problem has become more serious in recent years with the shortening of the basic primary school course to seven (and from September to six) years and the growing tendency for children to go to school at six (in townships earlier at 5 years), a situation where large numbers of children are completing primary school at the age of twelve and soon at eleven. For these, prospects are particularly gloomy. They are too young to enter wage employment, too young also to be given land, responsibility or any degree of independence at home.

The actual facts of what happens to the ten thousand children who pass the First School Leaving Certificate examination are far more obscure. Nobody knows what the real figures are for those who get jobs,

or how many leavers go on to private schools or how long they stay in them. No one knows how many of the children return to rural life or roam the streets of townships. Research in this field is urgently needed.

Some countries have tried measures of easing the situation, but have nowhere offered anything like a satisfactory solution. Some of these attempts include the resettlement of leavers on the land, usually in co-operative ventures; the formation of para-military youth brigades such as the National Youth Service of Kenya or the Malami young pioneers; the extension of secondary education either full-time, or through part-time correspondence or evening classes; or through more closely vocational schemes such as the Kenya Village polytechnics. Cameroon has tried none of these measures, but the government has decided in favour of the reform of the school system in the belief that this would help to ease the situation.

Characteristically, the government of Cameroon seems to regard primary school reform (ruralisation of primary education) as the panacea for most of the problems sketched in this section. For example, in a speech to the National Assembly in 1971, President Ahidjo stressed that the purpose of the ruralisation programme was 'to give young people the desire to work on the land, a sense of dignity, and a chance to lead a more agreeable life in the villages and to satisfy most of their aspirations in the rural environment. This is the only means of inducing youngsters to stay on the land; it is also one way of stemming the rural exodus effectively'.<sup>1</sup> Recent surveys, however, show that the

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1. President A.Ahidjo (1971), extract of a speech to the National Assembly, Yaoundé.

problem of rural-urban migration is more complicated than this.

In 'Migrations in West Cameroon',<sup>1</sup> Gwan's respondents gave four main reasons why they migrated to urban areas. First, most migrants (over 40 per cent) left home to join or visit relatives and about 10 per cent to get married. This group was comprised entirely of girls. A second group, mostly literates, left home to seek employment. As Gwan points out, 'the higher the level of educational attainment, the higher the probability the individual will seek urban employment'. A major factor in people seeking urban employment is the wide and increasing differential in earnings and income levels between rural and urban areas. The earning gaps have increased within the last decade and are probably still widening. Other contributing factors include the vulnerability of agriculture to natural hazard; low and fluctuating prices for agricultural produce dictated by external market forces, and internal price control policies; the poor agricultural infrastructure; and weak agricultural minimum wage legislation.<sup>2</sup>

These factors depress incomes, and the differences are compounded by high prices for manufactured goods which the rural farmer buys. A third group (about 12 per cent) moved to urban areas to improve their educational opportunities. Contributing to this tendency is the concentration of the best educational facilities and higher level academic

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1. Gwan, E.A. (1976), 'Migrations in West Cameroon', in Dynamics of Migration: Internal Migration and Migration and Fertility, Occasional monographs series ICP Work Agreement Reports, No.5, pp.17-40.
  2. Minimum wage legislation, difficult to enforce in the countryside, tends further to increase urban wages in relation to wages in agriculture.



institutions in urban areas. A fourth group cited as attractions the excitement and pleasures of urban life in contrast to home, which they characterised as 'bush'.

The survey by Gwan is summarised because of its relevance to this study and to the programme of ruralisation, which - as has already been indicated - aims to 'stem rural-urban exodus' and encourage school leavers to work on the land. This survey shows clearly that rural-urban migration is more than an educational problem. Some observers do not even see it as a political, social or an economic problem, but as a historical phenomenon. 'If we can occasionally detect a direction in history, the continual repetition of the phenomenon of rural exodus is a good example of it'.<sup>1</sup> Ruralisation may slow a very small proportion of rural-urban migrants and slightly reduce the literate urban unemployed, but rural-urban migration cannot be curbed by ruralisation.

As indicated already, the 'problem' of the school leaver is exacerbated by a school curriculum that is essentially cosmopolitan in its content. The next section describes the present curriculum in schools and the pressures that have been exerted on it.

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1. Albert Meister (1968), East Africa: the past in Chains, the future in Pawns (New York), pp.232-4.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PRESENT CURRICULUM IN SCHOOLS

## 2.4 THE PRESENT CURRICULUM IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

### 2.4.1 Introduction

The present curriculum in English-speaking Cameroon emerges as a result of historical development described earlier. Up to 1954 the basic objectives of the educational system of the then Southern Cameroons were identical with those which obtained in the Southern provinces (East and West regions) of Nigeria. The curriculum was identical with that in Nigeria - which means that it was not much adapted to local conditions. There was more learnt about Nigeria than about the British Cameroons. History affords a classic example (in standard three) where Batten's 'History of Nigeria' was the book and primary school leavers knew a lot about Mungo Park, Clapperton and MacGregor Laird, but practically nothing about the Cameroons. Part of this weakness of course reflected the lack of initiative among local teachers who, on the whole, did not fully use the freedom allowed for local adaptations.

### 2.4.2 1955 Education Policy

Even the 1955 Policy for Education laid before the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly at Buea was in large measure the reiteration of the Federal Nigerian Education policy already expressed in the 1948 and 1952 Education Ordinance (which were to continue as the basis for policy and practice for schools up to, and after independence 1961). There is a familiar ring to the opening sentence of this policy: 'The broad aim of education should be to ensure the fullest development of the potentialities of the individual child and provide the fundamental training which will enable him to play a full and enlightened part in

the affairs of the community in which he lives'.<sup>1</sup>

It was stated that 'with the aims of preparing the child today to meet the challenge of the changing social and political environment', what was aimed at was 'to raise the standards of primary education by doubling the output of trained teachers, ... to increase the facilities for technical education and to make provision for advanced training in agricultural techniques and skills'. It seems rather curious that despite this awareness of the importance of school education and the absence of Cameroon-based materials and content in the curriculum, and considering the particular situation of the Southern Cameroons with all the inherent problems of not having had a separate Education Ministry or Department, it was not thought necessary to call for syllabuses to be revised at this first opportunity.<sup>2</sup> The nearest the policy statement came to the call for curriculum revision was an oblique affirmation of the importance of religious education, 'Government appreciates the fundamental influence of sound religious training in the formation of character and it is our intention therefore to see that Religious Instruction takes its rightful place in the curriculum'.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Buea: Policy for Education (Southern Cameroons, Federation of Nigeria, Southern Cameroons House of Assembly, 1955), p.1.
  2. On October 1st, 1954, as a result of the new Constitution (Lyttleton Constitution) making Nigeria a Federation, Southern Cameroons was given quasi-Federal status with its own House of Assembly at Buea. For the first time the administration and organisation of Education fell squarely on the shoulders of Southern Cameroonians themselves. Without doubt, acquisition of quasi-regional status gave a new stimulus to the political life of the territory. For the first time there was a widespread feeling of unclouded optimism - a feeling that there was a future to work for. The new Government was concentrating its major expenditure on education, public works, and health in that order - an indication that education was essential for the survival of the young region.
  3. Policy for Education, p.6.

### 2.4.3 The Board of Education

However, the Southern Cameroons Board of Education met twice in 1958. The membership, in these new circumstances of regionalisation and the beginnings of self-government, consisted of an adviser appointed by the Chief Federal Adviser on education in Lagos, the newly designated Director of Education in Southern Cameroon (the head of the Southern Cameroon government department of education) and other government education officers to represent teacher training, technical education, and agricultural education, as well as missionary society representatives (Catholic, Basel, and CBM), principals of secondary schools, a representative of CDC, a Teachers' Union representative and each Divisional education committee, as well as the proprietor of the only private school (Sumbe Community School) and an indigenous woman representative.<sup>1</sup>

From the Southern Cameroon Board of Education, a Timetable Subcommittee was formed. It also met for the first time in 1958. Its proposals for the junior and senior primary schools were adopted by the Board of Education, and were of specific reference to rural science, arithmetic, English, reading, handwriting, current events, weather observation, art and handwork. The subcommittee also made specific recommendations (subsequently adopted) on timetable arrangement, infant classes, and for junior and senior primary schools' weekly schedules (see Appendix 7). Detailed timetables with several variations of schooling were drawn up as guides, and published for circulation to all school managers, visiting teachers, and headteachers of primary

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1. H.M.G's Report (1958), pp.214-15.

schools.<sup>1</sup> Concurrently, from Lagos the officially published Handbook Teaching Practice and Practical tests for teachers' certificates became a detailed guide at teacher training colleges in Southern Cameroons.<sup>2</sup> For both primary schools and teacher training colleges, arithmetic (or numbers) and English were the basic or core subjects, for which 'a good deal of additional time'<sup>3</sup> was to be given through increased allocation in the timetable for English, written work and reading practice, and in arithmetic for oral and written work. Despite all these revisions, the primary school curriculum remained more or less identical with that in Nigeria.

The timetable subcommittee's official time schedule allocated the following weekly time periods to practical agricultural work or gardening: 55 minutes for Junior classes I and II; 120 minutes for classes III and IV; and 180 minutes for classes V, VI and VII. But the actual number of hours per week spent on practical agriculture and gardening varied among schools and also during the school year. During the farming season considerably more time was devoted to practical agriculture at the expense of the time allocations of other subjects. Consequently teachers would rush through nine or ten weeks attempting to cover thirteen weeks' schemes of work. At other times, particularly towards the end of the year, time allocated to agricultural and other practical subjects would be spent on revision for examinations. And there has

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1. Government of Southern Cameroon, Dept of Education, Report of the Timetable Subcommittee of the Board of Education, Buea, Dept of Education, 1958.
  2. Government of Nigeria (1958) (A.Hunte Cooke formerly Adviser on Teacher Training), Teaching Practice and Practical tests for teachers' certificates, Lagos: Federal Government Printer.
  3. Southern Cameroon, Dept of Education, ibid., p.4.

never been much doubt either in the teachers' mind or that of their children where the real priorities lay when it comes to deciding on how much time should be spent on each subject of the timetable.

#### 2.4.4 Investment in Education 1963

The achievement of independence in 1961 produced, to many people's surprise, no immediate change of direction. Those policy changes which did take place happened five years after independence in 1966. They were the results of three factors: the unification of the former English and former French territories of Cameroon; the West Cameroon Education policy: Investment in Education 1963,<sup>1</sup> and the appointment of the syllabus Revision Committee in 1965.

The syllabus Revision Committee which met in October 1965 was the lineal descendant of the Timetable Subcommittee set up in 1958 but contained wider representation and was conceived to have much wider powers. The various subcommittees which worked on the different subjects of the syllabus comprised the best West Cameroon specialists and educationists in the particular subject. The main concern of each subject panel was 'to prepare an up-to-date syllabus which takes account of the needs of the present day West Cameroon primary school'.<sup>2</sup> This objective was consistent with the general philosophy of the West Cameroon Education policy 1963.

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1. Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, West Cameroon Education Policy: Investment in Education, Buea, West Cameroon Government Press, 1963.

2. Ministry of Education and Social Welfare: Syllabus Revision Committees, Buea, October 1965.

The opening paragraph of the policy echoed the philosophy of the decade: 'Government believes that education is an investment in human material which can reap rich dividends. (But) No policy for education can be relevant unless it takes into account all the economic, social, political and spiritual factors of our time and circumstances'.<sup>1</sup>

The policy statement was important not because it was a final product of elaborate educational planning or because of any foundation in comprehensive economic base studies (which it lacked), but because in its very brief compass it faced most of the problems and considerations in the field of curriculum planning that more elaborate plans have had to face. In three respects the policy statement added something significant. The first was in its unequivocal statement about the economy and agricultural education so often hinted at previously but never before stated with such force and clarity:

There is no doubt that West Cameroon is a basically agricultural country, depending for its livelihood, and relying for its wealth, on the export of agricultural communities. However much industrialisation takes place in the future, it will not affect the future of West Cameroon as a country basically devoted to agriculture. For this reason, the education of the bulk of our citizens must be directed, not only to providing a basic academic education, but to supplementing it by an education in rural science, which will enable them to be better and more efficient farmers, and consequently to contribute towards the greater wealth of the economy.

2

The second was the cultural consideration in the context of educational planning:

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1. Investment in Education, p.1.
  2. Ibid., pp.1-2.



Our society possesses a treasure of traditional arts and crafts, and wealth of songs and dances of the folklore tradition, best suited to a predominantly rural society. No policy for education, Cameroonian in taste and character, can be complete without giving full encouragement to our cultural heritage.

1

Finally, there is the statement about the new political reality:

In October, 1961, the former Southern Cameroons reunited with the Republic of Cameroon, and became the Federated State of West Cameroon, in accordance with the Federal Constitution. By this step, the English-speaking West Cameroon became a partner of the French-speaking East Cameroon in the Federal Republic of Cameroon. This creates the need for a complete rethinking of our educational policy, since not only language, but culture, tradition and way of life are different in the two sectors of the Federal Republic ... The implementation of Article I of the Constitution ... automatically raises the question of bilingualism.

2

It was against this background that the Syllabus Revision Committee was established to update primary school curricula. The formation of sub-committees or subject panels with their strong core of regional education officers and teacher training college tutors with wide and practical knowledge of primary schools was of great benefit to the process of syllabus construction. It had been long overdue. But in setting up the sub-committees, the Ministry of Education made two omissions neither of which have since been adequately rectified. The first was a failure to insist that panels should contain serving school teachers - and they have never in fact done so. The IPAR research teams did not contain a serving teacher. The second was the omission of any attempt

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1. Investment in Education, p.2.

2. Ibid., p.2.

to set up machinery to preplan or co-ordinate syllabus material; to decide syllabus objectives, subject divisions, balance and time allocations between subjects, and to act as a liaison between sub-committees so that links could naturally be made between syllabuses. As a result, although informal consultation between subject committees did take place, by the time the syllabus reached its final form in 1966, the effects of this lack of co-ordination were only too apparent. The document was overloaded and contained much unnecessary overlap which had to be corrected and consequently delayed the introduction of the new syllabus to schools.<sup>1</sup> But as the Director of Education belatedly recognised, 'an obvious problem attaching to this new syllabus is that of textbooks to cover the new facets which are not covered by the textbooks of the old syllabus'.<sup>2</sup> In spite of these omissions the revised syllabus was introduced into primary schools in June 1966.

#### 2.4.5 Analysis of Content of 1966 Syllabus

The document which emerged was well received. Despite its lack of overall co-ordination and of any unifying initial statements of objectives it is a more thoughtful and finished piece of work than any of those which preceded it. Each subject syllabus begins with a statement of aims and a statement on the general approach and in many instances these are more than the conventional catalogue of abstractions, attempts clearly having been made to isolate what Bruner (1960) would

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1. Ministry of Primary Education and Welfare School Syllabus, p.1.
  2. Ibid., p.1.

call the 'fundamental principles'<sup>1</sup> of subjects, and to express them in clear simple forceful language.

Thus: art is self expression: self expression either in line, mass, tone, etc., using any media convenient to the individual concerned - pencil, pen and ink, chalk, crayon, colour, clay, wood, etc. ... In art there is no completely right or completely wrong answer to a set problem as there would be and always is, to science, maths, etc. problem. All that one would expect in an art problem are qualities that are good and those that are bad ...  
2

or: In the syllabus History and civics are not taught as separate subjects. The way we live today is a result of historical events which happened in the past and for this reason every attempt has been made in this syllabus to use what has happened to explain what is happening.  
3

The content, moreover, of the subject syllabuses reveals evidence of careful planning and construction by educationists with experience.

Yet, although the syllabus retained, for the most part, traditional subject divisions and although its spirit and emphasis is similar to that of its predecessors, it differs very considerably in detail. Only in two subjects, religious knowledge and physical education were there no changes in content and approaches. There was no mention of them in the revised syllabuses. For the rest, changes can be summarised as follows:

#### ENGLISH

English was to be taught as a subject as in the past from Class I

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1. Bruner, Jerome (1960), The Process of Education (Harvard University Press), p.
  2. Ministry of Primary Education: Revised Syllabus, p.52.
  3. Ibid., p.37.

but with emphasis on spoken English. As the syllabus recognised: 'In West Cameroon, English has become more than a foreign language because it is the medium of instruction in schools and vernacular. We have to recognise that our primary schools have not achieved what one would think might have been achieved for all children, a clear, easy, correct and un-self-conscious use of the English language.'<sup>1</sup> A re-drafting of Gagg's New African English Course for West Cameroon was called for. For the first time, library, poetry, drama and prose were given prominence in the syllabus.

However, as I have already indicated, the textbooks did not suit local conditions. Some of the general aims for teaching the use of the library were ridiculous. 'At the end of the primary stage the pupils should with greater or less facility according to natural endowment be able to look up a word in a dictionary, find from an atlas by using the index where any town is situated, find any telephone number if the name and address are given, use a railway or bus timetable. (This at a time when the country had no telephones nor a railway system of communication.)

#### ARITHMETIC

The syllabus was graded from Class I to standard 6. Practice in mechanical manipulations of the four rules was restricted and more stress was placed on discovery, estimation and experimentation with alternative methods of solving problems. In the junior classes behavioural objectives were clearly stated: 'At the end

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1. Ibid., p.3.

of the first year the child should know the following:

- (a) Reading, writing and placement of numbers from 1 to 30
- and (b) The addition and subtraction facts up to 10 should be learnt'.

There was, as yet, no use of the terminology or much of the content of the 'new Mathematics'. Textbooks on Arithmetic contained no local material. While the syllabus called for practical measurements and calculations in metric system and the Franc CFA (now in use in both sectors of Cameroon), the textbooks contained pounds, shillings and pence (£.s.d.) and yards, feet and inches. The textbooks did not cover all topics on the syllabus.<sup>1</sup> Textbooks introduced in the early 1970s were no better; arithmetic, algebra and geometry were treated like separate fields of investigation.

#### SCIENCE

The syllabus emphasised that science is not a textbook subject, or only classroom subject. It must be practical enough to stimulate interest. Emphasis was placed on the experimental approach; on observation and recording.

The syllabus, despite its considerable time allocation, failed to unify science teaching. It continued to be taught separately under Nature Study, Rural Science, General Science, Health Education, Domestic Science, and Gardening and Agriculture.

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1. IPAR-Buea (1977), p.194.

### GEOGRAPHY

The syllabus was graded. Teaching starts in Class III on the Home and Village, Market and local shops; Seasons, weather and directions in Class IV; the geography of the Division and Cameroon in Class V; West Africa and Africa as a whole in Class VI and map reading the World (British Isles, France, USA, Monsoon region, China and USSR) in Class VII.

Although the syllabus recommended the topical approach, the textbooks were not suitable. The few textbooks available did not meet the needs and ability levels of the pupils. Books to help teachers in the lower classes to treat local topics were hardly available and as a result such topics were usually omitted.

### HISTORY

History was taught together with civics and general knowledge. Teaching started in Class III. The content comprised legends and custom in Class III; the people of the administrative region (Division) in Class IV; the history of Cameroon and Africa in Class V and VI; and the history of the world in Class VII. This syllabus bore affinities to that of 1954, but little to that of 1948 which taught the lives of 'great' men in World history, the 'exemplar Approach', in place of Cameroonian History.

Although the history syllabus suggested local topics, there were no textbooks either for the pupils or for the teachers. The syllabus remained overloaded and teachers seemed concerned to cover it from page to page rather than with imparting historical skills and knowledge, at-

titudes and values that a child of primary school age can reasonably be expected to acquire and which would help him in the process of becoming a useful citizen and one who understands the environment in which he will live.

#### ART

The syllabus was not graded. This syllabus replaced the former narrow syllabus on Drawing. More emphasis was placed on providing experiences, developing powers of curiosity, interest and imagination, less on the teaching of skills.

#### HANDWRITING

The syllabus was partially graded. The syllabus identified three principal styles of writing (script, joined script and cursive) and emphasised legibility, fluency or speed, both seen as one process.

#### MUSIC

Previously only singing was taught at the primary level. This syllabus was vastly more ambitious and graded. Instrumental music, with emphasis on traditional instruments, and musical appreciation is introduced in all classes. Staff notation is to be taught to all from Class III.

One characteristic of the 1966 syllabus has already been emphasised. For the first time Cameroonians took over responsibility for the education of their children. This syllabus was an attempt by a young ambitious nation, one which believed that education is an investment and that its children should be led towards higher standards of achievement more

quickly than they had been previously. Above all, it was an attempt to link school education more closely with the environment and the economy. By and large, these objectives remained pious hopes. The section below analyses the implications.

#### 2.4.6 The Syllabus and the Teachers

As I have already indicated, one of the major reasons why syllabuses have failed in the past significantly to change the old practices is because, as Beeby (1969) says, they may 'call for knowledge and understanding and other qualities that the bulk of teachers in the area just do not possess'.<sup>1</sup> The 1966 syllabus had little to say about the training of teachers, but the 1963 policy statement asserts that, 'A policy for teacher-training is inevitably and inextricably linked with a policy for primary education'.<sup>2</sup> The policy recommended the reorganisation and replacement of Grade III and II colleges with a single five-year course which 'will enable candidates for the teaching profession to increase their knowledge in addition to learning the theory and practice of teaching, as Government proposes to recognise the syllabus so that the teachers of the future would follow the secondary syllabus for the first three years and take the two years course in teacher-training'.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Beeby, C.E. (1969), Qualitative aspects of educational planning, p.28.
  2. Investment in Education, p.6.
  3. Ibid., p.7.



Although the reorganisation was started in 1967, the course was abandoned in 1973 after the take-over of primary schools by the National Minister of Education. However, it is important to realise that teachers' capacity to accept change depends not only on new knowledge and new skills, but also on the nature of the change proposed, for in some respects change is easier than in others. It is generally easier to acquire new knowledge than new skills. New skills are easier to acquire than new attitudes to teaching. As has been indicated several times already, the basic tenet of this study is that the attitudes of teachers determine the success or failure of education programmes.

#### 2.4.7 The Syllabus and the Children

The experience of the subject panels ensured that subject-syllabuses contain much that was relevant to the child and consequently the society; in this regard the syllabus was far superior to those which preceded it. In the hands of a well trained and imaginative teacher the syllabuses' objectives could have been achieved. There are three reservations to be made. The first has already been considered: the sad fact is that in many respects the teachers were never models and sources of attitudes and values and the majority of teachers were not well trained<sup>1</sup> or as

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1. In 1967, a year after the syllabuses were introduced, the Honourable Secretary of State (Education) said, '... the number of teachers increased from 4,170 to 5,009. Regrettably, the number of probationary teachers rose from 40.1% to 49.8%, but the number of 'C' teachers (i.e. experienced but untrained teachers) declined from 21.3% to 15.4%. This still gives an increase in untrained teachers from 56.4% to 65.2% ...'. Quoted by Mengot, A.D. (1967), 'Pressures and Constraints on the development of education in the West Cameroon', Africa Today, XIV-2, pp.18-20. Cf. The present situation in Chapter Seven.

imaginative as educationalists would have liked them to be. The second, also already hinted at, concerns the overloading of syllabuses, particularly in subjects that were graded (History, Geography, English, Mathematics or Arithmetic and rural and general sciences). The third, derived from the second, concerns the promotion and leaving examination. In a centralised system such as Cameroon, it is traditionally assumed that the whole syllabus has to be covered and this tradition is derived from a leaving school examination which offers no alternatives and which generally examines only those elements which would be classified by Bloom (1956) in his two simplest levels of the cognitive domain<sup>1</sup> - knowledge and comprehension. Such overloading linked with such evaluation procedures was bound to affect teachers' and children's attitudes to education. It encouraged the 'ground to be covered' attitudes on the part of the teacher and rote learning by the pupils.

#### 2.4.8 The Curriculum in Schools in 1966

A syllabus, as the one under analysis, can provide a framework and a plan for curriculum reform. But whether curriculum reform actually takes place depends in the main on the interpretation of that syllabus in the schools by the teachers. But one fact is certain. In practically no schools was the 1966 syllabus followed in its entirety. An analysis of responses of teachers based on a questionnaire by the IPAR research team indicates that most topics in the syllabuses were omitted.<sup>2</sup> The

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1. Bloom, B.S. (1956), *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Handbook I*.
  2. IPAR-Buea (1977), p.194.

reason for the omissions was lack of familiarity and training.<sup>1</sup> In the Music syllabus only singing continued to be taught; in agriculture only practical gardening is usually done and the agricultural teacher has a very low status in the eyes of the children. This helps to alienate the children from agriculture in particular and manual work in general.

#### 2.4.9 Attitude of Community to Learning

The final and possibly the most important determinant of the success of any curriculum in school is the attitude of society towards it. In a developing country like Cameroon, the dynamic political philosophy from which educational objectives are derived may be at variance with the attitudes of a local community towards education. There are usually two facets to this problem. In the first place there is the natural tendency for teachers, particularly older and untrained teachers, and of parents to see the educational process in terms of what they themselves have experienced, this in turn being reinforced by traditional attitudes to authority and traditional patterns of learning. The result in the curriculum was to encourage formality of approach, memorisation and frequent testing.

Second, there is the community's assessment (often limited) of the role a school should play. As President Ahidjo points out, 'How can one fail to observe that there are numerous parents who, whether consciously or not encourage a negative attitude in their children with

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1. Ibid., p.194.

regards to manual work; concerned only as they are that their children should acquire the knowledge and diplomas necessary to turn into bureaucrats',<sup>1</sup> or as Beeby states: 'Parents are liable to regard the village school as the place where their children will learn "foreign" skills which will enable them to compete in a wider community where such skills are ... necessary for the earning of a living'.<sup>2</sup> In other words, the community tends to judge the curriculum as it has always judged it, in terms of its relevance to children's chances of getting on in the world which in turn means getting out of the rural community.

This last section has sought to establish the limitations in the implementation of the 1966 syllabus. These limitations led to the present attempt by IPAR-Buea to reform the schools system. However, this section must end with a reiteration of the statement that it is the quality, training and attitudes of teachers which are the chief determinants of the success of the objectives of a schools system.

#### 2.4.10 Educational Reform: Its Historical Genesis

In this section I propose to analyse the historical development of the school reform in Cameroon as presented in developmental plans from 1960-61-1971-76. In this exercise no attempt would be made to analyse or compare economic policies since independence, but as the school reform syndrome is analysed, brief comments would be made on the general aims of each of these plans.

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1. President A.Ahidjo (1973), op.cit., p.37.
  2. Beeby, C.E., op.cit., p.42.

The analysis in this section, however, has been seriously handicapped by a number of deficiencies in the plans. These inherent deficiencies include a lack of order in the presentation of material. For example, education is discussed under Rural Development, Employment, Foreign Aid, under Regional analysis, etc. There is a lack of precision in the definition of terms used, and a lack of consistent and coherent statistical data. Furthermore, there is - as it is in most developing countries - a dearth of supporting material on which data in the Development plans could be checked. Thus, in order to facilitate the analysis in this section, an attempt will be made to synthesise the diverse statements from the Plans under the following headings:

1. General aims of the plans
2. General objectives of the Education plan; and
3. Specific policies regarding school reform.

The first phase of development planning in Cameroon covers the twenty year period (1960-1981) divided into five-yearly periods, each corresponding to a Development plan for economic and social development. The first plan covered 1960/61-1965/66; the second 1966-1971; the third 1971-1976; and the last, but current plan covers 1976-1981.

#### 2.4.11 The First Two Plans (1960/61-1965/66 and 1966-1971)

The objective of the first plan was to double per capita income during the execution of this plan. Priority was given to development of production, especially agricultural production, to the basic infrastructure (roads and railways) and to capital projects in the social field. The objectives of the second plan fell within the prospect, already adopted in the first plan, of doubling per capita income in

1980, and raising the standard of living of the masses. To achieve this objective, of rapid raising of domestic production, the source of increased incomes and the means to greater economic independence was made a priority. Special efforts were also to be made in industrialisation, infrastructure, training and health.

#### 2.4.12 General Objectives of the Plans

In so far as educational development was concerned (Cameroon government like most independent African governments), the first development plan placed great emphasis on quantitative expansion, particularly at the primary and secondary levels. This was a result of two overriding policy determinants already outlined - the necessity of promoting rapid economic growth and of correcting the imbalances in regional provision of schools.

The former resulted, as elsewhere in Africa, in dramatic and sometimes erratic expansion of the education system. In the words of the second plan (1966-1971),

After the rather disorganised period of expansion of these last years a pause for organization is inevitable. Quality and not quantity will be the aim. Priority will be given to the training of teachers, in particular the schoolmasters in the elementary institutions and their staffs. An effort will also be made to improve the material working conditions of the pupils and their teachers by carrying out school building programmes.

Accordingly, in 1967 the government created L'Ecole Normale d'instituteurs à vocation Rurale (E.N.I.R) for the training of teachers in the five French-speaking provinces. The decree establishing E.N.I.R specified other functions. The first function was to prepare and assist agricultural education teachers and to provide technical advice when

necessary. Second, E.N.I.R was charged with the responsibility of revising school curricula in the provinces. The decree also defined E.N.I.R as essentially a technical service, giving it no authority over teachers' supervision. Its personnel were named by the Minister of National Education.

The significance of the passage above is that it marked the beginning of a shift in thinking from quantitative expansion to qualitative reorganisation. However, during these first years, primary school reform was conceptualised only in terms of the introduction of manual work as the plan imperatively put it:

Manual work must be restored to its proper place in the elementary school. Since the great masses of the population live by agriculture, instruction must be ruralised; pupils in the country areas will be taught simple methods of agriculture adapted to local conditions. In the townships pupils will learn simple manual crafts.

But the reality rather than the rhetoric behind this passage is that nothing was new. From its inception primary school curriculum has aimed not only to provide academic training for the social and intellectual elite but it also aimed at establishing a middle class of artisans and agricultural innovators. Although not couched in the same words as the Education policy in British Tropical Africa 1925 such was the ideal, but the mission and the pre-independence system of education carried within itself elements which rendered the achievement of these ideals practically impossible. The first lay in the attitudes of parents, pupils, and teachers to agriculture. The second concerned the relation between the kind of education advocated and the means available for its efficient administration.

#### 2.4.13 Specific Policies regarding Educational Reform

The plan outlined specific objective of ruralisation as:

A more complete preparation for rural life will be given by Rural Education Centres which will be opened for the young of both sexes, who on leaving elementary school have been unable to pass on to secondary education including vocational and technical schools. The training which will last two years will be essentially agricultural and provide young persons with means to live a better life in the villages and to a great extent satisfy their aspirations ... As regards young men, one-half of the programme will be given over to work in the fields which they will do themselves and the other half will consist in teaching elementary agricultural theory and how to maintain the level acquired ... The girls' programme will be the same as that in the domestic science, but more adapted to rural life.

1

Accordingly, a system of agriculturally-oriented, advanced schools was to be instituted on an experimental basis. The government budgeted 42 million francs for seven centres in French-speaking Cameroon and 20 million francs for the improvement of domestic science centres in English-speaking Cameroon (see Table 4.1).

The centres would be located in the priority zones of rural development which would furnish them with indispensable logistical, technical and eventually material support. In 1969 there were seven such centres with a capacity of about two thousand students and an enrolment of seven hundred and thirty students. As the enrolment figure indicates, it seems only a very limited section of the school-leaver population was willing to go into these purely agricultural centres. By 1974 it was clear to the government that the experiment had failed.

Two main factors contributed to the failure of these centres.

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1. Second Development Plan, pp.373-4.



TABLE 4.1: CAMEROON DISTRIBUTION OF DEVELOPMENT FUNDS TO PRIMARY EDUCATION DURING THE SECOND PLAN (IN MILLIONS OF FRANCS)

	Total	2nd Plan	Recurrent Expenses
<u>A. Operations already financed</u>			
Building of 350 lodgings and 638 classes in East Cameroon with F.E.D Funds	1,695	948	
<u>B. New Operations: East Cameroon</u>			
1. Building of class-rooms and lodging public education	1,371	1,371	
2. Inspectorates	60	60	
3. Rural education centres	42	42	
4. Private schools	409	409	
5. Recurrent Expenses			831
<u>C. New Operations: West Cameroon</u>			
1. Building, improving and equipping classrooms	450	450	
2. Staff	48	48	
3. Domestic science centres	20	20	
4. Recurrent expenditure			144
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,095</b>	<b>3,348</b>	<b>975</b>

Source: Second Development Plan, *ibid.*, p.376, Table No.6.23.5.

The table shows that 42 million francs (CFA) were allocated for the development of rural education centres in Francophone Cameroon. These were experimental centres where agricultural techniques were taught to school leavers who had no places at secondary or technical schools.

First, once the training of agriculturists had been institutionalised in the form of schools, the students expected to get employment in the Ministry of Agriculture and other government agricultural departments, and indeed, those who performed extremely well were employed as agricultural extension officers. Second, the government failed to make provision for resettling graduates from these centres. With no capital, in terms of finance and tools, to start out independently, most of the graduates simply drifted back to urban centres in search of office jobs.

#### 2.4.14 The Third Plan (1971-1976)

The 1971-1976 Economic and Social Development plan moved the ruralisation programme one step closer to implementation by incorporating it as one objective of the plan. The plan endorsed the principle of ruralisation in the schools. It was also hoped to generally upgrade the teaching cadre to ensure the success of the programme. To institute all phases of this programme, the teacher training curriculum was to be broadened to include agricultural orientation.

More specifically, the plan recommended two important principles:

1. That this reform, the aim of which is to adapt education to the facts of national life must be essentially national in approach. The study of geographical and socio-economic environments must play a vital part and so must the possible conversion of these environments with a view to their development.
2. Unproductive expenditure on education being considerable at the present time, the reform must be carried through as soon as possible with the possibility of future adjustments if need be.

By and large, these principles and the specific objectives of the plan were not radically different from those stated in the Second plan. Like the second, the third identified the place of ruralisation in the context of the Cameroonian plan of Economic and Social Development (1966-1971) restating the problems of a low average agricultural income and an existing system of education which alienates the youths from their rural environments. The essential purpose of the plan was to raise agricultural production quickly by, among other means, popularising rational agricultural procedures and encouraging low-cost improvements of agricultural equipment by means of the schools.

The plan stated that the reform which had begun in the French-speaking Cameroon with the decree establishing IPAR-Yaoundé 'will gradually be extended to English-speaking Cameroon'. In all the reform programme entailed an investment of 970 million francs; Table 4.2 gives the approximate cost of research and the production of school books.

The table shows that the Language, Mathematics, and Handicrafts sections of IPAR were allocated a steady annual amount since the establishment of the institute. During the first two years, Language and Reading were separate departments, but since 1973 the two departments have been merged. The importance attached to handicraft and environmental studies which included agriculture is indicated by the increase in funds allocation.

In English-speaking Cameroon most of the funds allocated were used up during a survey conducted of primary schools and the communities they serve in the two provinces, as part of a programme of research preceding curricula reform.

TABLE 4.2: CAMEROON COST OF REFORM: INVESTMENT IN MILLIONS (CFA)

Year	Language	Reading	Mathe- matics	Drawing and Handi- craft	Physical Culture	Environ- mental study	Total
1971/72	10	106	150.90	0.60	0.45	-	267.95
1972/73	10	48.8	40.80	0.40	0.30	-	100.30
1973/74	43.5		14.45	-	0.30	0.90	59.15
1974/75	11.4		11.40	125.40	-	7.40	155.6
1975/76	11.4		11.40	125.40	-	7.40	155.6
1976/77	10.35		10.35	120.35	10.35	23.95	175.35
	251.45		289.30	372.25	11.40	39.65	913.5

Source: 3rd Five Year Economic and Social Development Plan, p.320.

The various plans discussed above represent the evolution of the Cameroonian education programme for ruralisation of primary school curricula. In summary, these plans demonstrate that the general goals outlined are the augmentation of agricultural production and the reversal of rural-urban migration. This policy is reinforced by radio programmes, national newspapers, and presidential and ministerial speeches which stress agricultural and rural development, while IPAR, the Ministry of Agriculture extension agents, and the Ministry of Economic Development provide direct contact with the clients. There must be severe reservations about reform strategics which propose educational reorientation to agricultural production and the stemming of rural-urban migration as though these were the only aims of education. Many programmes which start from agricultural development assume that once the youths have been taught relevant agricultural skills, they will necessarily take up agriculture whereas the taking up of agri-

culture depends very much on the value society places on it and on incomes derived from it in comparison with other jobs in society.

The first part of this thesis attempted to isolate and highlight some social, economic, political, and educational problems in Cameroon. It is in response to these problems that the Government has instituted the programme of primary school ruralisation in an attempt to improve educational efficiency. The second part outlines the reform proposals and characteristics of teachers.

PART THREE

THE REFORM PROPOSALS AND  
TEACHERS' CHARACTERISTICS

'If you don't know where you're going  
You are liable to end up somewhere else.'  
R.F.Magee (1968)

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE REFORM PROPOSALS

### 3.5 THE REFORM PROPOSALS

#### 3.5.1 Introduction

Educational reform is not an unequivocal concept. It implies, however, an attempt to improve the educational system, whether by more efficiency in achieving traditional goals, or by a redefinition of goals and restructure of the system as well. As the discussion in this chapter will show, the primary school teacher in Cameroon is teaching in a system undergoing some radical rethinking and reorganisation. If the proposals are adopted, then the primary school teacher will be expected to assume a new role and adopt new priorities and new pedagogical practices.

This chapter attempts two things. First it outlines the major proposals and recommendations produced by the Institute of Primary School reform after two-and-a-half years of research for the reform of primary school education. Second, it indicates in very broad terms items that have been selected for use in a questionnaire to test teachers' attitudes towards the proposals. It is assumed that the changes embodied in the reform proposals would make the primary school reform a salient issue to which many teachers have developed definite opinions - which are the major objective of this study.

The primary school reform in the two English-speaking provinces was begun in 1974 with the setting up of IPAR-Buea (Institut de Pedagogie appliquée à vocation rurale).<sup>1</sup> The terms of reference for the Institute was 'confined to research, experimentation and evaluation', in other words, the Institute was charged with the responsibility of collecting data,

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1. There is no exact translation in English; the French meaning approximates to Institute of practical Educational Research for rural development.



carrying out research and finally preparing a report with proposals to Government suggesting what curricular reforms and related measures should be introduced into the primary school system.<sup>1</sup> The terms of reference for IPAR-Buea were outlined in detail in the Request for Preparatory Assistance<sup>2</sup> by the Government of Cameroon as follows:

1. to translate into English and evaluate educational materials produced by IPAR-Yaoundé, with a view to making immediate use of suitable materials in schools in the Anglophone provinces, adapting such materials if necessary;
2. to organise and carry out environmental studies in selected pilot project areas involving socio-economic and manpower surveys, with the assistance of the centre of Applied Research of the Pan African Institute, other appropriate agencies and teachers' training colleges, in order to determine the feasibility of launching profitable agricultural schemes, it will then be arranged for the said school leavers and adults to participate actively in them;
3. in the light of the conclusions researched as a result of the activities outlined in (No.1) and (No.2) above, to undertake detailed research and such testing as may be required, into the need for reforms in the primary education system as well as into the innovations required for the low cost education and training of primary school leavers, using existing technology for their future role in the community;
4. if so recommended, to specify activities that need to be undertaken during the next phase of the project with a view to accomplishing the reforms and innovations referred to in (No.3) above;
5. to draft a project document along the lines described in UNDP operational and financial manual, Chapter IV, the said document to include, inter-alia, the following information: the long term and immediate objectives of the next phase of operations; a detailed work plan and timetable of project activities; the personnel, training and equipment required to ensure the project's effective execution; and the project budget.

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1. See Bergmann, H. and Bude, U. (1977), 'A survey of Primary Schools and their communities for General Education policy-making: The Case of two provinces in Cameroon', International Review of Education, XXIII, pp.3-34.
  2. Cameroon: Request to the United Nations Development Programme (Special Fund) - Project for the establishment of a rurally oriented Primary teacher training Institute: Also UNDP - Request for Preparatory Assistance by the Govt of Cameroon Project CMR/720/017/A/01/13 April 1974, pp.3-4.

To seek solutions, it was necessary first to discover the problems. As a result, the Order<sup>1</sup> creating IPAR-Buea divided the Institute into four sections: Environmental Studies (Agricultural and Social Aspects), English Language, Mathematics, and Village Technology (otherwise known as Intermediate Technology), and each of the four sections undertook an extensive survey of educational institutions (primary schools) in the two provinces of Anglophone Cameroon. It was impossible to survey the region's entire educational system. Therefore, a sampling technique was employed and IPAR surveyed 80 schools, 20 junior and 20 senior primary schools in each of the two provinces. In each school community four teachers were interviewed, three farmers (one with a big cash crop farm, one with a medium-sized, and one with a very small cash crop farm), five parents, a member of the Parent-Teacher Association, lay leaders and ethnic chiefs, final year pupils and also studied the available literature dealing with educational problems.<sup>2</sup>

The research took over two years to be completed. Each team was made up of between three to five members. Each team used criteria peculiar to the nature of 'knowledge' of its subjects to carry out research and compile a Report which tended to be dominated by the personalities of those in charge of the respective team.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Buea: President Order No.277/CAB/PR of 10th October 1974.
  2. See Bergmann, H. and Bude, U. (1977), ibid., p.32.
  3. Cf. the presentation of the four sectional Reports, particularly the Environmental Studies (Agricultural and Social Aspects) against the other three sectional Reports (Language, Mathematics, and Arts and Crafts).

The Environmental Studies Report is based on a large scale survey involving a stratified random sample of some 80 communities and primary schools in the two English-speaking provinces. The sample communities were grouped according to three criteria:

- a) access<sup>1</sup> of communities/schools to government and non-government services,
- b) ethnic composition, and
- c) land use system.

The team interviewed headmasters, teachers, parents, counsellors, local farmers and final year pupils in an attempt to bring out a picture of the local and school environment and the needs and aspirations of pupils and their parents.<sup>2</sup> From the information collected and later collated, the team spelt out what knowledge, skills, and attitudes should be developed during the course of Environmental Studies.<sup>3</sup>

The Village Technology - also called the Arts and Crafts - team carried out an extensive and detailed survey to find out which crafts were being practised, who the craftsmen and women were, their materials, techniques, and marketing arrangements. From this information the team drew up a matrix of crafts, materials and local resources; and they analysed technologies applied locally and attempted to rank skills development in level of difficulty and in relation to social customs as a preliminary to curriculum design.

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1. The team identified four types of communities: 1) isolated and remote areas; 2) marginal areas; 3) poorly served rural areas; 4) well-served rural areas; and 5) urban and semi-urban areas, see Report, p.79.
  2. See Hugh Hawes (1979), Curriculum and Reality in African Primary Schools (London: Longman Group Ltd), p.27.
  3. IPAR-Buea (1977), Report on the Reform of Primary Education.

The Mathematics Report is based on a series of investigations involving primary school teachers, teacher trainers, pre-school children and primary school children, syllabuses (both in current use and proposed) and results of the 1976 First School Leaving Certificate (FSLC) examination. The team was concerned with finding out what concepts children have and can master at different levels of their development, and of assessing the strengths and weakness or limitations of the environment as a source for mathematical experiences.<sup>1</sup>

The Language, like the Mathematics team, carried out research and investigation to improve upon the existing course by incorporating cultural data from the environment so as to have a relevant and meaningful Language course as well as provide adequate content with appropriate vocabulary and structure.

The final report of IPAR-Buea (1977)<sup>2</sup> is in a 230-page document covering the following seven areas under (a) educational structures, (b) educational content, (c) teacher education, (d) information and publicity, (e) aspects of administration, (f) evaluation and examination, and (g) community and school relations - each major area has between four to thirty subtitles as summarised in Appendix 8.

As most of the questionnaire items on the teachers' attitude survey (see for example, items 20-56 and 61-93) were derived from the proposals and recommendations made by IPAR, it was decided to discuss them in greater detail. The extensive and long quotations from the

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1. IPAR (1977), p.87.

2. IPAR-Buea (1977), The Report on the Reform of Primary Education.

Report are deliberate. First, the passages quoted indicate the source of the items in the questionnaire and second, it is intended to give the reader who might not have access to the Report a much deeper insight into the reform which a paraphrased chapter might otherwise not do.

### 3.5.2 The Educational Structure

On the school entry age:

IPAR recommends that the school entrance age be raised to seven or eight years. IPAR-Buea fully appreciates that an ideal solution to the problem would be to provide post primary training facilities in crafts and agriculture for those entering conventional secondary schools. But since resources (in terms of cash, teachers, etc.) do not permit this, our proposal appears to offer a way re-deploying existing resources in the most efficient and productive manner.

IPAR based this recommendation on four factors. First, that the vast majority of primary school pupils receive no formal education after class seven. Second, that the present delay between leaving primary school and taking up employment or self-employment is too long. This is so because children now go to school at an early age of five or six and complete class seven at an early age of twelve or thirteen. Third, that primary school leavers should be prepared to enter the social and economic world of the adult, equipped with the necessary communication skills, the ability to solve problems and to perform practical tasks, and fourth, that practical activities in the fields of technology and agriculture presuppose older children than those at present in classes five to seven.

The Institute proposes radical change as far as school entry age is concerned, but the social and political difficulties involved in implementing such a recommendation are enormous. First, serious consider-

ation has not been given to how the children would be occupied at home until they reach the new entry age. Nor has any consideration been given to the educational implication of having older children in primary schools. However, in rural areas most children may not start school until they are fairly old, and for those who will not be going forward to secondary school, a primary school period from 8-15 is not to be rejected out of hand. Nevertheless, in order to produce younger candidates for secondary school (who are likely to be more adaptable children than some of the 'old men and old women' who still occupy places in many secondary schools), the trend towards younger entry to primary schools may still prove preferable.

On school organisation the Institute recommended:

A maximum pupil teacher ratio of 1:40 is recommended since the practice of discovery learning on individual or group basis cannot possibly be organised in larger classes. Infant classes should not exceed 30 children since infants need more guidance and closer supervision from the teacher.

There must be severe reservations about individual or group learning being effectively organised, as the Institute proposes, with a class of 40 pupils. In such large classes, it is very difficult for teachers to innovate and this may be one reason why most of them continue to use very traditional methods of 'talk and chalk'. It seems a contradiction to propose a pupil-teacher ratio of 1:40 and at the same time ask teachers to involve pupils in classroom activities.

The reduction of the teacher-pupils ratios has always been government's policy, but not IPAR's next recommendation dealing with school farms and reorganisation of school terms to correspond with the farming seasons:

Good school farm work is only possible if all the important farming operations can be carried out during the term, i.e., all operations from farm clearing to the storage of the farm produce must fall into the school terms. Postponing the Summer holidays to August would allow the schools to harvest and store maize which is planted in March. Also, yams planted in late January/early February can be harvested in October to December ... The first trimester of the year is a very busy time occupied by farm clearing, preparation, and planting, after this, there would be an opportunity for short holidays. The best time for holidays therefore would be 4 to 6 weeks in August/early September, 3 to 4 weeks in December, and 2 to 3 weeks in April/May.

As IPAR has indicated, these proposals coincide with the agricultural calendar of most of English-speaking Cameroon, and to that extent these are very sensible and logical proposals, but I can see at least two problems with the recommendation. The first concerns farming tools (hoes, spades, and cutlasses). At present children are asked to bring these tools from their homes and the children usually borrow them from their parents. If the school term were to coincide with the farming calendar, it would be very difficult for the children to bring tools from their homes, as their parents will also be needing them. Second, it is still the case - particularly in rural areas - that at these times most children stay away from school to help their parents. Thus the school calendar may coincide with the farming season, but schools will not necessarily conduct better farming until such time when schools can afford their own farming tools and parents will stop needing their children at this time.

IPAR proposes that if school farming is to be done seriously at the primary school level, not only should the school calendar coincide with the farming calendar, but also that some teachers would need special training in agricultural skills. This special training should be on

top of the general introduction to school farm and garden techniques taught during their normal teacher training course. The same specialist training is also recommended for technology and handicraft teachers.

These are not, of course, proposals that the government can easily adopt without considering the financial implications. The reduction of the pupils-teacher ratios, and specialist teachers to teach agriculture, arts and crafts would require additional recruitment as well as training and retraining of teachers. All these will cost money.

### 3.5.3 Educational Content

On subject areas, IPAR's investigations confirmed what most educationists already knew, that the system was characterised by extreme centralisation of administration, authoritarian methods of teaching, theoretical and erudite rather than pragmatic, and a syllabus that was artificially compartmentalised into history, civics, nature study, rural science, and geography.

IPAR, therefore, proposes the integration of several previously distinct subject disciplines into broader areas of study. They point out that this will not lead to 'fewer' subjects on the timetable, but rather that language and mathematical skills and concepts are taught in such a way that they genuinely relate to the study of the environment and to the acquisition of craft and agricultural skills.

They observe,

We believe, however, that all the subjects listed on the present timetables have a right to their place in the curriculum. We are, therefore, determined that the experience, principles and concepts which each subject represents should form part of our proposed integrated units.



IPAR's proposal makes considerable progress towards greater individualisation in the learning process and seeks to move away from the traditional emphasis on acquiring unrelated facts and ideas towards an emphasis on such skills as: a) the ability to observe; b) the ability to collect information data; c) the ability to apply principles to new situations; and d) the ability to carry out work assignments.

On the Content of Environmental Studies the Report says:

In the infant and junior section, Environmental Studies are seen as a method that can be applied in several, if not in all subjects treated in the school. The environment provides the stimulus and examples for the different topics of the different subjects. It serves as a source of information and observation, help the school to relate learning with real life situations.

In the senior, Environment Studies are seen as a subject integration of some of the former subjects to avoid compartmentalisation and to present life as a whole. Teaching starts from the so-called integrated units covering all aspects (social, agricultural, technological, mathematical, etc.) of a topic. Topics and projects during Environmental Studies can differ according to the conditions and prospects of the environment the school is located in.

This passage is quite unambiguous in its definition of 'environmental studies', but if teachers are to develop environmental 'awareness' and skills related to solving environmental problems and to dealing with unexpected or unpredictable changes in the human environment, then the teachers must themselves have some measure of environmental awareness. This implies a reasonable understanding of not only the subject-matter, but also the economic and social aspects of the society. IPAR do not seem to have seen this connection in their recommendations on teacher-training, as they have nothing to recommend about environmental studies in teacher-training colleges.

IPAR also recognises the need for teaching methods which facilitate

a greater degree of student participation, but as I indicated earlier this is not possible with a ratio of 1:40 pupils. IPAR calls for improved textbooks, materials and systematic training of the pupils to discover the relationship between subjects of the curriculum. More importantly, the children should be made to see how they can use the various subject skills to solve problems within their community.

On Arts and Crafts/Technology the Report states:

In the infant and junior section the programme will be structured so that the child finds pleasure in creativity (e.g. modelling a clay figure, printing a pattern, etc.) at the same time that it is acquiring manipulative ability.

In the senior section the emphasis will be placed on the application of these skills in making objects of utilitarian value. Particular importance is attached to the Integration of Arts and Crafts with the environmental situation.

It recommends among other things:

- 1.\* that craftwork be one of the components of every primary school course at every level and that the course, as a whole, should as far as possible be presented as a series of integrated units;
2. that the time allotted to the teaching of handicraft be increased from the present 40 minutes per week to a minimum of two hours based on feasibility trial findings;
- 3.\* that local craftsmen and other skilled persons be invited to act as paid instructors in schools;
- 4.\* that all teachers in all schools be instructed in the proper usage and handling of tools and materials used in craft lessons;
- 5.\* that Domestic Science includes cooking and that emphasis be placed on the development of traditional dishes;
- 6.\* that boys and girls should learn Domestic Science and Arts and

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\* Items included in the questionnaire.

Crafts/Technology.<sup>1</sup>

In all, eighteen recommendations were made; the most radical of these being numbers two and three above. Educational reform involves expenditure and manpower and the Arts and Crafts/Technology curriculum would require both finance and manpower for its proper implementation. Teaching materials do not exist. They must be developed. Teachers will also require retraining to use the proposed syllabus, since it involves a complete change of orientation towards the new purpose of teaching the subject. A key factor in promoting such curricula would be the establishment of Arts and Crafts as a compulsory subject in all teacher-training colleges.

On Mathematics, IPAR proposes that a primary school Mathematics Programme be formulated and adapted with paramount considerations given to the background experience and knowledge of the Cameroonian child. A tentative syllabus based on the so-called 'New Mathematics' is suggested in place of traditional Arithmetic with emphasis on the understanding or basic mathematical relationships in place of exclusive emphasis on computational skills. The proposed Mathematics syllabus is presented in behavioural objectives terms.

The design of curriculum materials for the Mathematics unit presents few difficulties and various commercial concerns would gladly take up the challenge. The retraining of teachers to use the new materials presents a veritable nightmare. It is unlikely that an average teacher requires less than three months to 'convert', and some may find it virtually im-

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1. Numbered recommendations with asterisks (\*) indicate that the item is included in the questionnaire. See questionnaire items 38,42,46,47 and 48.

possible to unlearn traditional approaches.

English: the section of IPAR's report dealing with Language is the shortest in terms of pages, ten pages out of 229 pages. Unlike other sections of the report, the English section emphasises the learning of English and its difficulties rather than talking about local languages. For example, the report highlights the lack of graded and other supporting material in English, that the current monopoly course for the teaching of English does not provide cultural material, and that specific cultural material is so lacking that the Cameroonian and Nigerian editions of Evans Primary English Course are frequently mixed up. Of course the English course does not provide enough cultural material, but the question is whether a culturally relevant course can be provided solely through the medium of English. As the African Curriculum Organisation report points out, 'there is good reason to think that all the latent creative talent will be released from bondage for greater participation in the production and consumption of educational materials through the use of the mother tongues'.<sup>1</sup> There seems to be very strong evidence then that cultural materials would be more usefully employed in the mother tongue than in a second language.

The section is concluded with a call for more research and book and material production. The importance of spoken language is also stressed.

#### 3.5.4 Teacher Education

Educational reform is closely related to teachers' academic and

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1. The African Curriculum Organisation, Report of the planning Meeting held from January 11-17, 1976, p.29.

professional training and to methods of teaching. IPAR's investigation revealed that learning was formal and based on recitation and memorisation techniques. Methods were verbal rather than practical, and outmoded in the sense that the student was never allowed to think, argue and disagree with the teacher and discouraged from questioning the validity of whatever was presented to him. Discipline is harsh and militaristic and the ideal good student was considered to be the one who sat silently and listened attentively and acted in the prescribed manner.

IPAR recommends that a distinction be drawn between three types of teacher training:

- 1) Pre-service in which the trainees enter the course straight from formal secondary or post-secondary education. They recommend that the minimum academic requirement for teacher training should be fixed at four 'O' levels, with English and Mathematics as compulsory subjects. This will be possible because of the secondary school leavers following the expansion of secondary education and the unemployment among school leavers. Training should last for three years followed by two-years' probationary period of supervised teaching.
- 2) In-service (upgrading) courses which should last for at least a year and which should enable already qualified teachers to gain a higher professional qualification. IPAR recommends that the present situation where grades III and II teachers are upgraded to grades II and I respectively be continued.
- 3) In-service (updating) courses which should be of short duration and whose purpose should be to familiarise trained teachers with new materials and/or teaching methods, but which would not lead to higher qualifications or additional increments.

IPAR also recommends a change in the working conditions of teachers:

- 1) that teachers should remain at least for a minimum period of five years in one school;
- 2) that teachers should be posted to an area whose dominant language group is already known to them;
- 3) that all teachers posted to remote and isolated areas should receive a crash course in advanced first aid, in nutrition, in farming, in the making of teaching aids from local resources or in the maintenance of school furniture and buildings;
- 4) that teachers just having finished their training should be posted to schools and communities along the road, as isolated duty posts put a particularly heavy stress on inexperienced teachers, and their young age will present an additional handicap in remote and therefore traditionalistic communities;
- 5) that special incentives should be provided to teachers serving in isolated, remote, and marginal areas.

On salary structure IPAR recommends that the differences in salary and conditions of work between the teachers working with Government and those working with the voluntary agencies should be resolved. 'The principle "same pay for same work" must be applied', otherwise they warn the voluntary agencies would lose most of their best teachers to the Government. They also recommend that headmasters be paid slightly higher salaries than the rank-and-file teacher, otherwise they warn authority would suffer.

On the promotion of teachers, IPAR-Buea's Report says:

The present situation where promotion and financial betterment (except basic increments) depend almost exclusively on the obtaining of higher academic

qualifications is unsatisfactory, not least because teachers neglect their professional responsibilities in order to study for these exams. The situation could be improved if:

- there were greater prospects for promotion on a strictly professional basis;
- teachers were obliged to teach for a number of years before applying for permission to enter for additional academic qualifications.

On the teacher's contractual obligations towards the Employer

IPAR proposes that:

- \* - even though a teacher may be provided with reference material on the environment of his school, he must be prepared to undertake his own 'research' into the local situation. Practice in organising such research should form part of the teacher-training curriculum.
- Each trained teacher be in charge of Rural Science lessons in his class except where a specially trained teacher is available who would do all the Rural Science teaching in the school while the class teacher teach in his class during that time.
- \* - Each teacher should be encouraged to join traditional gatherings to give good examples to the children. In ethnically mixed communities they should join 'strangers associations'.

### 3.5.5 Evaluation and Examination

Although concern over the effect of terminal examinations and of their efficiency is widespread in Cameroon as elsewhere in Africa, IPAR proposes no radical change either in the structure or in examination policies of the Government. IPAR recognises that examinations are inevitable, and that three tasks are necessary to improve both their efficiency and their effect on the primary school curriculum.

Examination for the purpose of selection has become so much accepted by the Cameroonian society that it seems unrealistic to leave it out. Every individual, pupil or teacher, needs the reassurance and guidance provided by evaluation and progress reports. The problem is how to give practical effect to both of these principles at the same time.

The Institute, therefore, recommends:

- a - that a pupil's progress and performance be assessed by continuous evaluation and final examination;
- b - that only one country-wide examination at the end of the primary school cycle be organised which would serve the purpose of final assessment as well as that of selection for further education;
- c - that various means of assessment be used, for example, records of pupils' progress through the different stages of development in the acquisition of various skills and knowledge, and his progress in practical work; assessment of his effectiveness in practical skills in terms of articles and farm crops produced;\* and record of the pupils' performance and participation in group activities and community projects.\*

However, these recommendations (a-c) appear to contradict the Report's next proposal dealing with the methods of examination where it is argued that 'if examinations are to tap knowledge of the local environment, they will need to be set and marked by those who are conversant with it, that is normally local bodies and authorities'.

The Report then goes on to recommend that,

to ensure a desirable degree of uniformity, these examinations should be sent to the provincial delegations of National Education to be moderated. This would provide an additional check as to whether the tests are in line with the common requirements of the curriculum. However, if the examinations continue to be set centrally, questions dealing with the local environment would need to be of the essay type to allow for examples. These would have to be marked at Divisional level because it is only there that one can expect enough familiarity with the environmental conditions to assess whether an essay brings out the relevant knowledge.

The Institute's proposal makes considerable progress towards greater decentralisation in curriculum development - especially when this means autonomy for each administrative region and inspectorate to decide on

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\* Items included in the attitude survey questionnaire.



its own curriculum. However, in a country with diverse cultural heritage from two colonial administrations, diverse languages, diverse races, and diverse religions, local control of education may intensify regional conflicts and this may threaten the political objectives of national unity. As Martin McLean (1980) points out, 'at worst, locally controlled schools in politically weak nations-States may become agencies of competing political groups so that education itself becomes a politically disunifying force'. It is unlikely that government would encourage any policy which seeks to give autonomy to major ethnic groups.

The IPAR team proposals on examination make considerable progress towards the inclusion of material from the local environment, but without suggesting that a centralised education system is better than a decentralised one, there is no doubt that proposals such as those submitted by IPAR (assessment in practical work, assessment of acquisition of various skills and knowledge, assessment of performance and participation in group and community projects) would be more effectively assessed in a decentralised school system. Having recognised that the examination system will remain an integral part of the primary school curriculum, it is also important to point out that the various methods of assessment be used to evaluate the objectives of the curriculum, not merely coverage of its content and clearly state what is to be assessed and attempt to ensure that teachers know what this is.<sup>1</sup> As the present examination does none of these things it seems inevitable that its structures, policies, and content must be reviewed as part of the process of curriculum reform.

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1. See Hugh Howe's recommendations to Lesotho: in Primary School curriculum change in Lesotho (UNICEF's commitment in context: Consultants' Report (1977)), p.10.

### 3.5.6 Community/School Relation

The IPAR proposals strongly advocate closer links between schools and the community. In the context of the two English-speaking provinces of Cameroon, the IPAR team recommends that the following persons (agricultural extension officers,\* youth leaders,\* health officers,\* dispensary attendants, social welfare workers,\* labour officers, native doctors, party leaders, heads of important societies, clergy, cultural associations, local councils) should be encouraged to participate actively in all school activities in their locality. Their resources should be made available for school use and some of these officers should not only take part in designing school programmes, but should be induced to take part in teaching by paying them a small cash allowance. Specifically IPAR recommends that:

communities and individuals should be encouraged to bring their problems to the school for possible solutions by the school or by both school and community;\*

there should be established on school premises clubs for the instruction and advice of young adults and others interested embracing besides agricultural activities technology or functional education (e.g. repairs and maintenance techniques);

schools together with local language committees should be assisted to initiate newspapers in local languages that might later be taken up on a commercial basis;

the facilities of the school library should be offered in out-of-school hours to members of the community. Teachers or responsible adults could take turns in supervising the use of the library and advising readers.\*

School co-operatives should be experimented with which are run by the pupils themselves under teacher supervision.

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\* Items included in the questionnaire.

Having considered the facts and the exigencies of the whole primary school system, IPAR draws up six alternative models for the reform of the primary schools in the two English-speaking provinces without committing themselves to any of the six alternatives. The team argues that 'there is not one single best way to go about the reform of primary school system, (but) a number of alternatives open depending largely on the actions government is prepared to take'. It is not difficult to accept this viewpoint when we consider not only that school reforms the world over involve complex changes, but also that the state of educational theory and research today offers little aid in exact prediction of the overall effects of such multivariate changes. Besides, all educational systems have multiple goals and functions which need not all be mutually consistent. Thus, there is no general consensus on the specific ingredients of a 'good' educational system. This makes it possible to legitimise a wide variety of attitudes towards school reform on educational grounds.

### 3.5.7 Alternative Approaches

The six alternative approaches are summarised as follows:

#### IPAR AND THE ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES: ALTERNATIVE I

The first of IPAR's models is an elaboration of the present system with no radical changes in the present structure; in the present examination system; in the administrative support; in the working conditions of teachers; in the subjecting weighting (English, Mathematics, French, History, Geography, Rural Science, civics, and natural sciences); and no special environmental orientation.

ALTERNATIVE II

New courses (English, Mathematics, French, and Environmental Studies), new textbooks, heavy emphasis on the local environment; specialist teachers in agriculture and manual arts, tools for farm work, manual arts and observation equipment; Examinations set at Divisional level and conducted by provisional Delegation or Divisional Inspectorate, practical work and skills included in the final assessment; extra allowances for teachers-in-charge of school farm and manual arts; Divisional Inspectorates turned into an Educational Consultancy Centre.

ALTERNATIVE III

The emphasis on the local environment remains. French language is to be made compulsory in classes 5,6 and 7; parents should be called in to supervise children's labour and the use of school income from pupils' labour, the main emphasis during these years is to build up an environmental-related vocabulary.

ALTERNATIVE IV

The same as in alternatives II and III with the one difference that local resource persons are systematically employed for theoretical and practical teaching in Arts and Crafts/Technology, Agriculture, Culture and civics, local committees consisting of school staff and local experts act as examiners in practical skills and work, but checked by educational 'extension officers'.

ALTERNATIVE V

In this alternative, the school becomes community-centred not only in content but also in organisation; the community and the school staff decide jointly on the details of the teaching programme;

Examination set at the local level, but supervised by the Divisional Inspectorate, practical skills and work performance included in the assessment.

#### ALTERNATIVE VI

This is an extension of alternative V. The school becomes the place where all learning needs of a community are taken up within the context of a drive for community development relying heavily on initiatives at the local level; specialist teachers for agriculture; manual arts, adult literacy, vocational specialists for school leaver programmes; tools for a wide range of school leaver programmes and community projects; main support from the Departments of Agriculture, Health, Animal Breeding, School Welfare.

Although it is beyond the scope of this study to evaluate the merits and demerits of each of these six models, it is possible nevertheless to make a few general remarks. First, although this is not made clear from the report, the authors saw these alternative models as sequential steps towards achieving a complete restructuring of primary school education in the region. The government can begin with the first alternative and progress gradually through the stages. Alternatively government may decide to adopt one of the later models straightaway.

Whichever alternative the government adopts, the final report has been well received outside of Cameroon. For example, Hugh Hawes (1979) writes, 'there can be no doubt that the project makes an important landmark in curriculum planning in Africa. The importance of situational analysis as a preliminary to curriculum design has been considered,

investment has been made and important questions are being asked'.<sup>1</sup>  
After this it should now be apparent that I will be concerned more with what might be called the moral than with the technical aspects of the report in this study.

The strength of IPAR's proposals has been its orientation to environmental studies and the continued investigation to discover the environments in their social, political, agricultural, and technological aspects. As most people who are concerned with schools in tropical Africa would agree, one of their distinctive features is their isolation from the environment of the child. By virtue of the fact that the schools' curricula condition the child to function in metropolitan terms, they serve to alienate him from the rural environments.<sup>2</sup> Any attempt to 'adapt' the curriculum to suit the particular needs of the child and his environment must be welcomed although this way of looking at education tends to undermine its value as a process through which human capacities are developed and enlarged. The learner is subordinated to the economic needs of society. The question which poses itself is what is education for?

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1. See Hugh Hawes (1979), op.cit., p.29. Besides, in April 1977 IIEP Paris set aside two weeks for the evaluation of IPAR's project and in recognition of his work at IPAR-Buea, the National Director, Dr A.N.Boma was seconded to UNESCO as consultant in January 1977.
  2. An incisive analysis of the typical African situation is presented by Julius Nyerere (1967). 'Tanzania's education is such as to divorce its participants from the society it is supposed to be preparing them for ... The school is always separate; it is not part of society ... The few who go to schools are taken many miles away from their homes, they live in an enclave, having permission to go into the town for recreation, but not relating the work to either town or country to their real life ... which is lived in the school compound', see Nyerere, J.K. (1967), Education for Self-Reliance (Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, Government Printer, 1967), p.11.

However, is the 'aura of optimism' justified in the case of IPAR? Surely, there is a difference between a piece of informative research which is what IPAR-Buea's work has been, which has satisfied all research criteria and the proposals derived from the research working in practice to bring the schools closer to their environments. In this case the 'aura of optimism' is on the former. For the latter one must ask two related questions: first, can the ruralised curriculum succeed in revitalising manual work and agricultural labour when all signs of material and social rewards in terms of finance and prestige are found elsewhere - in white-collar occupations? Second, can schools be expected to evolve<sup>1</sup> in a society which is not itself evolving in terms of values which are directly at variance with some of the proposals contained in the Report?

This is the first type of contradiction which was pointed out in the introduction to this study. To reform an educational system in order to link it more closely with society, certain values and attitudes prevailing in society must themselves change. Durkheim considers that the main innovations of the educational system are determined by radical changes in society. He writes, 'the systems of education are obviously tied up with given social systems that they are inseparable from them'.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Too many such reforms fail because they are not viewed within a total economic and social context of the society. See Mengot, A.D. (1974), 'Education and rural development in Cameroon', Educafrica, Bulletin of the UNESCO Regional Office, vol.I, No.1 (Dakar), pp.37-44.
  2. Durkheim, E. (1956 edn), Education and Sociology (New York: The Free Press), p.119.

Another form of contradiction is created when an educational system lags behind social and economic developments in society. Yet a third form of contradiction is created when the educational system tries to transmit values which are not the prevailing values in society. This creates a 'crisis' in the matching relationships.<sup>1,2</sup>

While the overall emphasis in the proposals indicates a very strong commitment to environmental, agricultural and social studies<sup>3</sup> and the desire to link the primary school with the local environment, this is inevitably bound to lead to conflicts with other objectives, for example, in a society committed to industrialisation, mechanisation of agriculture and a 'production' of trained talents to fill the ever-increasing high level posts in administration and industry.<sup>4</sup> One important criticism of the investigation is that it limits itself to

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1. Coombs, P.H. (1968), The World Educational Crisis: A System Analysis, (New York: London).
  2. It is important to point out that a few socialist countries, Tanzania, Cuba, and China have been concerned not only with the link between school and society, but have simultaneously been trying to 'create' a 'new education system', a 'new man' and a 'new economic and material base' in society. For the economic, educational, and human revolution taking place in these countries, see for Tanzania, Resnick J. and Resnick, I. (1971), 'Tanzanian Education for a new Society', African Report, vol.16, pp.26-9; and Mohiddan Ahmed (1968), 'Ujamaa - a commentary on President Nyerere's Vision of Tanzanian Society', African Affairs, vol.67, pp.130-43. For Cuba, Bowles, S. (1971), 'Cuban Education and the Revolution Ideology', Harvard Educational Review, vol.41, No.4, pp.472-500; and for China, Chen, T.H. (1966), 'Education for the Chinese Revolution', Current History, vol.XXXII, pp.43-8; Hu, C.T. (1966), 'Communist Education Theory and Practice', in Roderick MacFerquhar (ed.), China under Mao: Politics takes Command (Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press), pp.241-54; and Hu, C.T. (1969) (ed.), 'Symposium on Aspects of Chinese Education', Comparative Education Review, vol.XIII, pp.1-95.
  3. The Report devotes 92 pages of its 230 pages to Environmental Studies, 7 pages to language, 16 pages to Mathematics and

(continued on following page)



interviewing local chiefs, local headmasters, parents and pupils (in order to discover the local environment as a preliminary to curricular reform) at the expense, as I have indicated above, of the general economic and social objectives (or aspirations) of the country as a whole. The impression that one gets from reading through the report is that the two English-speaking provinces are treated almost as if they were a political, social, and economic entity. Yet in terms of human and economic potential, the two provinces constitute only about one-sixth of the United Republic of Cameroon.

Another theme in the criticism of the investigators is that although, as I indicated in Chapter One, curricular reforms were first started in the French-speaking region as far back as 1967 and were still going on when IPAR-Buea was set up in 1974, no attempt was made to co-ordinate the two reforms. In other words, IPAR-Buea failed in its research and report to create one unified system for the whole country as envisaged by the government.<sup>1</sup> This failure leads to a third criticism or rather fears that under some of the IPAR's proposals the rural schools' isolation will be reinforced and efforts at national integration endangered.

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(Footnotes 3 and 4 continued from previous page)

8 pages to Arts and Crafts/Technology.

4. See As told by Ahmadou Ahidjo 1958-1968. The philosophy of Ahmadou Ahidjo, pp.51-2. Also see Economic and Social plans 1960/61-1981.

- 1. See terms of reference for IPAR-Buea.

Further, it must also be the fear that 'ruralised' schools in remote areas will make it difficult for rural children to rise to the level of urban children in terms of passing examinations to secondary schools. This criticism is strengthened by the fact that no consideration seems to have been given to the advancement of children to secondary education. It would seem that the time has now come to think in terms of reforms and changes in the entire system of education - and not just primary education, secondary education, or teacher education, as if each was a separate entity. This criticism is not directed against IPAR who were given very clear instructions to reform the primary school system. Notwithstanding the reservations expressed, the IPAR document, Report on the Reform of Primary Education 1977, is reasonable in its proposals and logically argued; if its recommendations are not wholly considered or, at least in part adopted, it will be because it lacks any political power-base both in the initial research and in the presentation of the report.

'Be not the first by whom the new are tried;  
Nor yet the last to lay the old aside.'

(Alexander Pope: Essay on Criticism)

## CHAPTER SIX

### CHARACTERISTICS OF TEACHERS

### 3.6 CHARACTERISTICS OF TEACHERS

#### 3.6.1 Introduction

We have shown in section 5.1 that the gearing of the content and method of primary education to the immediate social, economic and political needs of the two provinces of Cameroon was the main objective for setting up IPAR-Buea and the recommendations of its Report on the Reform of Primary Education 1977 is based on this objective. But as we have argued the working of the proposals cannot be more than imperfectly achieved until radical changes have taken place in society. An educational system that has from its inception reflected a competitive, acquisitive society with emphasis on cognitive and academic diplomas cannot radically transform itself without corresponding radical changes in society in terms of the thinking, the social status, and the economic values of the populace. If pupils are to be encouraged to think in terms of the village and agriculture, then the society, in particular the politician who makes the decision, must think in terms of the village and agriculture in planning for development projects.

The second condition necessary for the proposals to work, and the consideration which forms the basis for this study is that such radical changes in education also depend upon a genuine teaching profession - dedicated, aware of its responsibility, willing and open-minded to try out new techniques and new teaching materials. Above all, the teaching profession must be able and encouraged to think in terms of rural development. Yet, for the most part the present teaching force in Cameroon have themselves passed through courses of training which reinforce the very motivation that leads to what Godfrey Brown (1974) calls

the "'bright lights" of the towns both for themselves and their pupils'.<sup>1</sup>

Each major piece of an educational reform demands of all teachers that they develop new pedagogical skills and new relationships with their children and in our case with the community. Educational reforms usually, therefore, affect teachers' working conditions, and as a result in Western Europe and North America where teachers' professional organisations are powerful, they will try to influence such reforms to protect members' interests. But unlike other organisations or unions teaching is a profession with a service-oriented ideology. Teachers usually tend therefore to rationalise their individual or collective positions on school reform issues in terms of the educational merits of the reform rather than primarily in terms of self-interest if these two considerations should conflict. A priori if educational planners wanted to know teachers' attitudes to proposed school reforms, reactions of teachers' unions and editorials in teachers' journals would be a very good guide. But in Cameroon where the Teachers' Union is weak, inactive, ineffective on behalf of members and their leaders co-opted by the State,<sup>2</sup> a researcher will have to interview individual teachers for his answers.

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1. Brown, G.N. (1974), 'The role of the teacher in a developing country', in Turner, J.D. (1974), The teacher in a changing society (Manchester University Press), pp.31-43.
  2. Since 1967, systematic attempts had been made to bring the various Trade Unions in Cameroon under the arm of the one political party - the CNU (Cameroon National Union). At the Garoua Congress in 1969, Ahidjo called for the amalgamation of all the Unions, this was effected in 1971. The election of Trade Union officials was suspended. The all-embracing 'Union Nationale des travailleurs Camerounais' (UNTC) is now tightly controlled by the political party and nominates single candidates for the various organisations. See Bayart, J.F. (1973), 'Political Development in Cameroon', African Affairs: Journal of the Royal African Society, vol.72, No.287, pp.125-44.

Schools' reforms are therefore substantially influenced by teachers who are the main adopters and transmitters of new educational practices. This means that the different groups of teachers (for example, teachers grouped by age, sex, qualification, or political commitment, etc.) bring to bear on a school reform pressure that is all the stronger for their being the more interested in the implementation of the reform. Consequently, the probability that a particular teachers' group will have an explicit and coherent way of implementing the reform at the level of pedagogical practice depends directly upon their attitudes towards the reform issues, based on their knowledge of the educational and social implications of the reform or its consequences for their status or teaching.

On this basis we can hypothesise that the implementation of a school reform would be influenced according to whether the teachers' attitudes are reform-minded, innovatory, or inertial. The more inertial the pedagogical practice, the more it is the function of the old competences created by an unchanged educational system. At the same time, we have to take account of the fact that pedagogical practice is relatively autonomous of educational structures. This means that one can change some educational structures without changing the practice within them, or changing the practice does not necessarily mean any shift away from the old structures. This relative autonomy of the pedagogical practice from the educational structures explains why it is possible to operate changes at one or the other level without affecting the whole system. In order to replace old practices it is always necessary to retrain teachers. The retraining of teachers through in-service or refresher courses depends among other things, on the nature and the

length of training received before the reform. So the business of school reform in Cameroon, indeed in most of tropical Africa, is a business of retraining teachers, improving the quality and effectiveness of the profession and helping them to identify with their community in regard to cultural variables, individual variables and the economic needs. At present the teacher is in an unenviable position, which he has not been properly trained for, of trying to bridge the gap between two social systems, the traditional and Western, which are still in the process of assimilating each other.

### 3.6.2 Primary Teachers in Anglophone Cameroon

At this point I have come full circle. It is hoped that the difficulties involved in school reform have been fairly stated. These difficulties, however, are not the primary concern of this study. The primary concern is that of IPAR's school reform and the acceptance of change on the part of the teaching profession and the characteristics and variables associated with the acceptance or rejection of the reform. Primary school teachers in the two English-speaking provinces of Cameroon fall into three major categories or grades (III, II and I), according to the length of pedagogical training received. The overwhelming majority of the teachers are trained.<sup>1</sup> By contrast, only about twenty-five per cent in the Francophone region are trained.<sup>2</sup> Table 6.1 shows the struggle to obtain qualified teachers; in a space of ten years the number of

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1. The basic academic qualification of the teachers is low. The majority of them have only eight years of primary education and obtained the First School Leaving Certificate.
  2. See Courade, C. and Courade, G. (1977), Education in Anglophone Cameroon (1915-1975) (Office National de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique - ONAREST), Yaoundé.

**TABLE 6.1: WEST CAMEROON: PRIMARY TEACHERS, THEIR QUALIFICATIONS AND SEX 1961/62 - 1971/72**

Teachers	1961/62	%	1971/72	%
Certificated teachers	1,058	33.5	3,858	86.6
Uncertificated teachers	973	30.8	273	6.1
Student-teachers	1,126	35.7	325	7.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,157</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4,456</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Men</b>	<b>2,825</b>	<b>89.5</b>	<b>3,567</b>	<b>80.0</b>
<b>Women</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>10.5</b>	<b>889</b>	<b>20.0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,157</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4,456</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Education in Cameroon (1915-1975), (eds) Courade, C. and Courade, G.

**TABLE 6.2: WEST CAMEROON: TEACHERS IN NORTHWEST AND SOUTHWEST PROVINCES ACCORDING TO SEX AND QUALIFICATION**

Province	Secondary Leavers		Grade I		Grade II		Grade III		Pupil Teacher		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Northwest	1		34	7	1296	176	775	124	11	4	2,428
Southwest	5	1	20	4	1125	246	576	218	21	11	2,227
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>2421</b>	<b>422</b>	<b>1351</b>	<b>342</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>4,655</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>		<b>65</b>		<b>2843</b>		<b>1693</b>		<b>47</b>		
<b>Total %</b>	<b>0.10</b>		<b>1.4</b>		<b>61.1</b>		<b>36.4</b>		<b>1.0</b>		<b>100.0</b>

Sources: Mineduc, Statistical Year Book 1976/77, vol.I Primary Education.

trained teachers had gone up from 33.5 per cent (1961/2) to 86.6 per cent (1971/2) and 99 per cent in 1976/77; and during the same period the number of female teachers increased from 10 to 20 per cent. It



had been the objective of the Government of the Federated State of West Cameroon to increase to 30 per cent the number of women in the profession in 1975.<sup>1</sup>

The conditions which allow teachers, at one time or the other, to teach the different grades of the teaching profession are shown in Chart I. As illustrated in the chart, the primary teachers are trained in teachers' colleges outside the University system. They receive a relatively 'shallow' training in academic subjects, but with greater emphasis on pedagogical skills.

The social standing of teachers depends upon the size of the school and the location of the school. Teachers in urban centres have a higher prestige than teachers in rural areas. But primary teachers have traditionally been held in high esteem in the local community. This is especially true in rural areas where teachers have traditionally played an active role in politics and in local religious and cultural organisations.

The salary differentials between primary school teachers and other professions - like health inspectors or agricultural extension officers - are great. And because of the nature of their work, teachers can be expected to attribute especially great importance to the time invested in formal education as a criterion for assessing the adequacy of their own income and prestige in relation to other professionals. While the training received by other academic professionals - like physicians and lawyers - is longer than that of teachers, others' - like the agricul-

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1. In 1972 both primary education and teacher training was taken over by the Ministry of National Education and attempts at harmonisation of the two systems meant that some teacher training colleges were closed.

TABLE 6.3: ANGLOPHONE CAMEROON: TEACHERS' TRAINING

A - INSTITUTIONAL FEATURES

Referring Items	Grade I	Grade II	Grade III
Training Institutions Admission Requirement	Teachers' College Entrance examination after grade II, Promotion by public service examination	Teachers' College Entrance examination after grade III, Promotion by public service examination	Teachers' College Entrance examination after First School Leaving Certificate (FSLC) (now discontinued)
B - CONTENT AND SEQUENCE TRAINING			
Length of Training	Six years after FSLC one year after O/Ls one year after grade II	Five years after FSLC Two years after grade III	Three years after FSLC
Nature of Training	Intensive study of all subjects of the primary school together with educational courses in principles and practice of Education	Special subject disciplines and principles and practice of Education are taught with organised pedagogical practice	Special educational disciplines and subject disciplines are taught with organised pedagogical practice
Graduation	The student-teachers sit for an internal examination organised by the Colleges (in history, geography, English literature, French, religious studies, music and arts), an external examination organised by the Ministry of Education (in the theory and principles of Education, mathematics, English, physical education, health education and domestic and rural sciences), and teaching practice - the examination varies according to the grade of the teachers.		
In-Service Training	Courses organised by the Ministry of Education. Refresher courses organised by the Ministry with the assistance of the British Council in Cameroon.		
Institutions for In-Service Training	Teachers' Training Colleges and Divisional centres for teachers.		

tural extension officers or health inspectors - is shorter.

The salary differentials between primary school teachers and academic secondary school teachers are only great in cases where the latter has a University degree or is a 'product' of Ecole Normale Supérieure (ENS) which is a faculty of the University and now trains secondary school teachers. The difference in social standing between primary school teachers and those in secondary schools may well be from the fact that the one is a 'subject' specialist and the other a trained pedagogue. They are used to dealing with the full range of student ability and motivation in the same classroom.

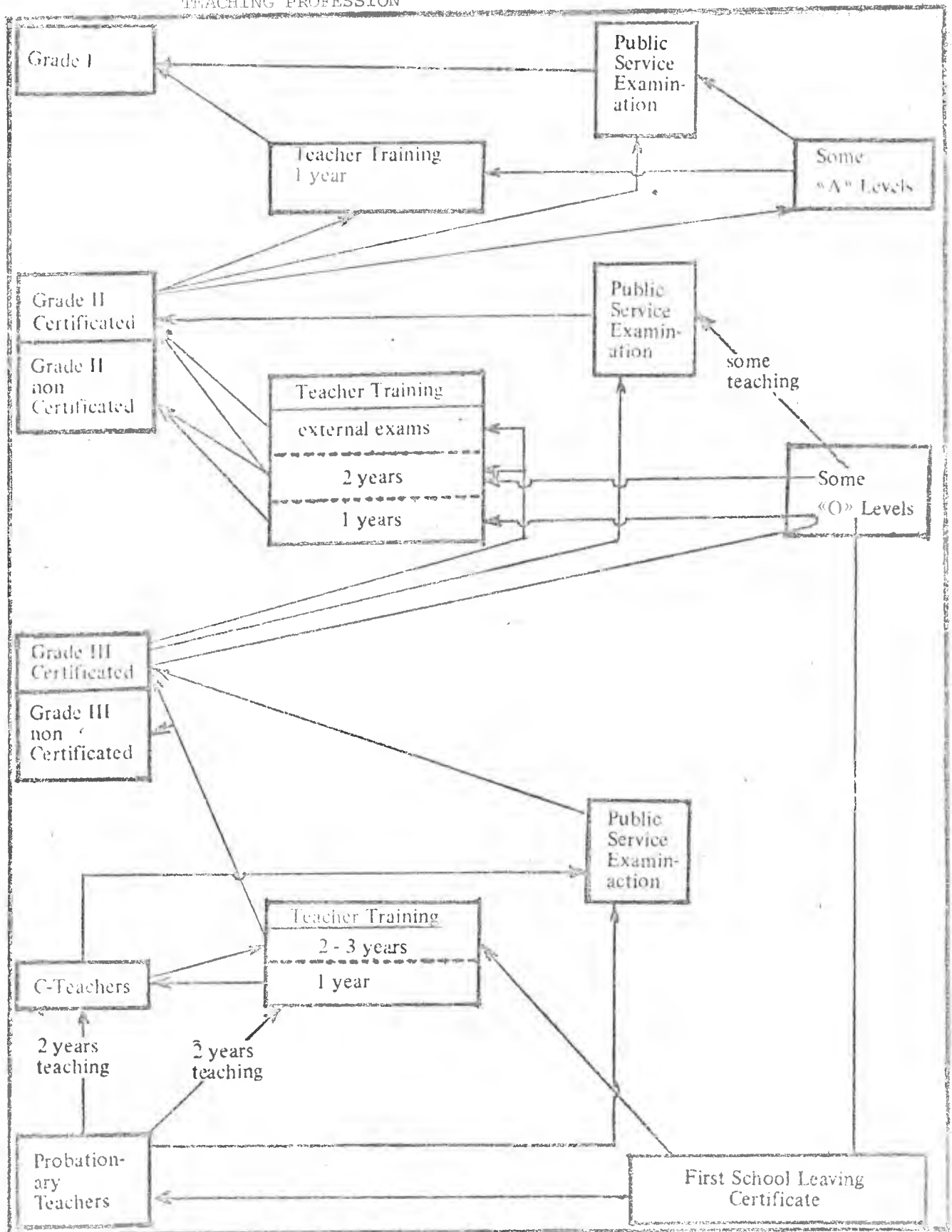
As shown in Table 6.2 there are three main categories of teachers in the two Anglophone provinces of Cameroon, grades I,II and III.

Table 6.3 and Chart I describe the recruiting position as it existed before 1976. Some of these opportunities and avenues have been closed with the introduction and reorganisation of teachers' colleges and new entry requirements. For example, admission to colleges that train primary teachers is now made contingent upon possession of the secondary school leaving certificate (the general Certificate of Education in at least four subjects including English and Mathematics). Since only about 20 per cent of the children who complete primary school reach this level,<sup>1</sup> the intention of educational policy is clear; namely, teachers' colleges are to be upgraded by accepting only candidates who have completed the rigorous academic curriculum of secondary education.

Such an emphasis, it is believed, will enhance professional status. The overwhelming majority of our respondents are still those described in Chart I and Table 6.3.

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1. See Seminar for Administrative and Political Cadre (1973), p.86.

CHART I: CONDITIONS OF ACCESS TO THE DIFFERENT GRADES OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION



Source: IPAR-Buca.

3.6.3 Summary to Parts One, Two and Three (Chapters One to Six)  
and Link to Part Four

As indicated in Chapter One (see 1.1.3) of this thesis, the study attempts to achieve two objectives. First, to present a descriptive analysis of the proposed primary school reform by the Institute of Practical Educational Research for Rural Development (I.P.A.R) and second, to survey the attitudes of primary school teachers to aspects of the reform. Large-scale reforms seeking system-wide changes in educational goals, priorities, and structures cannot be planned without reference to the environments in which these schools exist and for which they prepare future citizens.

Accordingly in Chapter Two I have tried to isolate and describe the context both in terms of the physical, demographic, and the political, economic and social facts of present-day Cameroon. From this brief, but pertinent analysis certain facts emerge which are of basic importance to educational change and a reorientation of the content of primary school education in English-speaking Cameroon.

(a) More than 75 per cent of the people live in rural areas and on the land practising subsistence farming.

(b) Cameroon is basically agricultural and likely to remain so.

Wage employment is not likely to be available to the vast majority of primary school leavers in the foreseeable future. Some of these unemployed school leavers will have to go back to the land to practise farming of a kind.

(c) In the last decades, there has been a tendency for the subsistence sector to decline because of poor farming practices. It was also noted that, the disparity in incomes and social amenities between

rural and urban households is a major contributory factor both for the rural exodus to urban areas among the youths and for some of the decline in agricultural production as more and more able bodied people leave rural areas to urban centres.

- (d) The population of the region is about 1.2 million. The average rate of growth of the population is about 3 per cent per annum. The rate of growth in the urban areas varies between 3 and 5 per cent. The labour force has been estimated at about half of the whole population and as I indicated in (b) above, with limited employment in the modern sector and school leavers' unwillingness to take up agriculture, the reorientation of the content of school education became inevitable.
- (e) Socially and politically the region is exceedingly heterogeneous. Hence the task of achieving national unity is vital. School curriculum must therefore be sensitive to this political and social objective.

In Chapters Three and Four I have attempted to analyse the institutional factors affecting the structure and organisation of primary school education in Cameroon and how such factors have affected the school curriculum from the founding of the first recognisable schools to 1975 when research for primary school reform was begun. This analysis revealed further essentials. I have noted:

- (a) how the Christian missionary tradition has dictated the pattern of educational development, moulded and shaped attitudes to the primary school and its curriculum;
- (b) how the two conflicting traditions of adaptation to the so-called rural life and preparation for wage employment can be traced, and

how the teachers, the parents and their children rejected the one and accepted the other. In the face of past tradition and present facts, it would seem somewhat naive to expect any immediate and overwhelming support for a policy of ruralisation of primary school education.

But curriculum is never static, so to the analysis of the present curriculum practice must be added a description of pressures which exist towards curriculum change. Part of Chapter Three analyses these, particularly the high rate of drop-out, a large cohort repeating classes, and the problem of financing the ever-expanding system.

- (a) how all these factors, with others, have contributed to the evolution of curriculum policy including the development of syllabuses and educational materials and they have led up to the revision of the 1966 syllabuses, the last major attempt to change the content of primary school education before the IPAR reform.

The 1966 syllabus, on which IPAR based their research, the problems and processes of its implementation in schools are discussed in Chapter Four. In its very broad outlines the following picture emerged.

- (a) The syllabus (although its rhetoric sounds familiar) was not conceived in the traditions of 'adaptation'. Rather it aimed at being a vehicle for sound (and 'relevant') general education, designed to further the economic and social programmes of the state.
- (b) There were great variations both in the amount that the syllabus was followed and in the spirit in which it was interpreted. These variations existed between schools, between teachers and

between individual subjects in the curriculum.

- (c) As a result of (b) above, the curriculum in schools remained far more formal, compartmentalised and academic than the syllabus policy envisaged.

Equally, a curriculum is sensitive to the interpretation placed on it by children and their parents and its success is also dependent on their capacity to understand its concepts. Accordingly a brief examination was made of the aspirations of children and their parents and their attitudes, to the purpose of primary school education. It was noted that:

- (a) although politicians and educationalists may distinguish personal and societal objectives for primary education including its role as a promoter of national unity, to the vast majority of parents and some teachers and their pupils, primary education is seen as a preparation for further study or, failing that, for wage employment. This, in a selective system, naturally involves examination success. These attitudes are a direct result of the country's wage and social structure.

The analysis of educational plans since 1961 (also in Chapter Four) showed that since independence major attention has been focused on institutional (that is, system) changes, for instance to:

- (a) building more classrooms;
- (b) increasing the rate of school enrolment at all levels of the educational system, particularly at the primary level;
- (c) allocating more material resources and appropriating a large percentage of the yearly budget to achieving these aims. With the exception of the Second Development Plan 1966/71 in which reference was made to 'new goals', 'new aims' and an attempt to



'ruralise' the content of the primary school curriculum, changes in the quality of education were largely ignored.

In Chapter Five, I outlined the attempts that have been made since 1975 to respond to the problems, highlighted in the first four chapters of this study, by the setting up of the Institut de Pedagogie Appliquée à Vocation Rurale (IPAR) to undertake detailed research into the need to reform the primary school system in order to make it more relevant to the society. I have discussed the recommendations and proposals made by IPAR in detail to lay, so to speak, the foundation for the attitude survey among teachers. I have also made very brief comments about the value of, and the chances of success of the reform if adopted. I expressed apprehension for the 'aura of optimism' that has followed the publication of the report. I fear that in the end, it might prove easier to 'ruralise' the school curricula and upgrade the standard of teaching than to change values and attitudes in the society. Many of the persisting values and goals on which the Cameroonian socio-economic, including educational, institutions and the political system are run, are antithetical to the reform proposals. As an illustration, can school leavers be expected to go back to the land, when higher rewards both in terms of financial remuneration and social regards are associated with wage employment? Educational planners might be aware of these contradictions, but it is often convenient to minimise them. These contradictions are not the concern of this investigation. The primary concern of this study and particularly of the next two sections, is the issue of acceptability or rejection of the reform outlined in Chapter Two by primary teachers (an issue upon which the success or failure of the reforms so largely depends).

PART FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN

'To will change is not the  
same as to change Will.'

(St Thomas Aquinas  
(Summa Theologica))

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Earlier in Chapter One it was stated that the major objective of the present study is to survey attitudes held by primary school teachers towards some aspects of school reform proposed by IPAR-Buea. In the following paragraphs an attempt will be made to examine some of the issues which might have a bearing on the result of this study.

First (and as it would have become apparent), the study is basically issue-oriented in that the starting point has not been based on any specific educational theory, but the issue of school reform and the acceptance of change by the teaching profession. Attempts have been made to discover to what extent the teachers' willingness to accept or reject the reform proposals is associated with their

1. knowledge of the reform issues
2. job satisfaction and dissatisfaction
3. perception towards their teaching role.

Subsequent chapters describe how various tests were selected or evolved to cover these fields and to provide data on fifteen variables.

Second, as the analysis in the subsequent chapters is based on data collected by a questionnaire, it seems pertinent to examine some of the literature which might have a bearing on this. Research workers usually use one of two methods of information-gathering, the self-completion questionnaire (employed in this study), and the individual interview, depending upon the nature of the research in terms of the number of people involved and upon the method they regard more valid and more reliable. Critical tests in which both measures are administered to the same subjects are rare, but in an extensive review of

literature on the two methods, Scott (1961) writes:

On the existing published evidence, the mail survey does not appear to be necessarily any less efficient than interview as a means of collecting information and opinions from the public, unless the questions on their inter-relation are complex.

... evidence on the reliability and validity of mail survey response is meagre in quantity and poor in quality. On the whole it does not appear that mail survey responses are generally any less accurate than those given by interview and there is some slight evidence that socially less acceptable responses are more readily elicited by mail questionnaire ... Attitude questions inviting criticism seem to elicit more critical response in a mail survey.

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Studies by Alderfer (1967),<sup>2</sup> Walsh (1967),<sup>3</sup> (1968) and (1969) have all confirmed Scott's conclusion. But these studies have had to deal with mature and mostly well-educated respondents. Recently, however, a study by Bill (1973) has not only provided firm support for the hypothesis above, but has gone a step further, 'the general conclusion which may be drawn from the above analyses is that even with young adolescents, some of whom were of low intellectual ability the questionnaire is as effective a method of gathering personal information ... as the interview.'<sup>4</sup> Once it has been realised that all methods of

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1. Scott, C. (1961), 'Research on Mail Survey', Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, vol.24, No.11
  2. Alderfer, C.P. (1967), 'Convergent discriminant validation of satisfaction and desire measures by interviews and questionnaires', Journal of Applied Psychology, 51, pp.509-20.
  3. Walsh, W.B. (1967), 'Validity of Self-report', Journal Counsel Psychol., 14, pp.18-23; (1968), 'Validity of Self-report: Another look', J.Counsel Psychol., 15, pp.180-6; (1969), 'Self-report under socially desirable and distortion conditions', J. Counsel Psychol., 16, pp.569-74.
  4. Bill, J.M. (1973), 'A methodological study of the interview and questionnaire approaches to information-gathering', in Research in Education, 9, pp.25-42.

information-gathering have biases, it is difficult to reject the self-completion survey as an adequate method of information-gathering.

The third and final issue in this section relates to survey research in Africa, as opinion differs as to its value. Its multitude of epistemological and methodological problems have been acknowledged by most field researchers, so too have their strident criticisms and calls for reform. One group of researchers find precious little to recommend in the qualitative approach to data gathering when applied to Africa.<sup>1</sup> One critic limits the utility of this approach solely to the corroboration of existing evidence and not to the generation of new data.<sup>2</sup> One is left to wonder, since this is not explicit from his criticisms, whether the objection is to survey research qua survey research or the fact that there is something about the biological make-up of Africans that reduces the reliability of survey research in Africa.

There is the other group of critics who hold that any application of survey research in Africa is doomed to failure<sup>3</sup> because we cannot be sure that the answers reported reflect what Africans 'really think', that Africans are liable to give 'socially desirable' answers. This is a universal problem and not an inherently African problem. Even

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1. See, Survey Research in Africa: Its Application and Limits, (eds) Barr, W.M.O.; Spain, David; Tesler, Mark A. (1972), Northwestern University Press.
  2. Pierre Van de Berghe, in Barr, op.cit., pp.25-35.
  3. Barr, W.M.O. (1972), pp.1-20.

if it is true that answers include an unidentified element of social desirability, one cannot dismiss them as 'only trying to give a good impression'. If a group of informants feel constrained to give 'socially desirable' answers concerning what they think they should be doing it is probable that, in similar circumstances (e.g. under close public and 'Ministry' scrutiny), they would also try to behave in these socially desirable ways.

However, a complete answer to this complex problem would occupy a great deal of space. What can be said as a conclusion is that a sine qua non of a useful attitude survey is a programme of exploratory and pilot work which ensures that the topics covered in the survey are important to the population to be surveyed and that the questions are understood by them. I have done my best to make sure that the questions asked are relevant and important to the teachers; that the questions are framed in simple language; and that the answers they were able to give provide an adequate impression of what they wanted to say. It was not my impression that teachers were so dependent on creating a desirable public image that we ought to quantify that dependence and take it into account when interpreting the results.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DEVELOPMENT OF HYPOTHESES



4.7.1 ATTITUDES OF TEACHERS

4.7.2 Introduction

There is ... no genuine progress in scientific insight through the Baconian method of accumulating empirical facts without hypotheses or anticipation of nature. Without some guiding idea we do not know what facts to gather. Without something to prove we cannot determine what is relevant and what is irrelevant.

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The author endorses this prescription of the Scientific enterprise; consequently the following research hypotheses may be advanced. For purposes of clarity, some hypotheses are stated in the research form although the statistical analyses employ the usual null form. It also seems pertinent to examine some of the related literature available for some of the hypotheses advanced.

Earlier in Chapter Six it was stated that IPAR's reform proposals form the nucleus of issues to be investigated. As it was also stated earlier, school reforms are usually complex changes, and they may involve major organisational reforms. In the case of English-speaking Cameroon, the reforms include pedagogical practice, adaptation of materials, the relationship between school and community, examinations, and teachers' conditions of work. As these issues appear in the proposals as aspects of a common theme, it is expected that primary school teachers' attitudes towards these issues would cluster so as to indicate a general attitudinal dimension of reform-mindedness. It is therefore hypothesised that:

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1. Cohen, M. (1956), A Preface to Logic (New York: Meridian), p.148, cited in Kerlinger, F. (1964), Foundation of Behavioural Research (New York), p.16.

Hypothesis 1: The primary teachers' attitudes towards the different reform issues will be correlated to reflect a common attitudinal dimension of general reform-mindedness.

Although for purposes of statistical analysis, it has been assumed that a majority of the attitudes of the teachers would appear to lend themselves to arrangements along a single favourable-to-unfavourable dimension, it must also be assumed that attitudes to the proposed reform will be diversified. Following this latter assumption, the remainder of this chapter will attempt to identify sources of possible attitude variations among primary teachers in Cameroon. The hypotheses are related to the 'explanatory variables' introduced in Chapter One, which included:

- a - characteristics of the teachers' biographical background
- b - characteristics of the teachers' pedagogical background
- c - characteristics of the school in which the teacher is employed
- d - aspects of the teacher's orientation towards his occupational role.

There is, as was indicated in Chapter One, little research on attitudes towards school reform in developing countries and the correlates of such attitudes, but general attitude studies find age as an important determinant of an individual's attitude system. Specifically teachers' attitudes towards educational issues have been found to correlate significantly with their ages. For example, Lauglo (1971) found that the younger the teachers, the more favourable they are likely to be towards school reform.<sup>1</sup> His findings are consistent with Schefer's

1. Lauglo, Jon (1972), 'Attitudes of Norwegian Academic Secondary Teachers towards educational reform' (Ph.D Dissertation, University of Chicago), p.286.

(1969) findings for German Gymnasium teachers. Schefer found a consistent tendency for younger teachers to be more positive towards school reform than older teachers for each item in the 'school-reform' syndrome.

Lauglo (1972) also cites Hansson and Ljung (1969) who found that younger teachers were more favourable than older ones to educational research development. A seminal study by Oliver and Butcher (1961) in Britain also found a monotonic though statistically non-significant trend for 'educational radicalism' to decrease with age. The findings showed that older teachers were more tough-minded (and less tender-minded) than younger ones.

Charters (1967) summarises American research by starting that age is not invariably found to be correlated to teachers' attitudes towards educational issues; where and when such associations are found, younger teachers are always more 'permissive' and less 'traditional' than older ones. Willow (1963) who studied teachers in a large junior school concluded that the older teachers held generally conservative views while the younger teachers were more 'liberal' and 'permissive'. Older teachers were found to stress 'order', 'firmness', and 'social distance' in teacher-student relations. Peterson (1964) found the generational differences to be 'by far the most important correlate of the extent to which teachers held "progressive" educational views'.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 2: The younger the primary school teacher, the more reform-minded he is likely to be.

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1. A review of this research is given in Charters, W.W.Jr (1963), 'The Social Background of Teaching', in Handbook of Research on Teaching, (ed.) Gage, N.L., Chicago: Rand McNally and Co.

There is no doubt that with increased age, teachers may become more firmly settled in familiar teaching routines and hence grow increasingly resentful of adjusting to new roles and new pedagogical practice. Teachers should, therefore, become less reform-minded and more 'restricted' in defining their pedagogical roles with increased age. Older teachers are also likely to have been trained in colleges and taught by teachers who have inherited a somewhat rigid and authoritarian education. But changing student-teachers' attitudes to make them more 'progressive' is regarded as an important goal of teacher training. One should, as a result, expect that teachers' reform-mindedness would be positively associated with the amount of training received. It is therefore hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 3: *The greater the amount of formal pedagogical training primary teachers have received, the more reform-minded they are likely to be.*

It is assumed that the amount of previous and general education is held constant. As it was illustrated earlier in Chapter Six (Table 6.3) the majority of primary school teachers have received the basic general education of eight years. What distinguishes one grade of teachers from the other is the amount of teacher training received. This hypothesis, therefore, has important implications for educational policy and specifically for teacher education. Pedagogical preparation for primary school teachers in English-speaking Cameroon has diminished with the taking over of primary schools of the region by the National Government. It is now possible for teachers to reach different grades of the teaching profession through a public service examination (concours) without further training. (See Chart I.)

Lauglo (1972)<sup>1</sup> cites Kob (1958) who reported that educational theories which prevailed at the time when the teacher received his training reflected in his later attitudes to educational issues. He also reported that the length of time spent in training reflected in the teacher's attitudes to educational issues. In Cameroon, we expect attitude variations between teachers with secondary school education and above, and those with only a primary school education. It was indicated in Chapter Six that some secondary school leavers are now entering teacher training colleges to train for one year as primary school teachers. Although this category of primary teachers is still comparatively very small, we can hypothesise that:

Hypothesis 4: Primary teachers with secondary school education will be less reform-minded than primary teachers from teacher training colleges.

Jon Lauglo (1971) hypothesised that teachers who were motivated primarily by 'the desire to obtain teaching qualifications' in their choice of university education are more reform-minded than those who were motivated primarily by 'interest in the subject matter'. Although this situation cannot be replicated in this case, we would expect that teachers who went into training to further their profession will be more reform-minded than those who went into teaching as a stepping stone to other professions.

Hypothesis 5: Teachers who entered teacher training because of a desire to obtain professional qualifications would be more reform-minded than those who went into training as a stepping-stone to other professions.

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1. Lauglo, Jon (1972), op.cit.

Evidence on 'knowledge' as a variable affecting teachers' attitude to educational issues is scanty and inconclusive. Haring, Stern and Cruickshank (1958) reported that increased knowledge per se was not found to be a significant factor in effecting modifications of teachers' attitudes.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the investigators found, in the case of attitudes towards exceptional children, that a workshop designed to modify attitudes towards exceptional children was more effective when teachers had 'classroom experiences with exceptional children concurrent with a workshop'. This study for its seemingly contradictory findings suggests that an interaction between information (knowledge) and experience, in relation to attitudes towards an educational issue, is possibly more crucial when the information presented to the subjects is designed to bring about a change in attitude. Knowledge of principles of educational psychology, child development, and child behaviour were significantly related to teacher attitudes as measured on the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory (MTAI) in a study conducted by La Bue (1959).<sup>2</sup> He states that to a great extent, 'The attitudes of a person towards objects, persons, issues, and processes have been shown to be dependent on the amount and quality of information he possesses with respect to them'.<sup>2</sup>

New information is, therefore, a sine qua non of attitude change<sup>3</sup>.

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1. Haring, N.G., Stern, G.G. and Cruickshank, W.M. (1958), Attitudes of Educators toward exceptional children (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press).
  2. La Bue, A.C. (1959), 'Teacher's classroom attitudes', Journal of Teacher Education, p.433.
  3. Newcombe, T.M., Turner, R.H., Converse, P.E., Social Psychology, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. (1965), p.110.

How effective the new information about a reform will be, has been recognised to depend upon the nature of the communication, the media, the audience and the situation.<sup>1</sup> Coleman and Marsh (1959) have postulated the following five elements which determine the possibility and effectiveness of communication: (a) the person or group organising the 'message' - the communicator; (b) the content of message - that which is to be communicated; (c) the medium or media employed; (d) the communicatee, and (e) the response manifested by the communicatee.<sup>1</sup>

One or more of these elements have been subject of many studies in the United States of America and a few elsewhere. Some of the consistent findings have indicated that (1) exposure to a variety of information source and media is usually needed before an innovation is adopted.<sup>2</sup> There are many ways which primary teachers can be made aware of the innovation proposed for primary schools - through in-service courses, refresher courses, reading from the press or lecture tours by staff of IPAR. We hypothesise that:

Hypothesis 6: Teachers who know the aims and objectives of the school reform will be more reform-minded than others.

Hypothesis 7: Teachers who have attended in-service and/or refresher courses and seminars on the reform will be more reform-minded than those who have not.

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1. Lee Coleman and Paul Marsh: 'Differential Communication Among Farmers in a Kentucky County', Rural Sociology, 20 (1958), pp. 93-101. Also see Rogers, E.M. (1962), Diffusion of Innovation (New York: The Free Press, Glencoe), p.12.

2. See for example, Wilson, M.C. (1926), The Effectiveness of Extension in Reaching Rural People (Washington, D.C., USDA Bulletin), 1384.

Hypothesis 8: Teachers in the experimental schools will be more reform-minded than others.

Somewhat more scientific, but still not definitive, are the common findings in many socio-psychological studies of the relationship between attitudes and roles. In other words, different attitudes are held by people who occupy different roles within a system or an organisation. For example, Stouffer<sup>1</sup> et al. found that commissioned officers are more favourable towards the army than enlisted men. But of course the mere existence of a relationship between attitudes and roles does not reveal the cause and effect nature of the relationship found. One interpretation of Stouffer's findings might be that being made a commissioned officer tends to result in persons becoming pro-army, that is, the role a person occupies influences his attitudes.<sup>2</sup> The different occupational positions held by teachers in Cameroon, as elsewhere in Africa, form a hierarchy which is reflected in the social status of the teachers. The headmaster stands at the apex of this hierarchy, followed by the agricultural teacher, then ordinary classroom teachers, who may or may not differ in formal educational qualification. The appointment of the headmaster depends on the experience and leadership ability of the incumbent. His or her position places him in direct contact with the community leaders and with other people of elite position and thereby makes him the more exposed to 'cosmopolitan' influences conducive to innovativeness.<sup>3</sup> These considerations

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1. Stouffer, S.A., Suchman, E.A., DeVinney, L.C., Star, S.A. and Williams, R.M. (1949), The American Soldier: Adjustment During Army Life, vol.I (Princeton University Press).
  2. Lieberman, S. (1956), 'The effects of changes in roles on the attitudes of role occupants', Human Relations, 9, pp.385-402.
  3. Rogers, E.M. (1963), What are innovators like? Theory into Practice, II, pp.252-6.



led me to expect that:

Hypothesis 9: *Headmasters will be more favourable to the reform proposals than ordinary classroom teachers.*

As headmasters are likely to be older on average than other teachers, and it had earlier been hypothesised that age will be positively associated with favourable attitudes, age will therefore be controlled statistically in testing hypothesis 9.

#### 4.7.3 Attitudes Towards Reform and Teachers' Occupational Role

Earlier in this chapter it was suggested that teachers' attitudes towards the proposed school reform can be expected to reflect their orientation towards their occupational role. In broad terms, this orientation may be defined as the teacher's relatively stable cognitive and affective relations to his occupational situation. Specifically, the orientation includes the teacher's definition of rights and obligations in relation to his occupational role set, his personal occupational values and preferences, and his degree of satisfaction with various occupational rewards. The assumption is made that the different expectations held for incumbents' behaviour and attributes are crucial for an understanding of their different behaviour and characteristics.

A very useful review of the role of the teacher, mainly from the sociological standpoint, is given by Westwood (1967). In his conclusions he suggests that the analysis and interpretation of human behaviour in the school is a field of study which calls, more perhaps than many others, for the constructive co-operation of sociologists and psychologists. Both social structure and personality must be seen as important (inde-

pendent) interacting variables influencing the attitude and behaviour of the individuals in the social system - in this case, the teacher in school.

Much of the literature on the occupational role of the teachers in Western Europe and North America makes the distinction between 'restricted' and 'diffuse', or 'subject-matter-centred' and 'child-centred', or derogatorily as 'progressive' and 'traditional'. These two types differ not only in the definition of their occupational role, but also in the extent to which they see themselves as 'progressive' within their reference group and with respect to the type and extent of participation in voluntary organisation.

In general, a 'restricted' role orientation confines the educational goal of the school to the transmission of cognitive content (as defined by the formalised curricula and examination requirements) and a 'diffuse' role widens the range of activities undertaken by the school in the education of the child. The teacher takes on not only the responsibility for instructing the child, but he also acts in loco parentis for the social and moral development of the child. Accordingly, Mays (1962) distinguishes between the teacher as a pure inculcator of knowledge, and the teacher as a welfare worker.

A distinction is also made between 'subject-matter-centred' and 'child-centred' orientation of the teacher's role. The 'subject-matter-centred' or the 'academic' type, sees his role primarily in intellectual terms, placing greatest emphasis on the instruction in subjects. He stresses the importance of knowledge of subject-matter as a prerequisite for 'good' teaching and de-emphasises the need for formal pedagogical training. On the other hand, the 'child-centred' type sees himself as

teaching the child and not teaching any particular subject. He attaches greatest importance to moral training and least to instruction in school subjects. Accordingly, 'good' teaching is based on outstanding pedagogical training rather than an academic ability. While the self-image of the 'academic' type rests primarily on specialised knowledge and on the formal qualification in the subject, that of the child-centred is primarily determined by educational functions. The interpretation of their professional role is not derived from any strong academic background, but is based on their being teachers.

To comments may be made about this distinction. First, the basically sociological distinction of the teacher's role is not particularly useful, as it concerns only the degree of emphasis and the amount of time (and perhaps energy) devoted by the school to the related aspects of the teacher's job. More than this, the distinction deals with ideal types and as Westwood (1967) suggests, clear-cut examples of any ideal-type need not exist.

Second, the descriptive model of the teachers' occupational roles presented relates more to secondary school teachers than to primary school teachers. Furthermore, all systematic study of teachers' roles, as distinct from the roles of schools, is still in its infancy in developing countries, so it seems pertinent to sketch one's view of the teacher's role in a developing society like Cameroon, before advancing some hypotheses.<sup>1</sup>

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1. It is a truism that the essential function of teaching (and hence the teacher) revolves round the transmission of knowledge and the transmission of values and is the same in all societies at all times. But it seems to us that it is more rewarding from the point of view of the sociological, political, economical, and educational dissimilarities between developing and the more affluent societies, to emphasise the differences rather than the enduring similarities in the teacher's tasks in all societies.

First, let us consider the concept of role. A great deal of the work in sociology and social psychology devoted to role - and in particular to the role of the teacher - seems contradictory and confusing. There is a plethora of closely aligned concepts - reference is made in the literature to role expectation, role set, role conflict, role play, role performance, role distance - and many more. And different writers define their terms in ways which are inconsistent with one another. For example, as Banton (1965)<sup>1</sup> has already pointed out, what Linton (1947)<sup>2</sup> and Newcomb (1951)<sup>3</sup> define as a role, Davis (1948)<sup>4</sup> calls status. For Linton, however, the status was a model for organising the attitudes and behaviour of the individual, and role represented the dynamic aspects of the status. Again, what Davis defines as role, Newcomb calls role behaviour, and Sarbin (1954) role enactment. Are we then to say that there are several concepts of role used by sociologists and social psychologists, or that there is one concept for which different writers use different terminology - that is, that they speak different languages. We take the latter position in spite of all the difficulties involved.

Levinson (1969) has suggested that there are three different senses in which the term role has been used by different writers, or by the

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1. Banton, M. (1965), Roles, Tavistock Publications, p.28.
  2. Linton, R., The Cultural Background of Personality (RKP); (1936), The Study of Man, Appleton-Century Crofts Inc., pp.113-14.
  3. Newcomb, T. (1951), Social Psychology, The Dryden Press, p.280.
  4. Davis, K. (1948), Human Society, Macmillan, pp.88-9.

same writer on different occasions. First, he suggests, role may be defined or understood as the structurally given demands (norms, expectations, responsibilities and the like) associated with a given social position (or, since there is no agreed terminology here, one could equally say status). In this sense, a role is something outside any given individual - a set of pressures and facilitations that channel, guide, impede and support his functioning. These, says Levinson, may be more precisely called role expectations or role set.

Second, according to Levinson, role is commonly defined as the action of the individual member. In this sense, role refers to the ways in which individual occupants of the position actually act, and here Levinson suggests the consistent use of the term role performance. Perhaps because it was not of any concern to him - his aim seemingly being to urge consistency in usage among sociologists - he has begged a few questions. For example, if a person is to be guided (or, as Levinson put it, impeded or supported) by his role set, what description do we apply if it is part of his role set both to do and not to do a particular task. As Freeman (1973) points out this simply means that people have conflicting expectations, and, given the definition of role set, is logically possible for any role, and, in the case of teachers, is empirically most likely.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, according to Levinson, role may be understood as the member's own orientation or conception of the part he is to play in

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1. See Freeman, H.S. (1973), A philosophical enquiry into some aspects of the teacher's role. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, Institute of Education.

the organisation (or institution) - that is, his inner definition of what someone in his social position is supposed to do or think about it. This, Levinson suggests, can be called 'role conception', which, since it seems to refer to particular individuals, seems to me to be a psychological concept whereas the first sense seems clearly sociological. It is this third sense that I shall be using for the word role in this study.

In the following paragraphs I shall concentrate on a preliminary sketch of the occupational role of a primary teacher in Cameroon. First, the basic organisation of the primary school is one teacher for one class, in less accessible area, one teacher for two, three, or four classes - one teacher for five classes in remote areas is not uncommon; he teaches all the subjects on the timetable. Sometimes and in higher classes, other teachers are brought in for a few special subjects, particularly rural science including agriculture, music, and art and craft, but this does not alter the central position of the class teacher. The teacher in the first two infant classes is usually older and the more experienced member on the staff. He might himself be a father.

If it is a rural school, the class might be made up of anything between 10 and 40 children of both sexes drawn from a relatively small geographical area. The catchment area being much more homogeneous than the rest of society, the children are usually from the same ethnic group. Sometimes there are two to ten 'alien' children who may be the children or relations of the teachers if they happen to be 'aliens' themselves. The children's ages might range from under five to over fifteen years old. The location and the accessibility of the area is usually an index of the sort of role the teacher is called upon to play. Until

recently, the teacher was the most learned, an elite member of society and in some rural and remote areas in Cameroon as indeed in most parts of Africa, he is still the most educated person in society.

The teacher's first role (and that which most parents expect), is as an instructor - this revolves round the teaching of school subjects. As Dr Busia points out, at the primary level, the school (and hence the teacher), aims at giving the child a general education by teaching the basic skills of Reading, Writing and Arithmetic rather than training for a specific vocation.<sup>1</sup> He is expected by both parents and government to instruct the pupils in the basics of the three Rs and in some knowledge of the environment around the child.<sup>2</sup> As was indicated in Chapter Five, instruction in the knowledge of the environment is assuming greater importance, so is the teaching of history, basic agricultural skills, and a sound basis for scientific thinking. Only at the nursery school level is the instruction in subjects genuinely not emphasised. The continuation of a rigid and centralised examination system and pressure from parents for teachers to get their children to secondary schools has made the teacher's role of an instructor, the most dominant one. This trend is also reinforced by the emphasis in examination papers of historical 'dates', 'dry' facts - the examiners test formulae, not their applications, and test memory, but not the mind.

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1. Busia, K.A. (1964), Purposeful Education for Africa, Mouton and Co., p.70.
  2. The objectives of primary education in Nigeria include for example, '(a) the inculcation of permanent literacy and numeracy, and the ability to communicate effectively, (b) the laying of a sound basis for scientific and reflective thinking, and (c) providing basic tools for further educational advancement', see Federal Ministry of Education (1977), Federal Republic of Nigeria National Policy on Education, p.7.

The need to stop and improve upon 'falling standards' in recent years by teaching basic subjects - English, Reading, and Arithmetic - has been articulated in various forms<sup>1</sup> and this too has tended to re-emphasise the importance of the teacher's role as an instructor. To most parents, the teacher holds the key, so to speak, to the gateway into white-collar jobs, higher education and prosperity for their children. This demand, latent in most parents, tends to undermine the teacher's role as a socialising agent.

In Cameroon, as elsewhere in Africa, once a child comes to school, the teacher takes over most of the modality of the parents. The teacher who accepts this role wholeheartedly becomes more of a value-bearer (the modern equivalent of the missionary role of the nineteenth century elementary school teacher)<sup>2</sup> and this is more than a socialising agent. His role as a value-bearer involves not only the transmission of mores and folklore (the culture) and values of the society, but an analysis, a sifting and a selection of the acceptable aspects of the local and the wider societal culture. This is essential, as some aspects of the local culture inadvertently emphasise cultural autarchy of the particular ethnic group which may intensify regional conflicts in a society where efforts towards consolidating national unity are given primacy. In

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1. One of the most noticeable reactions has been the backlash focused against 'modern' methods and the plethora of new curricula packages and the call for a return to formal teaching. See for example, the order by the President of Malawi which includes the emphatic statement: 'From October 1972 the Schools of Malawi are to avoid modern and progressive methods. There is no room for permissiveness in the traditional approach to teaching.' Conference on Education in Malawi held on the 17-19th of April, 1972, mimeograph, p.4. Also see a similar statement in Nigeria Education Policy 1978.
  2. See Bryan, Wilson (1963), 'The role of the teacher', also Floud, Jean (1962), 'Teaching in the Affluent Society', Brit.Journ. of Sociology, pp.299-308.



this, the socialising role of a teacher in Cameroon and indeed in most African states is significantly different from that of a teacher in an affluent society.

Specifically, the teacher is expected to influence the mentality of the child and condition his attitudes towards work, co-operation, and relations with different ethnic groups within society-conditions necessary for national unity and modernisation. Governments also expect him to be the link between the ethnic and particularistic culture of the child, and the 'external' culture of the larger society; he is a representative of both cultures, an agent for the adaptation and development of the ethnic culture.<sup>1</sup> The teaching of distinctively school subjects is increasingly regarded as not the only role of a primary school teacher. It has become imperative that the teacher should set himself the task of creating and fostering a sense of social obligation and loyalty to the nation.<sup>2</sup> This may not necessarily conform to the aspirations of most parents who are more concerned with the presumed equation between higher education and salaried employment. In the on-going process of reshaping traditional communities into new States and of the reordering of diverse groups in the changing political order, Willard Waller's (1932) old, but unrivalled analysis of the teacher's role as 'paid agent of cultural diffusion'<sup>3</sup> is still valid today.

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1. Battern, T.R. (1953), 'The Status and Function of Teachers in Tribal Communities', The Year Book of Education, (eds) Hall, R.K.; Hans, N.; and Lauwerys, J.A., pp.76-94.
  2. Recent communal conflicts in Africa have made this most urgent. Also see Oldham, J.H. (1927), 'Recent Tendencies in African Native Education', Journ. of the Royal Society of Arts, vol.LXXV, No. 3888, p.665.
  3. Waller, W. (1932), The Sociology of Teaching (New York: Wiley).

Turning to the teacher and the community, first there is the relationship between parents and teachers and second between teachers and the community at large. To the Cameroonian, and indeed African farmer, the primary teacher's work is not considered as confined to the school, but rather he is expected to operate in a unitary sphere including both school and community. His role as a teacher consists of differentiated tasks as leader of various organisations. In some rural areas the teacher is the scribe to the Village Council; and he is an interpreter when an important government official or politician visits the area. He also acts as a technical adviser and counsellor in the Village Council. Welcome addresses prepared and presented to visiting administrators and politicians are the work of the local teacher. Sometimes the Divisional Administrator delegates such duties to the local teacher of making enquiries into a problem in the village and submitting a report. In the town the teacher's role includes participation in sub-committees of the town council, the organisation of national public celebrations, and visits by well-known personalities.

On the whole, while it is expected that the teacher should promote an understanding of the social environment and of the customs and laws of the group; to make as great a use as possible of local folklore, stories, songs, arts and crafts in their teaching, it is his task also to change it, for he is, in some isolated areas, the change agent through whom new ideas and values can reach the farmers. It follows that the teacher's achievement is measured only in part on the basis of his performance in the classroom. The rest depends on his activities in community organisations. With this position behaviour according to the highest moral code is expected.

The teacher's role is becoming more equivocal and, as has already been indicated, differently conceived by various sectors of society. The general changes in society are having a profound effect on the status of the teacher. His leadership is becoming increasingly less indispensable. Whereas before he virtually led most local organisations, the tendency now is to ask him to be an ordinary adviser. He now deals with a more informed community as a result of the influence of the radio, travel, newspapers, and new organisations, so that the educational gap between himself and his community has been considerably lessened. In this rapidly changing environment, it is not surprising that the teacher is no longer certain of his status in the community. Not only are times changing, but also the teacher is likely to have different roles in different communities (see these different communities in 5.10.3.1). It is evident that a certain amount of conflict and indeterminacy is associated with each of these three roles, even when they are considered simply and separately.

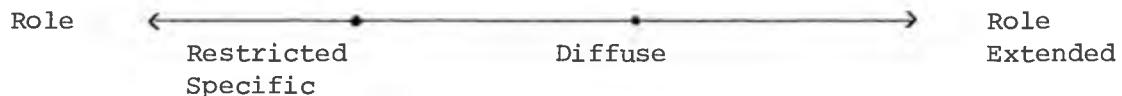
An incisive analysis of the three broad roles of a teacher sketched so far is presented by Dr Kiano, a one-time Kenyan Minister of Education:

In the training of our teachers today we seek to ensure that the trainee is an educated person who possesses a firm grounding in, and a considerably deeper knowledge of, the subjects he is to teach than the level at which he is obliged to teach them. We also seek to ensure that, for him to turn out in such a way as to see and interpret the needs, feelings, and hopes of the country ... in the community in which he lives, he must be leader, an innovator, an enlightened parent, and morally sound ... if his education is to be of true and lasting value to the community.

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1. Kiano, J.G. (1968), Kenya Minister of Education. A speech at the Eighth Conference of the Afro-Anglo-American Programme.

The analysis of the role of the teacher in Cameroon, which could also apply to other developing countries, undertaken so far suggests a third dimension to the Restricted-Diffuse role orientation continuum which usually applies to teachers in the affluent societies. In Cameroon, the work the teacher undertakes in the community is just as important as what he does in his classroom. His work in the community is regarded, for lack of a better term, as extended, for although essential, help to the community is not in his contract of employment.



THEORETICAL MODEL

In this model I have considered the teacher's role in its general and societal context. In over-extending the teacher's role, I am aware of two important arguments. First, that as Bryan Wilson (1962)<sup>1</sup> suggests, when a teacher is given a heavy teaching load both inside and outside school, as is suggested in my model, and little inducement to keep alive his own mind and morale, the quality of teaching deteriorates. Second, that in any role in which the role occupant has a high commitment to so many people there are always considerable internal conflicts which I hope would be shown by some contradictory responses by most teachers in the section of the questionnaire dealing with role orientations (see questionnaire in Appendix 9).

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1. Wilson, B. (1962), 'The teacher's role', ibid., p.27.

In conceptualising the teacher's occupational role orientation as a continuum along a 'restricted' - 'diffuse' - 'extended' dimension I regard the role orientation as 'diffuse' (rather than 'restricted') by: 1) the degree to which the teacher stresses social and moral education and the development of the child's total personality as the organisational goal of the school (as contrasted with emphasis only on instruction in school subjects); 2) the width of the limits a teacher sets for his pedagogical obligations to his pupils and his willingness to be on informal terms with them. On the other hand, a teacher's role is 'extended' (rather than 'diffuse'): 1) when the teacher extends his work outside the school premises into the community; 2) when he acts as a balancing agent between the ethnic culture and the external culture; and 3) the extent to which he sees this involvement in the activities of the local community as part of his work as a teacher. It is expected that indicators of these different aspects of the teacher's orientation to the occupational role will be inter-correlated to form a dominant, unidimensional 'restricted-diffuse-extended' role orientation.

The educational perspectives expressed in the proposals for reform of primary school education in the two English-speaking provinces of Cameroon seem more consistent with 'diffuse' and 'extended' role orientation than with a 'restricted' one. As the reform proposals aim at creating a more 'service-oriented' school system, we should expect that teachers' reform-mindedness will be positively associated with the 'extendedness' of their role.

Hypothesis 10: *The more 'extended' primary teachers perceive their occupational role the more reform-minded they are likely to be.*

Bryan Wilson (1962)<sup>1</sup> has suggested that there is a tendency for most teachers to 'over-extend' themselves in their roles - even though they also know that adequate role-performance really requires constant refreshing with outside interests and activities. He also suggests that when the teacher is given a heavy teaching load and little inducement to keep alive his own mind the quality of teaching deteriorates.<sup>1</sup> Such teachers would also be less willing to accept and implement changes especially if such changes add more responsibility to the already heavy teaching load. Such correlates as salary inducements to attitude change will be investigated in this study.

#### 4.7.4 The Teacher and His Job

The psychologist's basic aim in the study of any job (of any level and type) is to reveal its difficulties and distastes; that is the things about it that may find 'tricky' and the things about it that may find 'irksome'.<sup>2</sup>

Such a description of difficulties and distastes, together with a statement of inferences drawn about the 'requirements' of the job represents a 'job specification' (Rodger and Cavanagh, 1962). A job specification was attempted, albeit briefly and broadly, in terms of the occupational role of the teacher in Cameroon. It is my intention to relate the teachers' difficulties and distastes to their acceptance of the proposed primary school reform. Specifically, two questions are posed.

First, are teachers' attitudes to the reform related to their dissatisfaction or satisfaction with the teaching profession? Second,

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1. Wilson, Bryan (1962), 'The teacher's role - a sociological analysis', British Journal of Sociology, XIII, 1, pp.15-32 (p.27).
  2. Professor Alec Rodger: A Comment on CYEE Memorandum 20 (1968).

how interested to teachers show themselves to favour the proposed reform, and what is the relationship between this interest and such background variables as teaching equipment, salary differentials, school discipline, or inferior working conditions compared with other jobs?

These are the two questions which this section of the study will attempt to answer. The techniques which have been adopted are far from perfect. Indeed they are in some ways crude. However, the educationist, unlike some of his academic colleagues, is continually confronted by reality. He has to make do with limits set by expediency, and with methods acceptable to the subjects of his investigation. Nevertheless, crude though the techniques used here may be, it is hoped that they will give some insight into occupational stresses and strains of members of the teaching profession. It is, therefore, hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 11: *Teachers who score high on the job satisfaction scale will be more reform-minded than those who score low on the satisfaction scale.*

If hypothesis eleven is confirmed, then there will be a variation in attitudes between teachers employed and teaching in Government schools and those employed and working with voluntary agencies. Both types of schools show variations not only in provisions but also in salary scales. As one teacher who filled my questionnaire commented: 'All these changes will not work until we (mission teachers) are paid the same salaries as Government teachers. That is what the Government should be working towards.' IPAR (1977) also reports very low morale among teachers and this is attributed in part to the differences in

salary structures and conditions of work generally between teachers in State schools and those working in schools run by voluntary agencies. The report urges the Government to adopt the principle 'same pay for same work'.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, hypothesised that:

Hypothesis 12: Teachers in schools with favourable conditions of services will be more reform-minded than teachers in schools with less favourable conditions.

The remainder of this study will be a presentation of the empirical investigation designed primarily to explore the hypotheses developed in this chapter. The main aim is not to construct any theory of how different attitudes towards educational reform are developed; rather, the aim is to discover sources of attitudes' variations among the teaching force to aspects of the reform proposals. As indicated in this chapter, the hypotheses involve several different types of explanatory variables. Combining different types of explanatory approaches reflects my belief that the influences shaping teachers' attitudes are indeed complex.

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1. IPAR (1977), p.52.



CHAPTER EIGHT

SAMPLING AND INSTRUMENTATION

#### 4.8.1 Sampling and Instrumentation

The extensive, but by no means exhaustive, review of the reform proposals made by IPAR in Chapter Six for the reform of primary school education in the English-speaking provinces of Cameroon, was undertaken to provide an appropriate psychological, sociological and educational context in which to locate the present investigation, the basic aim of which was to survey the attitudes of primary school teachers to aspects of the reform proposals.

In designing the sample and determining the manner in which the sample was to be drawn, account was taken - as in any other survey - of the purpose of the survey and the resources, in terms of finance, and the time available to the researcher. A second consideration was related to one of the main objectives of the school reform - that of narrowing the gulf and linking primary school education with local communities. As a result, rural-urban and regional subdivisions were considered important correlates of this investigation as indeed they were for IPAR (1977). A third consideration which affected the sample design was the need to consider the distribution of primary schools and their teachers in their location, type and size.

The results of the survey are based on cluster and on a two-stage proportionate stratified random sampling of the population. The population was defined as the total number of primary school teachers in the region under study. During the 1978/79 school year when the population was surveyed, there were four thousand six hundred and fifty-five primary school teachers distributed unevenly among seven hundred and ten primary schools.<sup>1</sup> Cluster sampling has some problems. A com-

1. Ministry of National Education: General Secretariat, Division of Planning, Orientation, and Equipment, Statistical Year Book 1978/79, vol.I.

plete discussion of these problems is found in Kish (1965) and Moser and Kalton (1971). In the present investigation, since we are interested in teachers from radically different environments, the case for using clustering seems reasonably strong and proportionate stratification gives us a higher precision which would have been low in simple random sampling. Moser and Kalton (1971) discuss the advantages of this design fully.

#### FIRST STAGE OF SAMPLING: Administrative Regions

At this stage I followed the usual administrative subdivisions of the two provinces in classifying schools according to location. The resulting clusters were Fako, Meme, Ndian, Manyu Divisions for the Southwest province and Momo, Mezam, Bui, Menchum, and Donga Matung in the Northwest province. However, I took into account the existing disparities among the administrative regions in terms of the number of schools and teachers as illustrated in Table 8.1.

Administrative and geographical stratification ensured that the various types of schools were all well represented. The regions turned out to be a useful division, since they could be arranged along a number of relevant continua, such as degree of urbanisation, degree of economic development, major religious affiliations, ethnic distribution of population, and development of various types of schools.

TABLE 8.1: NUMBER OF TEACHERS AND SCHOOLS IN THE TWO ANGLOPHONE PROVINCES

Administrative Region	Number of schools	Number of teachers	Proportion of teachers in division	
	NORTHWEST PROVINCE			
1 Mezam	720	3*	2*	
2 Momo	385	2	1	
3 Bui	496	2	1	
4 Menchum	507	2	1	
5 Donga-Matung	282	1	0	
	Total	2,390	10	5
	SOUTHWEST PROVINCE			
6 Fako	787	3	2	
7 Meme	805	4	2	
8 Ndian	196	1	0	
9 Manyu	477	2	1	
	Total	2,265	10	5

Source: Estimated from Ministry of National Education Statistical Year Book 1976/77, vol.I, Primary School Education.

\* The decimal point is omitted. The first figures represent the proportion of teachers in each province and the second represent the proportion of teachers of each province against the total of the two provinces.

SECOND STAGE: Data about Schools, Location, Type of School, and

School Size

At this stage, I used as the primary sampling unit the school as descriptive statistics were made more readily available for schools as sampling units, and in addition, the school provided a greater internal heterogeneity which for technical sampling reasons is more efficient. Within each administrative region, a listing of all primary schools was obtained from the annual statistics of schools. The listing was then corrected, updated and the allocation of schools by three criteria as indicated:

- a) Geographical location: 1,2,3,4,5<sup>1</sup>
- b) Type of school: Junior/senior primary
- c) Size of school: small, medium, or large

TABLE 8.2: SCHOOL POPULATION. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION BY ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION

Admin.Region Geogr.Location	1*	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Remote Areas	3	4	2	6	5	2	3	4	7
Marginal Areas	3	3	3	4	4	3	5	3	3
Poorly Served Rural Areas	4	4	4	5	4	4	3	1	4
Well Served Rural Areas	6	2	3	3	-	7	7	1	2
Urban/Semi-Urban	5	2	3	2	1	8	9	1	2
	21	15	15	20	14	24	27	10	18

\* Numbers correspond with those in Table 8.1.

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 1. We used the different 'Zones of Accessibility' used by IPAR-Buea representing isolated and remote areas, marginal areas, poorly served areas, well served rural areas and urban/semi-urban areas.

TABLE 8.3: SCHOOL POPULATION. DISTRIBUTION OF PRIMARY SCHOOL BY GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND TYPE OF SCHOOL FOR EACH ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION AND SCHOOL SIZE

Division and size Geog. location	Large 1	Medium 2	Small 3	Administrative Division										Total								
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9										
Isolated/remote areas	-	1	2	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	2	2	2	-	28
Marginal areas	-	1	2	-	2	1	2	-	1	2	2	1	-	1	2	2	-	2	1	1	1	28
Poorly served/rural areas	-	2	1	-	2	2	1	1	1	2	-	1	2	2	2	-	1	-	2	1	1	30
Well served rural areas	2	2	-	2	-	1	2	2	1	-	2	3	1	2	3	1	-	1	-	2	-	27
Semi- and urban areas	2	1	-	2	2	1	-	2	-	1	3	-	1	2	2	1	1	-	2	-	-	28
	4	7	5	4	3	8	5	3	7	3	7	4	3	6	9	7	3	4	9	4	2	141

TABLE 8.4: SCHOOL POPULATION. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND SIZE OF SCHOOL

Geographical location of school	Size of school			
	Large	Medium	Small	
Isolated/remote areas	6	8	14	28
Marginal areas	5	8	15	28
Poorly served rural areas	8	13	9	30
Well-served rural areas	13	10	4	27
Semi-urban and urban areas	19	4	5	28
Total	51	43	47	141

At this stage two alternative sampling procedures were considered: (a) sampling of teachers as individuals within the schools; and (b) a sampling of teachers by schools. The first method has advantages which have been discussed fully by Kish (1963), Butcher (1966) and Moser and Kalton (1971). In the present study the second method was adopted for two reasons. First, it would reduce the number of schools that would have been approached to get a reasonable sample. Second, in order to overcome the anticipated resistance of teachers, it was felt that the logical groups offered by the situation were the schools where the headmasters' co-operation would be solicited by the researcher. It was felt that the willingness of the respondent to complete the questionnaire would be increased if the questionnaire was mailed to, and distributed by headmasters.

Sampling by schools had other advantages. First, it gave the researcher a much better feeling of the actual situation in schools and an insight into the peculiar local conditions which might affect the rate of response. Second, it enabled the researcher to talk to a large proportion of teachers in order to allay fears about Government's involvement in the investigation. Third, it gave the researcher an opportunity to collect background information from headmasters who had better up-to-date information than local education offices. For example, on several occasions the number of teachers shown on education officers' lists did not tally with the actual number of teachers on the staff, particularly in isolated and remote areas.

TABLE 8.5: NUMBER OF TEACHERS IN THE SAMPLE. DIVISIONAL ALLOCATION

Size of school Geog. Location	Mezam	Momo	Bui	Men- chum	Donga/ Matung	Fako	Meme	Ndian	Manyu	
1. Isolated and remote areas	25	10	05	25	08	20	10	14	10	127
2. Marginal areas	10	12	15	06	05	15	26	09	14	122
3. Poorly served rural areas	20	11	13	12	05	-	30	07	-	98
4. Well served rural areas	20	12	10	12	-	13	08	-	16	91
5. Urban/semi-urban areas	25	-	17	10	12	22	16	-	20	122
	100	45	60	65	30	70	90	30	60	550



TABLE 8.6: NUMBER OF TEACHERS IN THE SAMPLE. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND TYPE OF PRIMARY SCHOOL CONTROLLING FOR SCHOOL SIZE AND ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION

Admin. Division	D1		D2		D3		D4		D5		D6		D7		D8		D9		Total												
	L	M	L	M	L	M	L	M	L	M	L	M	L	M	L	M	L	M													
Isolated/ remote areas	5	8	12	-	6	4	-	-	5	13	8	4	4	4	-	4	-	10	10	-	10	-	14	-	7	-	10	-	127		
Marginal areas	-	6	4	-	-	12	11	-	4	-	6	-	-	5	-	7	8	-	9	-	17	9	-	9	-	7	-	7	112		
Poorly served rural areas	-	12	8	-	4	7	9	4	-	8	4	-	5	-	-	-	-	10	20	-	10	20	-	-	-	7	-	-	98		
Well served rural areas	7	10	3	12	-	-	-	10	4	8	-	-	-	-	5	-	8	-	8	-	8	-	-	-	-	6	-	10	91		
Semi- and urban areas	11	5	9	-	-	-	10	7	-	10	-	-	12	-	-	10	4	8	7	-	9	7	-	7	-	15	5	-	122		
	23	41	36	12	10	23	30	21	9	35	26	4	21	5	4	22	22	26	26	38	26	26	38	26	9	14	7	28	15	17	550

L - Large  
M - Medium  
S - Small

The final procedure adopted was to draw a stratified random sample of schools by size. This was particularly appropriate since random sampling within school would have over-represented teachers from small schools. School size was calculated by relating the number of teachers with the number of pupils within each type of school, that is, Junior or Senior primary school.

A large proportion of the empirical evidence presented in this study is derived from questionnaires. The questionnaire was designed to enable rapid transfer of the results onto 80 column punch card, and was duplicated on non-absorbent duplicating paper. A complete copy of the questionnaire is given in Appendix 9. The types of information which the questionnaire attempted to elicit are, for convenience, classified under:

1. Biographical and demographic information
2. A series of questions concerned with background information on the reform proposals
3. A series of attitude questions on school reform
4. A series of questions dealing with some aspects of the teachers' general orientation towards their teaching role
5. A series of questions concerned with job satisfaction - dissatisfaction
6. A series of questions concerned with the relationship between the teachers' role orientation and with other agencies of social, economic and political modernisation.

#### Questionnaire Item (1) Biographical Details

This section included questions about type of school; age; sex;

marital status; length of time in full-time teaching; number of schools previously taught in; highest educational qualifications; highest pedagogical qualification; position held in school; location of school; control and management; and refresher or in-service courses undertaken. No pilot work was involved in the preparation of this section of the questionnaire.

#### Questionnaire Item (2) Background Information to the Reform Proposals

Attitude change, whether one refers to an individual's attitudes about educational issues or any other attitude object, is the result of receipt of relevant information about the attitude object from people with whom he is in interaction, from mass media sources or from direct observation. A discussion of 'new information' as a sine qua non of attitude change may be found in Newcombe and Turner (1965). With this assumption in mind, this section included questions about the aims of the recent reforms; whether the reform proposals had been discussed in staff meetings; had attended courses organised by IPAR-Buea (1977); had read about the reform proposals; and had been given any information on the reform by local education officers or visiting teachers. No pilot work was involved in the preparation of this series of questions. Discussions with members of the IPAR team proved an invaluable tool for this background information, particularly when the subject concerned the kinds of information the team was making available to teachers.

#### Questionnaire Item (3) A Measure of Attitudes to the Reform Proposals

When the original questions were constructed, items were written to elicit various facets of six underlying dimensions of the reform proposals.

A full discussion of the six dimensions is found in Chapter Six. A preliminary analysis of the results was carried out on the basis of these a priori clusters of items. It was very tempting, when constructing the scale items of the reform-minded scale, to rely entirely upon statements from the reform proposals which a detail review in Chapter Six provided. However, some items from a number of ready made scales or check-lists were included. The first group of items were taken from studies by Kerlinger (1956), Kerlinger (1958), and Kerlinger and Kaya (1959) which have isolated two main factors, progressivism and traditionalism, as the main variables in teachers' attitudes towards educational issues. Unfortunately, since these scales tend to show attitude towards education in general, and not in specific areas of education, very few items were useful for this study.

The second group of items were taken from Ferron (1965) which has particular relevance to the present study. Ferron measured attitudes of West African teachers and studies towards the modern approach in teaching. He reported that there is a tendency in attitudes of West African teachers and students towards the modern approach in teaching. These standardised items were kept to the minimum. A Likert-type attitude scale was constructed for all the items.

As a majority of the items were not standardised, pilot work carried out with the intention of cutting down the length of questionnaires and spotting ambiguous statements (particularly those culled from the reform proposals), was conducted in ten schools involving one hundred teachers. As indicated earlier, item analysis and reliability coefficients were made on the basis of the responses of the original sample on the final questionnaire. The 'coefficient of equi-

valence', or how precisely the test measures the person's performance at the particular moment was found by applying the Gutman's formula as described by Cronbach (1960). Information yielded by this pilot questionnaire was maximally utilised to improve the final questionnaire, but it was not possible to further improve it by ascertaining a priori its reliability coefficients.

#### Questionnaire Item (4) A Measure of Teachers' Role Conception

The teachers were asked to respond to a series of Likert-type statements dealing with teachers' orientation towards their role. A series of questionnaire items were designed as indicators. The list was substantially influenced by the work of Cohen (1965). However, a substantial number of items in Cohen's Teacher Role Definition Instrument (T.R.D.I.) were dropped because they were not relevant to the present study. Items like to 'supervise school meals, collect savings; group friends together for work in Mathematics and English; take up a teaching appointment in a difficult school in a depressed area; and put "slow" learners with "slow" learners in all academic work,' etc., were replaced with statements from the reform proposals on the school-community relations. A subset of the new items was selected for further analysis and scale construction according to the criterion of the internal consistency of the items. The correlation of item scores with the total item pool was factor analysed, and factor loadings on the first factor provided a second criterion of internal consistency. The item selected and frequency distributions of responses are presented in Tables 8.7-8.16.

Questionnaire Item (5a) A Measure of Teachers' Difficulties and Distastes

The job difficulties scale of fifteen items was taken from Pym (1965). Pym's list was substantially influenced by the work of Herzberg and Friedlander. The respondents were asked to say whether the particular difficulty applied or not to them in their job as a teacher. Three categories of response were allowed: 'Always applies'; 'Sometimes applies'; and 'Never applies'. The responses were coded, for computational purposes, as 3,2 or 1 respectively. A total difficulties scale score can be derived, therefore, by the addition of the score on each item to a maximum of  $15 \times 3 = 45$ . The writer added five items which from his own teaching experience appeared relevant to the situation in West Cameroon. Items such as 'delay in paying out salaries', etc., which are specific to the teaching profession in Cameroon would emanate from this source.

Questionnaire Item (5b) A Measure of Extrinsic Job Satisfaction Scale

The scale was adapted from an original eight item scale which Handyside (1961), Pym (1965) and Georgiades (1967) both used in earlier studies. The answers possible are 'always applies'; 'sometimes applies'; and 'never applies'; and are scored for computational purposes as 3,2 or 1.

Questionnaire Item (5c) A Measure of Intrinsic Job Satisfaction Scale

The scale consists of eight questions found to account, in a factor analysis of attitudes to work, for most of the variance in a single factor. There are again the three possible answers and scored in the same way, giving a total range of series from 3 to 1 - a low score reflecting a favourable attitude. The scale was taken from the work of Georgiades (1967) whose work was substantially influenced by Pym (1965) and Handyside (1961).

The expectation is that reform-mindedness, as measured by the index means, will correlate significantly with 'satisfied' or favourable responses on each measure of job satisfaction scale.

Questionnaire Item (6) A Measure of Teachers' Role Orientation with Other Agencies

This section of the questionnaire represents both the crudest and the most untried aspect of the whole form. It was thought necessary to attempt to gauge the extent to which reform-minded teachers saw themselves and other social (development) agents in rural societies as engaged essentially in the same task of modernisation. The scale has eight items. The decision to develop the instrument on the model of the Likert scale was clearly in line with the goals of other scales in the present study.

PROCEDURE FOR THE SURVEY

The first step in data collection was to obtain the necessary voluntary co-operation of each of the regional inspectorates of primary school education and to request their help in getting the co-operation of local school headteachers. The Inspectors were also requested to help in updating the listings of schools and teachers in their inspectorate.

In December 1978, I travelled to Cameroon to carry out the second stage of the study by going to most of the sampled schools to deliver the questionnaire booklets and collect other biographical information about the teachers. At this point, I was concerned to get all the relevant information on the sample teachers. The additional information was used mainly for interpreting the results from the questionnaire

booklet. As Campbell (1949) points out, one should not rely on subjective interpretations of formal questionnaire information without considering some information provided by other non-structural methods.

I checked the data collected from the questionnaire against data provided by group discussions or non-structured interviews. The advantages of this modus operandi stemmed largely from the assumption that indirect relaxation of the severe restrictions upon the amount of information that could be collected using a questionnaire would increase the reliability of the possibility in interpretation of such data.

The final questionnaire booklets were sent to headteachers who distributed them to their teachers. Each questionnaire booklet was given an identification number to facilitate the matching of the questionnaire data with data from other sources and for the identification of non-respondents. Five hundred and fifty (550) questionnaire booklets were distributed and five hundred and twelve (512) were returned and judged to be sufficiently and fully completed for inclusion in the statistical analysis. The high response rate of 93 per cent was due largely to the unusual degree of contact between the sampled schools and myself.<sup>1</sup> The rate of non-response was very low and so the question of bias in the attitude findings was minimised.

#### DISCUSSION OF INDEX CONSTRUCTION PROCEDURE

In order to prove statistically that the questionnaire items do in fact measure teachers' attitudes and correlate highly with one another

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1. Experience elsewhere has shown that the response rate from primary school teachers is usually high. See Terry and Campbell (1970), 'Data Gathering', Comparative Education Review, XIV, 13.



so that they form a factor independent of the other set of items or variables, various indices were constructed in accordance with the method described by McKennell (1970). McKennell (1970) developed his method on the assumption that the use of Cronbach's (1951) alpha coefficient in conjunction with factor analysis lead to comparable results with those pioneered by other techniques for analysing Likert scales. Generally, it is considered that a slightly modified Cronbach's alpha coefficient can be analytically relevant;

1. as a quantitative expression for the trade-off between scales length and its reliability;
2. for deriving rapid reliability estimates from inter-correlations between the defining terms;
3. for an item analysis procedure; and
4. for classifying the distinction and showing the relation between homogeneity and reliability, so allowing the scale constructor to take both aspects into account in the final scale.

The formula for alpha coefficient is:

$$\text{Alpha} = \frac{n \bar{r}_{ij}}{1 + (N-1) r_{ij}}$$

where,  $n$  = the number of separate items in the test;

$r_{ij}$  = the average of all the inter-item correlations; and

Alpha = the reliability of the total score obtained by summing the scores on separate items. It shows also the dependence of the index reliability on its internal homogeneity ( $\bar{r}_{ij}$ ) and its length ( $n$ ).

We then compute the average of inter-item correlations and then introduce this in the formula used for alpha coefficient. The average of inter-item correlations accounts for the homogeneity of the scale (relying on a figure around .40) and alpha coefficient accounts for its reliability (relying on a figure around .70).

The questionnaire was designed to reflect all the issues proposed in the school reform and these have been classified under the following broad headings:

1. Changes in the structure and organisation
2. Changes in curriculum content
3. Changes in evaluation and examination processes
4. Changes in pedagogical practice
5. Changes in school/community relations.

The items in the questionnaire were designed following these distinctions. At this point, I was concerned only to examine the reliability, homogeneity of the items which composed critical indices and also to examine the relationship between the indices.

2. ORGANISATIONAL CHANGES

TABLE 8.7: INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS. ITEMS REFERRING TO ORGANISATIONAL CHANGES

Item Number and text <sup>(a)</sup>	Item Number		
	26	48	50
26. The school entry age should be raised from six to eight years			
48. Only children who are not clever enough to go to secondary schools should be taught skills of agriculture	.442	.510	
50. The time allotted to the teaching of handicraft should be increased from 40 minutes to two hours per week	.541	.476	.685
$\bar{r}_{ij} = .524$ Alpha = .846			

(a) Item numbers refer to numbers in questionnaire (Appendix 9.)

TABLE 8.8: INDEX OF ITEMS REFERRING TO ORGANISATIONAL CHANGES. VARIMAX ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX AND FACTOR MATRIX USING PRINCIPAL FACTOR

Item Number and abbreviated text	Factor matrix Principal Factor		Varimax Rotated Factor	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
26. Raising of the school entry age	-.712	.513	-.374	.823
48. Streaming: only less clever children should be taught agricultural skills	-.769	-.440	.658	-.349
50. Time allocated for teaching handicraft should be increased	-.853	-.225	.482	-.066

3. CURRICULUM CHANGES

TABLE 8.9: INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS. ITEMS REFERRING TO CURRICULA CHANGES

Item Number and text	Item Number						
	24	32	35	40	45	46	47
24. Environmental studies should become the core subject in the primary school							
32. In order to foster national unity the primary school curriculum should include the culture of all ethnic and tribal groups in Cameroon	.412						
35. The new schemes of work do not give sufficient attention to the three Rs	.387	.532					
40. The teaching of rural crafts should be made compulsory at primary school	.426	.382	.502				
45. Boys and girls should be taught domestic sciences at primary school	.452	.420	.305	.536			
46. In domestic science lessons greater attention should be paid to the development of Cameroon dishes	.562	.486	.518	.526	.376		
47. The teaching of agricultural skills should be limited to primary schools in rural areas	.621	.462	.242	.342	.312	.268	
$\bar{r}_{ij} = .438$ Alpha = .866							

TABLE 8.10: INDEX OF ITEMS REFERRING TO CURRICULA CHANGES. FACTOR MATRIX USING PRINCIPAL FACTOR WITH NO ITERATIONS AND VARIMAX ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX

Item Number and abbreviated text	Factor matrix using Principal Factor		Varimax Rotated Factor	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
24. Environmental studies in school curriculum	-.733	.858	.340	.740
32. Primary school curriculum should include the culture of all ethnic groups	-.745	-.305	.748	.280
35. New schemes ignore the three Rs	-.718	-.554	.904	.240
40. Compulsory crafts in primary school	-.760	-.905	.624	.440
45. Boys and girls to be taught Domestic Sciences	-.702	-.086	.569	.398
46. Attention should be paid to the development of Cameroon dishes	-.740	-.986	.740	.528
47. Teaching of agricultural skills should be limited to primary schools in rural areas	-.748	.648	.599	.395

4. CHANGES IN TEACHING METHODS

TABLE 8.11: INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS REFERRING TO PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICE OR TEACHING PRACTICE

Item Number and text	Item Number			
	58	59	60	61
58. To make children learn it is sometimes necessary to resort to corporal punishment				
59. A good teacher does not have to rely on teaching aids	.506			
60. Children learn better when they sit quietly in class than when they go out to observe nature around the school	.514	.486		
61. Children of nowadays need more discipline and supervision to learn	.480	.432	.476	

$$\bar{r}_{ij} = .568$$

$$\text{Alpha} = .753$$

TABLE 8.12: INDEX OF ITEMS REFERRING TO TEACHING PRACTICE. FACTOR MATRIX USING PRINCIPAL FACTOR AND VARIMAX ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX

Item Number and abbreviated text	Factor Matrix Principal Factor		Varimax Rotated Factor	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
58. It is sometimes necessary to resort to corporal punishment	-.771	.239	.780	.445
59. A good teacher does not have to rely on teaching aids	-.775	-.620	.351	.669
60. Children learn better when they sit quietly in the classroom	-.809	.467	.920	.256
61. Children of nowadays need more discipline and supervision in schools	-.872	.625	.722	.568

5. CHANGES IN EVALUATION AND EXAMINATION PROCESS

TABLE 8.13: INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ITEMS OF THE INDEX REFERRING TO EVALUATION PROCESS

Item Number and text	Item Number			
	53	54	55	56
55. The First Leaving School Certificate examination should be set and marked by Primary teacher in each administrative region				
54. The subjects of the FLSC should be increased to include agricultural skills	.624			
55. The (FLSC) examination should also include an assessment by the school of what the child has contributed or done in the community	.513	.482		
56. All yearly and promotion examinations should be abolished	.485	.523	.325	
$\bar{r}_{ij} = .584$ Alpha = .856				

TABLE 8.14: INDEX OF ITEMS REFERRING TO EVALUATION AND EXAMINATION PROCESS

Item Number and abbreviated text	Factor Matrix using principal factor		Varimax Rotated Factor	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
53. The FLSC should be set and marked by teachers	-.762	.514	.835	.098
54. The subjects of FLSC should include agricultural skills	-.702	.172	.734	.468
55. The (FLSC) examination should also include an assessment of what the child has done in society	-.718	-.605	.724	.463
56. All promotion examination should be abolished	-.888	.465	.755	.475

6. SCHOOL/COMMUNITY RELATIONS

TABLE 8.15: INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS REFERRING TO SCHOOL/COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Item Number and text	Item Number		
	30	31	33
30. All teaching in the primary school should be based on local problems and oriented towards their solution			
31. All primary schools should take part in all development projects in the locality	.462		
33. The culture of the place where the school is located should be given a prominent place in the curriculum	.605	.472	
$\bar{r}_{ij}$ = .430 Alpha = .829			

TABLE 8.16: INDEX OF ITEMS REFERRING TO 'SCHOOL/COMMUNITY RELATIONS'. FACTOR MATRIX USING PRINCIPAL FACTOR AND VARIMAX ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX

Item Number and abbreviated text	Factor Matrix using principal factor		Varimax Rotated Factor	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
30. All teaching should be based on local problems	-.767	.536	.841	.074
31. All schools should take part in development projects	-.871	.562	.745	.369
33. Local culture should be given prominence in local schools	-.783	-.615	.118	.872



As inter-item correlations (Tables 8.7 - 8.16) shows a classificial factor analysis was used in order to show the clustering of the items around the principal factor. The factor loadings of each item is shown for each index together with their pilot of the items using varimax rotation procedure.

The tables also show that some (a large part) of the items load on the first factor, but not on the second factor but since the eigen value of the first principal factor was for each index very high in comparison with that of the second factor, it was assumed that the indices could be used with the items previously defined because they show a reasonable coefficient of reliability and a high and coherent homogeneity of content.

Although the items in any one index load on more than one factor, the items which have the highest loading on the first factor after rotation are also the defining items of the index. It is also important to point out that if an item was considered by its content as belonging to a particular index and its correlations with the other items were fairly high (that is, contributing substantially to the size of  $\bar{r}_{ij}$ ) then the item was kept in the index even if the factor loading suggested a distance from the mean cluster.

PART FIVE

CHAPTER NINE

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

SOME BACKGROUND DATA ON THE SAMPLE

As described in Chapter Eight, questionnaire booklets were returned by 512 teachers. Tables 9.1, 9.2 and 9.3 show the distribution of the booklets and those returned.

TABLE 9.1: SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF QUESTIONNAIRE BOOKLETS AND RETURNED QUESTIONNAIRE BOOKLETS

Categories of teachers	Number of questionnaire booklets distributed	Number of questionnaire booklets returned	Number of questionnaire booklets not returned
1. Probationary teachers (a)	140	132	8
2. Teacher Grade III	200	188	12
3. Teacher Grade II	170	165	5
4. Teacher Grade I	30	20	10
5. Others (b)	10	7	3
	550	512 (c)	38

- (a) This category is made up of teachers who have completed a full primary course and gone into teaching. Most of them are employed in missionaries' schools.
- (b) Secondary school leavers with a few G.C.E. Ordinary level papers, but have not been into a teacher training college (see Table 6.2).
- (c) The study was characterised by an unusual degree of contact between the sampled schools and the author. I personally visited the vast majority of sampled schools and addressed the staff (see Chapter Eight for Survey procedures).

Table 9.2 shows the population of teachers, the sample of questionnaire booklets distributed, number of questionnaire booklets returned compared with the stratification variables used in the sampling design.

TABLE 9.2: TOTAL TEACHER POPULATION, SAMPLED POPULATION, RESPONDENTS, COMPARED WITH THE STRATIFICATION VARIABLES USED IN THE SAMPLING DESIGN

Second Stratification School Location	First Stratification - Administrative Region											Total
	Mezam	Momo	Bui	Menchum	Donga-Matung	Fako	Meme	Ndian	Manyu	Total		
Remote Areas	44 25 20	91 10 10	48 05 -	191 25 21	41 08 08	80 20 20	60 10 -	72 14 14	58 10 10	685 127 103		
Marginal Areas	71 10 10	83 12 12	65 15 15	33 06 -	58 05 05	96 15 13	71 26 23	31 09 09	77 14 14	585 112 101		
Poorly Served Rural Areas	85 20 20	62 11 11	53 13 11	77 12 12	69 05 05	111 - -	143 30 30	23 07 07	108 - -	731 98 96		
Well Served Rural Areas	205 20 20	64 12 12	143 10 09	110 12 12	51 - -	140 13 13	221 08 08	34 - -	139 16 16	1107 91 90		
Urban/Semi-Urban Areas	315 25 25	85 - -	187 17 17	96 10 10	63 12 12	360 22 22	310 16 16	36 - -	95 20 20	1547 122 122		
Total	720 100 95	385 45 45	496 60 52	507 65 55	282 30 30	787 70 68	805 90 77	196 30 30	477 60 60	4655 550 512		

Top entries refer to the criterion population of Primary Teachers (1978-79) (N = 4655)  
 Middle entries refer to the sample who received the questionnaire (N = 550)  
 Bottom entries refer to the returned questionnaire (N = 512)

Table 9.3 shows the total number of teachers responding broken down into sub-groups and sex for each of the representative category.

**TABLE 9.3: TOTAL RETURNED QUESTIONNAIRE BOOKLETS SHOWN BY TEACHER SUB-GROUP AND SEX**

Sub-group	Male	Female	Total
1. Probationary teachers	105	27	132
2. Teacher Grade III	163	25	188
3. Teacher Grade II	135	30	165
4. Teacher Grade I	20	-	20
5. Others	6	1	7
	429	83	512

Analysis of age for the total sample of teachers reveals that the majority of subjects (72% of the total) fall in the two youngest groups, between twenty to thirty. Table 9.4 shows the age distribution for the total sample, broken down by Sex.

**TABLE 9.4: SHOWING TEACHERS' RESPONSE RATE BY AGE AND SEX**

	Men		Women		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under 25	81	15.8	14	16.9	95	18.6
26-30	118	23.0	23	27.7	141	27.5
31-40	184	35.9	29	34.9	213	41.6
41-50	34	6.6	9	10.8	43	8.4
Over 51	7	1.4	-	-	7	1.4
Total	424(a)	82.7	75(b)	90.3	499	97.5

(a) Five male teachers failed to report their ages.

(b) Eight female teachers failed to report their ages.

It is now possible to check fairly accurately the validity of the sample in this analysis by comparing the background characteristics of the respondents with the background characteristics of the population. These comparisons are shown in Tables 9.5, 9.6 and 9.7.

**TABLE 9.5:** SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDING QUESTIONNAIRE SAMPLE BY PEDAGOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS WITH CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS (N = 512)

Pedagogical characteristics	No. in population	% in population	No. of quest. returned	% in quest. returned	% of total population returned quest.
		1		2	3
1. Probationary teachers	140	25.5	132	25.8	94.2
2. Teacher Grade III	200	36.4	188	36.7	94.0
3. Teacher Grade II	170	30.9	165	32.2	97.1
4. Teacher Grade I	30	5.4	20	3.9	66.7
5. Others	10	1.8	7	1.4	70.0
	550	100.0	512	100.0	

Calculated  $\chi^2 = 3.42$  Not significant.

Table 9.5 shows the distribution of teachers by sub-group (or pedagogical qualification or grade) of those who received questionnaire booklets and those who returned them. By comparing the percentages in columns 1 and 2, it can be seen that very little difference exists between those who received questionnaire booklets and those who returned them. A chi-square analysis indicates no significant difference ( $\chi^2 = 3.42$  df = 4 N.S). Column 3 indicates that 97.1% of all possible Grade II teachers returned their questionnaire booklets. The returned rate was lowest among Grade I teachers.

**TABLE 9.6: SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDING QUESTIONNAIRE SAMPLE STRATIFICATION OR GEOGRAPHICAL AREA WITH CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS (N = 512)**

Stratification	No. in population	% in population	No. of quest. returned	% of quest. returned	% of total population returning quest.
		1		2	3
1. Remote areas	127	23.1	103	20.1	81.1
2. Marginal areas	112	20.4	101	19.7	90.2
3. Poorly served rural areas	98	17.8	96	18.8	98.0
4. Well-served rural areas	91	16.5	90	17.6	99.0
5. Urban or semi-urban areas	122	22.2	122	23.8	100.0
	550	100.0	512	100.0	

Calculated  $\chi^2 = .082$  Not significant.

Table 9.6 shows the distribution of teachers by stratification in the population and in the questionnaire sample. By comparing the percentages in columns 1 and 2 it can be seen that there exists a slight difference in response rate between remote areas and other areas, but the chi-square analysis clearly indicates that this difference is not significant ( $\chi^2 = 0.82$  df = 4 N.S). As I have already indicated above, column 3 indicates that slightly fewer teachers from remote areas returned their questionnaire booklets. There are two possible explanations. First, there was a lack of communication between teachers in rural areas and myself because of difficult travelling arrangements. Second, most of the remote teachers would have found it difficult to return their completed questionnaire booklets.



**TABLE 9.7: SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDING QUESTIONNAIRE SAMPLE BY SEX TOGETHER WITH CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS (N = 512)**

Sex	No. in population	% in population	No. of quest. returned	% of quest. returned	% of total population of returned quest.
Men	450	81.8	429	83.8	95.3
Women	100	18.2	83	16.2	83.0
	550	100.0	512	100.0	

Calculated  $\chi^2 = .034$  Not significant.

Table 9.7 shows the distribution of men and women teachers, both in the population and in the questionnaire sample; chi-square analysis confirms that no significant difference exists between the two sets of figures ( $\chi^2 = 0.034$  df = 1 N.S). Slightly more men responded to the questionnaire than women.

On the basis of the analysis presented in these tables, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the questionnaire sample was not substantially different from the population from which it came.

But of greater significance for the validity of the results of this investigation is the extent to which the questionnaire sample resembles the pilot test used for the development of some of the questionnaire items discussed in some detail in Chapter Eight. The available background characteristics of the two tests are reproduced in Tables 9.8, 9.9 and 9.10.

**TABLE 9.8:** SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF QUESTIONNAIRE SAMPLE (N = 512) AND PILOT TEST SAMPLE (N = 55). BY PEDAGOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Pedagogical Characteristics	No. in quest. sample	% in quest. sample 1	No. in pilot sample	% in pilot sample 2
1. Probationary teachers	132	25.8	15	27.3
2. Teacher Grade III	188	36.7	20	36.4
3. Teacher Grade II	165	32.2	15	27.3
4. Teacher Grade I	20	3.9	3	5.4
5. Others	7	1.4	2	3.6
Total	512	100.0	55	100.0

Calculated  $x^2 = 1.55$  Not significant.

**TABLE 9.9:** SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF QUESTIONNAIRE SAMPLE (N = 512) AND PILOT TEST SAMPLE (N = 55) ON GEOGRAPHICAL STRATIFICATION

Stratification	No. in quest. sample	% in quest. sample	No. in pilot sample	% in pilot sample
1. Remote areas	103	20.1	10	18.2
2. Marginal areas	101	19.7	5	9.0
3. Poorly served rural areas	96	18.8	15	27.3
4. Well-served rural areas	90	17.6	10	18.2
5. Urban or semi-urban areas	122	23.8	15	27.3
	512	100.0	55	100.0

Calculated  $x^2 = 0.87$  Not significant.

TABLE 9.10: SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF QUESTIONNAIRE SAMPLE (N = 512)  
AND THE PILOT TEST SAMPLE (N = 55) ON SEX

Sex	No. in quest. sample	% in quest. sample	No. in pilot sample	% in pilot sample
Men	429	83.8	40	72.7
Women	83	16.2	15	27.3
Total	512	100.0	55	100.0

Calculated  $\chi^2 = 1.27$  Not significant.

Tables 9.8, 9.9 and 9.10 show the distributions of both samples on the variables type of grade of teacher, stratification, and sex. In no case is the calculated chi-square for independent samples significant. There is, therefore, no reason to believe, on the basis of these three variables, that the two samples were not drawn from the same population of teachers as a universe.

THE FIRST QUESTION

TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS SCHOOL REFORM

The analysis carried out in the following paragraphs is based on one important assumption which is that the teacher's performance on his job, as performance on any other job, is affected by his personal attitude to it. A positive (or favourable) attitude towards a job makes the work easier, a negative (or unfavourable) attitude makes it harder. 'It follows,' as Marklund (1963) suggests, 'that a teacher's attitude towards his school will be crucial for his future performance. A positive attitude to the reform, its ends and means, will be likely to promote it, whereas a negative attitude will be obstructive to a corresponding degree.' This assumption will lead to the identification of variations and sources of variations in teachers' attitudes towards the proposed primary school reform in Cameroon.

The analysis is based on the issues of the proposed reform described in some detail in Chapter Five. The reform issues from which the attitude statements were formulated may be classified into five major categories: (1) Major organisational and structural changes; (2) changes in curriculum content; (3) changes in the evaluation or examination process; (4) changes in pedagogical practice; and (5) a tightening of the school/community relations. Other issues thought to be relevant to primary school reform, but not featured in the reform proposals were also included in the questionnaire to teachers.

The raw and general percentage distribution of teachers' responses to the series of items on the teachers' attitude scale are presented in Table 9.11. It is with the general items on the attitude scale that the analysis in this section will begin.

1. GENERAL ATTITUDES TO EDUCATION

TABLE 9.11: TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE REFORM ISSUES <sup>(a)</sup>

Item number and text	Response Option Chosen					
	S.A.	A.	U.	D.	S.D.	NR*
<u>GENERAL ATTITUDES TO EDUCATION</u>						
23. <sup>(b)</sup> The imparting of accurate facts should be the main concern of primary teachers	27 (138)	29 (148)	18 (92)	22 (113)	4 <sup>(c)</sup> (21)	-
25. The only reasonable way of assessing a teacher's competence is by the number of children who pass examinations	16 (82)	16 (82)	13 (67)	31 (159)	24 (122)	-
38. The more difficult the subject matter of a lesson, the better it is for the development of the child's intelligence	7 (36)	13 (67)	9 (45)	40 (205)	31 (159)	-
42. Standards of education fall when you introduce compulsory craftwork into the school timetable	11 (56)	22 (113)	4 (21)	38 (194)	25 (128)	-
43. Teaching is essentially a process of increasing the child's store of knowledge	31 (159)	47 (241)	9 (46)	11 (56)	2 (10)	-

\* Abbreviations: S.A. Strongly Agree  
 A. Agree  
 U. Uncertain  
 D. Disagree  
 S.D. Strongly Disagree  
 NR No response

- (a) Horizontal percentaging of responses. N = 512 for all items  
 (b) The item numbers refer to numbers in the questionnaire booklet which is included in Appendix 9.  
 (c) Throughout this section percentages are to the nearest whole numbers.

	Response Option Chosen					
	S.A.	A.	U.	D.	S.D.	NR
<u>ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES</u>						
26. The school entry age should be raised from six years to eight years	7 (36)	16 (82)	7 (36)	38 (194)	32 (164)	-
48. (a) Only children who are not clever enough to go to secondary schools should be taught agricultural skills	11 (56)	18 (92)	18 (92)	22 (113)	31 (159)	-
50. The time allotted to the teaching of handi-craft should be increased from 40 minutes to two hours	7 (36)	18 (92)	24 (123)	40 (205)	11 (56)	-
<u>CURRICULUM CHANGES</u>						
24. Environmental studies should become the core subject in the primary school syllabus	31 (159)	31 (159)	13 (67)	20 (102)	5 (25)	-
32. In order to foster national unity the primary school curriculum should include the culture of all ethnic (or tribal) groups in Cameroon	31 (159)	33 (159)	9 (46)	18 (92)	9 (46)	-
(a)						
35. The new schemes of work do not give sufficient attention to writing, English, and Arithmetic	10 (51)	16 (82)	24 (123)	33 (169)	17 (87)	-

(a) The scoring for these statements was reversed

	Response Option Chosen					
	S.A.	A.	U.	D.	S.D.	NR
40. The teaching of rural crafts should be made compulsory at all levels in the primary school	58 (298)	27 (138)	4 (20)	4 (20)	7 (36)	-
45. Boys and girls should be taught domestic science at primary school	27 (138)	35 (179)	10 (51)	12 (62)	16 (82)	
46. In Domestic Science lessons greater attention should be paid to the development of Cameroon dishes	31 (159)	29 (148)	2 (10)	22 (113)	16 (82)	-
47. The teaching of agricultural skills should be limited to primary schools in rural areas	16 (82)	38 (194)	14 (72)	22 (113)	10 (51)	-
<b>CHANGES IN PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICE</b>						
58. To make children learn it is sometimes necessary to resort to corporal punishment	27 (138)	33 (169)	7 (36)	24 (123)	9 (46)	-
59. (a) A good teacher does not have to rely on teaching aids	24 (123)	36 (184)	17 (86)	22 (113)	11 (56)	-
60. Children learn better when they sit quietly in class than when they go out to observe nature around the school	27 (138)	42 (216)	4 (20)	11 (56)	16 (82)	

(a) The scoring for this item was reversed.



	Response Option Chosen					
	S.A.	A.	U.	D.	S.D.	NR
61. Children of nowadays need more discipline and supervision to learn	17 (87)	26 (133)	11 (56)	24 (123)	20 (103)	-
<u>THE EVALUATION PROCESS</u>	Fully Agree				Fully Disagree	
53. The First Leaving School Certificate (FLSC) should be set and marked by primary teachers in each administrative region	18 (92)	29 (149)	4 (20)	29 (149)	20 (102)	-
54. The subjects of the (FLSC) should be increased to include agricultural sciences	57 (292)	31 (169)	2 (10)	2 (10)	8 (41)	-
55. The (FLSC) examination should also include an assessment by the school of what the child has contributed or done in the community	7 (36)	12 (61)	7 (36)	36 (184)	38 (195)	-
56. All yearly and promotion examination should be abolished	13 (67)	27 (138)	38 (194)	16 (82)	6 (31)	-
<u>SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS</u> (a)						
30. All teaching in the primary school should be based on local problems and oriented towards their solution	73 (374)	24 (123)	(b) -	3 (15)	(b) -	-

(a) See Test II for more statements on school-community relations.

(b) Less than 0.5 per cent.

	Response Option Chosen					
	F.A.*	A.	U.	D.	F.D.*	NR
31. All primary schools should take part in all development projects in the locality	78 (399)	11 (56)	(b) -	11 (56)	(b) -	-
33. The culture of the place where the school is located should be given a prominent place in the curriculum	29 (148)	62 (318)	(b) -	9 (46)	(b) -	-
<u>LANGUAGE POLICY</u>	Strongly Agree				Strongly Disagree	
37. Teaching in the first classes of the primary school should be carried out through the medium of the local vernacular	18 (92)	16 (83)	34 (174)	24 (123)	80 (40)	
52. Teachers should be posted to areas whose language they speak well	18 (92)	11 (55)	24 (123)	31 (159)	16 (83)	

\* Abbreviations: F.A. Fully Agree  
F.D. Fully Disagree

(b) Less than 0.5 per cent.

The first five items (23,25,38,42,43) were designed to determine very broadly the facility with which attitudes of primary school teachers in English-speaking Cameroon towards school reform can be expected to change with current thinking in education. It is possible to argue theoretically that since Cameroon teachers, like teachers elsewhere in Africa, have inherited a somewhat rigid and authoritarian way of life,

through upbringing and a colonial education system, it would be very difficult to bring about desired changes in their attitudes towards environmentally oriented subjects.

But, individually item 23 was designed to discover teachers' attitudes towards the process of teaching, whether teachers see themselves as imparting bare facts or giving children skills to be able to cope with their environment. The distribution of responses shows that teachers were almost evenly distributed on the response options chosen. Fifty-six per cent of the teachers in the sample agree and forty-four per cent reject the item.

Items 38,42 and 43 were designed to discover whether teachers regard primary school as concerned mainly with the transmission of a purely academic education. The response distribution on item 38, 'the more difficult the subject-matter of a lesson, the better it is for the development of the child's intelligence' shows that a vast majority of teachers in the sample (71%) reject it. This rejection is heartening for it is traditionally assumed that the more difficult a concept, the better for the development of the child's intellectual development. This assumption was further strengthened by a leaving examination which offered no alternatives and which generally examined only those elements in the curriculum which would be classified by Bloom in his two simplest levels of cognitive domain - knowledge and comprehension.<sup>1</sup> It also led to overloading of the school syllabus with academic subjects and rejection of environmental subjects.

The response distributions on item 42, 'standards of education fall

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1. Bloom, B.S. et al. (1956), Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Handbook I.

when you introduce compulsory craftwork into the school timetable' show that 63 per cent of the teachers reject it. This seems to add support to the view that most teachers are overwhelmingly in favour of an environmentally based curriculum, especially when the response distributions of items 38 and 42 are taken together and in conjunction. The responses on items 43 seem to confirm the attitudes of teachers on item 23. In many ways, not much should be made of the responses on this item. First, and with hindsight, the item is vague, 'as increasing the child's store of knowledge' could be interpreted in many ways; for example, teaching carpentry also increases the child's knowledge. Second, and as a result of the first weakness, the item does not discriminate very well from item 23, although the variations in the response distribution of the two items seem to suggest otherwise.

The last item in this section, item 25, 'the only reasonable way of assessing a teacher's competence is by the number of children who pass examinations' was designed to discover the importance attached to success in examination by teachers. Experience has shown that examination, particularly primary Leaving Examination ranks as the most important goal of primary education for most parents and their children. Thus the nature of that examination exerts quite a powerful influence on what is taught in schools. The response distributions on this item show that the teachers in the sample reject item 25 which seems to indicate that teachers are saying that their competence cannot be judged solely by pupils' examination results.

It is by no means impossible to reconcile these seemingly divergent views or attitudes towards education. These views indicate, as we shall see elsewhere, a quite rational analysis of the situation. Teachers are

anxious to maintain the role traditionally expected of them by the community as providers of a sound knowledge while at the same time showing a clear understanding of the dangers of an overloaded curriculum, an academic one, or one dominated by the tyranny of examinations.

#### ORGANISATIONAL CHANGES

Three items were selected to measure the extent to which teachers are prepared to see major organisational or structural changes within primary education. In all three items it is significant that the majority of teachers have opted for the status quo. Item 26, 'the school entry age should be raised from six to eight years', expresses the recommendation in the IPAR (1977) report that since the vast majority of primary school leavers receive no formal education after class six or seven, and since the primary school leaver should be prepared to enter the social and economic world as an adult, the school entry age should be raised to either seven or eight years. A vast majority of teachers (70 per cent) disagree on this item. In rejecting this proposal, there is no doubt that the teachers would have considered the educational implication of having older children in their classes. It is very interesting to note that in the month (September) this investigation is being written up, the government has reduced the primary school course from seven to six classes (or six years), thus not only making younger children complete their primary course, but widening the gap between leaving primary school and taking up employment or self-employment in agriculture.

Item 50, 'the time allotted to the teaching of handicrafts and other practical work should be increased from 35/40 minutes to two hours

per week' is rejected by 51 per cent of the teachers and a large percentage (24) of 'uncertain'. There is, however, a majority of opinion that all children in primary schools should be taught agricultural skills. Item 48 is rejected by 53 per cent of the teachers. There is, however, an exceptionally high degree of uncertainty among teachers on the issue of organisational changes; 7 per cent on item 26, 18 per cent on item 48, and 24 per cent on item 50. Here again it is possible to see that teachers are receptive 'up to a point' towards ruralisation but unwilling to move far beyond that point as instanced by the high level of uncertainty.

#### CURRICULUM CHANGES

The next seven items in Table 9.11 deal with curriculum changes. They were designed to discover whether teachers reacted positively, first towards attempts to base curriculum content on the rural environment, second towards attempts to introduce more practical and vocational subjects into the curriculum, and third, whether it was believed that in the process the traditional emphasis on the 3 Rs was suffering.

As the response distributions to item 24 show, more than 60 per cent of the teachers are in favour of 'environmental studies' becoming the core subject in the primary school curriculum. Environmental studies aims at fostering the understanding and appreciation of a given environment with a view to conserving and transforming its vital resources - enhancing the integration of the children in their environment, through the study of the economic, social, historic-geographical aspects of the environment as well as its cultural aesthetics. Accordingly, item 32 expresses the proposals to increase the amount of African culture in

the primary school curriculum. The distribution of responses to this item shows that 64 per cent of teachers support the inclusion of the cultures of 'all ethnic groups' in Cameroon in the school curriculum.

Although after the pilot test it was discovered that this item was not precise, it was not dropped because I thought the responses from teachers would indicate the degree to which they would like to see cultural material included in the primary school curriculum. The phrase 'all ethnic groups' could be understood either to mean that provision should be made nationally to include aspects of different ethno-cultural traditions in the primary curriculum, or that provision should be made to allow for aspects of the local cultural heritage in the local school curriculum. But whichever meaning the teachers in the sample gave to this item, the overwhelming support indicates unequivocally that they will support an increased amount of cultural material in primary school curricula.

The response distributions to item 40 also show that the vast majority of teachers are willing to have 'rural crafts' or 'rural technology' as a compulsory subject in the primary school curriculum. Eighty-five per cent of the teachers approve of this item compared with fifteen per cent who disapprove. The strength of this approval is indicated by the massive 58 per cent who 'strongly agree' with this item. Items 45 and 46 deal with the teaching of Domestic Sciences at the primary level. Traditionally the subject was a girls' subject. While boys went out to do gardening and learn skills for agriculture, girls stayed in their classes to learn knitting, cookery, or household-management. IPAR's proposal is for both boys and girls to be taught Domestic Science. The distribution of responses on these two items

shows that the majority of teachers favour the changes proposed. Sixty-two per cent and sixty respectively are in favour of the item. Finally, as responses to item 47 show, most teachers do not think that only pupils in rural areas should be taught skills for agriculture. They are in favour of all children in primary schools being taught skills for modern agriculture. As one teacher commented on this item, 'In this school (in an urban centre) agriculture is an important subject. The boys bring cutlasses and the girls hoes. Cameroon needs farmers of both sexes in towns or villages. That is what the Green Revolution is for.' In general, the response distributions of the six items dealing with curriculum changes clearly indicate that a vast majority of teachers favour a curriculum content that is based on the environment.

As I indicated earlier, it was also the aim of this section to find out whether the teachers thought that the traditional 3 Rs were being sacrificed by the new environmental orientation of the curriculum. In the past, although some clear and forceful cases have been made for a more environmentally based school curriculum, there has been considerable reluctance on the part of teachers to put extra time and efforts to this section of the curriculum and instead they have concentrated on the teaching of the 3 Rs. Item 35, 'the new schemes of work do not give sufficient attention to the 3 Rs' deals with the teachers' attitudes towards the new emphasis on environmental oriented curriculum. The response distribution shows that the teachers in sample do not think that the traditional 3 Rs are being sacrificed to environmental studies. However, 24 per cent of the teachers were uncertain about the item. Here again, this was a rational answer since most of the teachers would



not have used the new schemes for more than six months before the survey was carried out.

#### PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICE

Items 58,59,60 and 61 were designed to explain pedagogical practice. As I argued earlier in Chapter One, pedagogical practice is relatively autonomous of educational structures. This means that we can change some educational structures and content without changing the practice within them and it is equally possible to change practice without effecting any change in structures. IPAR's proposals are aimed at changing both structures and content, and pedagogical practice.

However, the response distributions to items 58,59, and 60 show traditionalist attitudes to pedagogical practice prevailing among the teachers in the sample. Sixty per cent of them still believe that 'to make children learn, it is sometimes necessary to resort to corporal punishment' (item 58). Item 59, 'a good teacher does not have to rely on teaching aids', was also supported by 60 per cent of the teachers. Although the results seem to indicate that teachers do not appreciate the value of teaching aids, the indictment must go first to training at most teacher colleges, where trainees are not given instruction in making teaching aids. At the other end, teaching at most of the training colleges tends to rely rather heavily on exposition by trainers and the use of the blackboard.

Almost equally important, however, is the apparent lack of simple teaching aids in most schools resulting in the virtual abandonment of syllabus units on such topics as light or magnetism. One additional point is relevant to the question of teaching aids. In all schools

there is a definite priority concerning the kind of material purchased. Schools tend to place greatest priority on the provision of pupils' textbooks and related teachers' books, less on supplementary books for either teachers or pupils. Visual aids rate relatively low in purchase priority. These factors may have conditioned teachers to place low priority on teaching aids.

Item 60, 'children learn better when they sit quietly in their classes than when they go out to observe nature around the school', shows that 69 per cent of the teachers think that children learn faster when they sit quietly and listen to the teacher. Here, again one of the main features of primary school in Cameroon, as in most of Africa, is the absence of pupils' initiated talk or class activity. Activities like drawing, modelling, project work, and dramatisation have very little time devoted to them. This section portrays a fairly strong traditionalist approach to teaching among the majority of teachers. A traditionalist approach that has been forced on teachers by the overcrowding conditions in most of their classes rather than free choice arising from any educational philosophy. The overall pupil teacher ratio (at 45:1) one of the highest in black Africa conceals more than it reveals. Rural schools are small and ratios low and thus bring down the average. Even then one teacher may be teaching three to four classes (or grades) and it is not unusual to have all these different classes in one large, dilapidated room. For part of the year teaching can take place outside and this commonly happens during the dry season (from October to April).

Once overcrowding of this severity is present, teaching methods have to be adapted to it. It borders on the irresponsible to recommend activity methods which require space for the children and individual at-

tention from the teacher in such conditions. These factors have forced teachers to apply a very tight control on the behaviour of the children in the classrooms.

#### EVALUATION AND EXAMINATION PROCESS

The next set of four items in Table 9.11 deal with evaluation procedures. The detrimental effects of the examination system on the content of the primary school curriculum, and on the way the subjects are divided and taught is clearly identified by IPAR, who proposed that the setting and marking of the final examination should be decentralised. But, as the response distributions to item 53, 'the first leaving school certificate should be set and marked by primary teachers in each administrative region', show, there is no great enthusiasm among teachers for such local examinations. Only 47 per cent of teachers favour the proposal that local teachers should set and mark the final leaving school examination. But an overwhelming majority of teachers (88 per cent) are in favour of the final primary school examination in agricultural sciences (item 54). On the other hand, few teachers favour the radical proposals that the final primary school examination should 'include an assessment by the school of what the child has contributed to the community' (item 55) and for 'yearly and promotion examinations to be abolished' (item 56). Only 19 per cent of the latter and 40 per cent of the former are in favour of the items.

We can only assume that here teachers do not differ from the parents of the children they teach. Parents expect teachers to teach children; to help them pass the Leaving School Certificate, or at least such things as may be useful in their post-school life. On the other hand, the

politicians often expect more from teachers than teaching alone, in some cases even considering extramural activities more important than classroom work and examinations. Again, we can only assume that teachers are aware of the two contrasting expectations and they are not prepared to go beyond a point where they will earn the antagonism of either the parents or the authorities.

Two additional points are relevant to the question of decentralising the setting and the marking of the primary Leaving Certificate. The first point is that there must be some fears among teachers that once the setting and marking of the examination is decentralised, its importance would diminish in the eyes of parents and pupils. It is also possible for teachers to be concerned about the possibility of standards falling. The second point is that there appears to be some apprehension among the teachers of the heavy burden the changes would place on them.<sup>1</sup> If the examination is decentralised, it is possible to envisage pressure on the teachers from two fronts - from parents (most of them well-known to the teachers and influential in the community) to pass their children, and in addition from education authorities to maintain standards. These are pressures which teachers now do not experience, but which would become very evident once the examination is decentralised. These are very rational decisions, which will be highlighted when the profile of an average primary teacher is built up at the end of this section.

#### SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Items 30,31, and 33 attempted to measure the extent to which teachers

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1. This is the strong impression I got from teachers I talked to when I visited their schools.

favour a closer integration of the culture and approaches of the home and local society with that of the school. The distribution of responses in this section shows that teachers are overwhelmingly in favour of close contact between teachers, schools and their local communities. Ninety-four and eighty-nine per cent of teachers are in favour of items 30 and 31 respectively. These responses contrast sharply with other response distributions so far discussed in the very high degree of the option 'fully agree' with 73 per cent and 79 per cent compared to 3 and 11 per cent who 'disagree'. A vast majority of teachers (91%) also favour the proposal that ethnic culture in which the school is located should be given prominence in the school curriculum (item 33).

The response distributions on the three items shows that most teachers have strong positive orientations towards local culture and local community. This is nothing new. As I indicated in Chapter Seven, the primary school teacher has always had very close contact with his local environment. For obvious reasons the teachers had better and greater opportunities than others for close contact with the people in the communities they served. They were usually leaders in church activities and other activities which required a writer. Yet, despite this contact between teachers and their communities, the situation in the schools, the content of the curriculum and the values the school imparted to the children did not adequately reflect such interaction between teachers and the community.

There were at least three reasons for this. First, not only did the primary school curriculum in Cameroon, and indeed in other parts of Africa, remain a 'collection of subjects', but no body was ready to

organise the curriculum as a whole around a 'central organic core', such as the study of man and his relationship to his rural environment. Second, attitudes to the ideas of adaptation of the curriculum, particularly as interpreted through the more practical elements of the syllabus remained sceptical. Society had not changed, nor had rural opportunities increased. Third, it was obvious that even those who taught teachers and those who supervised them might preach adaptation ... but continued to reward examination success. Moreover, educational authorities failed to provide adequate resources for school and community interaction.

The results of the response distributions of the teachers can only mean that most of them would like a close working between them and their communities given resources and help from educational administrators. The reform proposals offer a way of increasing resources in schools for both the schools and the local communities.

#### LANGUAGE POLICY

It has been stressed that a number of initial government policy decisions are necessary to give direction to research and recommendations for school reform and curriculum reconstruction. Where such a policy is absent, as it is in Cameroon as far as an indigenous language policy is concerned, research and recommendations are unlikely to be sufficient. This was the case with the lack of proposals on language by IPAR. They did not feel able to recommend the use of vernacular languages for elementary education. As a result, the two items in Table 9.11 dealing with language policy are not as satisfactory as we would have liked them to be.

However, the response distributions on both items, item 37, 'teaching in the first classes of the primary school should be carried out through the medium of the vernacular' and item 52, 'primary school teachers should be posted to areas whose language they can speak', produces an unusually high degree of uncertainty among the teachers in the sample, 34 per cent and 24 per cent on items 37 and 52 respectively. We can only assume that since the two issues were not included in IPAR's proposals and therefore not discussed with teachers nor publicly debated is highly significant here. If this assumed correlation between the teachers' response distributions and the issues not being included in the proposals were shown to be statistically significant, it would give more credence to other items in the questionnaire and teachers' responses to them.

The high level of uncertainty among the teachers could have also resulted from the vagueness of the term 'vernacular'. First, the term has pejorative connotations and if this survey were carried out in a neighbouring country like Nigeria where the issue of mother tongue education is more hotly debated, the term would have been unsuitable as it might have influenced the responses from teachers. Second, it is still possible that the impreciseness of the term may be another reason why my respondents were so reticent on this issue. My use of this term without specifying whether it meant every mother tongue or a language with an important regional role as first and second languages needed clarification.

If the items in Table 9.11 are taken as expressing either favourable or negative attitudes towards the proposed school reform, we notice that twenty of the twenty-eight response distributions show that a clear

majority of teachers express favourable attitudes. However, items 23,25,38,42, and 43 on 'general attitudes to education' and items 58,59,60, and 61 on 'pedagogical practice' are taken as separate scales and expressing either favourable (reform-mindedness) or traditionalist (or negative) attitudes, we notice that only on three of the nine items do the response distributions show a reform-mindedness spirit. As has already been indicated in this chapter, these seemingly divergent views are perfectly rational when one considers the pressures on teachers from politicians, parents and their children. The next paragraphs would highlight these pressures through a profile of an average teacher.

#### TEACHER PROFILE AND ATTITUDES RATIONALITY

##### Mr OBEN: TEACHER GRADE TWO

This study has so far shown that there is considerable variability not only between different grades of teachers, but also within the grades in the degree of intensity of teachers' attitudes to primary school reform with respect to the different reform issues considered. The study has also revealed similarities (and reform-mindedness) among a vast majority of the teachers. Both the variations and similarities appear to be a result of comparison of teachers' complex attitudes with respect to various sets of complex variables - the teachers' pedagogical backgrounds; the teachers' biographical backgrounds; considerations of the present school system; and considerations of the contrasting parents' and societal expectations. These results make it almost imperative that curriculum and teacher training policies must take into account these differences among teachers, but they also have to be de-



signed around some sort of a norm. The responses in this questionnaire have helped us establish such a norm - a 'Mr Average'.

Let us reconstruct him from the data gathered from his responses. His name is Mr Oben. He is married with five children, two girls and three boys. Mr Oben is a grade II teacher. This group can be considered as the backbone of the teaching force in the primary school system. It is the largest single group, with more than 60 per cent of the total number of teachers (see Table 6.1, they may now form about 65%). Mr Oben is an ordinary classroom teacher. He is over 50 years old, intelligent, experienced, and competent. He has been selected for the past five years to mark (but make no mistake, not to set) the primary school Leaving Certificate examination, which is set centrally by the Ministry of Education. He is well qualified, but not so well paid as he or we would wish. But he is overpaid in comparison to the wages of farmers or manual workers.

The school is run by the Ministry of National Education in a village of about 400 people. The school is about 45 miles from the administrative headquarter and poorly served. The only motorable road through the village is impassable for six months of the year when it rains. Mr Oben knows everybody in the village and he, in turn, is known by everybody (including children) in the village. Although Mr Oben is not a native of the village, he is a member of the same ethnic group and therefore speaks the local language. He takes part in all the social activities of the village and he is a very strong link between the school and the village. Nevertheless, Mr Oben's popularity among the villagers and the educational department is a source of contradictions and conflicts which must surely affect his

attitude towards the proposed primary school reform. Some of these contradictions have been revealed in this questionnaire.

Mr Oben teaches formally as indicated by his responses on this section of the questionnaire, for example, he does not allow freedom of movement in the classroom during lessons and he also expects his pupils to be quiet in class. He talks to the whole class, marks and grades his pupils' work, and emphasises separate subject teaching rather than integrated subject teaching or a core curriculum with options and enrichment material around the core subject. But, as we indicated earlier, Mr Oben is efficient and tries to do a conscientious job and does not encourage children to cram. For example, he teaches Language and mathematical skills. He has a modest amount of apparatus to use in teaching science, agricultural skills as well as historical and geographical skills.

Although Mr Oben knows that his first duty is to get his pupils through examinations and he therefore concentrates on teaching examinable subjects on his timetable, he also knows that both the pupils and himself are apart of an essentially rural society. He is therefore prepared to base his teaching on the environment of the child. From his responses on the questionnaire, he wants 'environmental studies should become the core curriculum' at the primary school level. He also wants 'rural craft and urban technologies' to become compulsory subjects on his timetable. Other changes he is prepared to see on his timetable include the teaching of 'domestic science to both boys and girls', particularly the 'teaching of Cameroonian dishes'. Equally important, he wants to see increased attention to the 'teaching of agricultural skills'. He knows that the unity and stability of Cameroon de-

pende very much on how successful the schools are in fostering appropriate attitudes. As part of this, he wants schools to include and teach some aspects of the cultures of the major ethnic groups in Cameroon.

Mr Oben knows that the parents of his pupils expect him, as we indicated earlier, to teach them to pass both the First Leaving School Certificate examination and the common entrance examination to secondary schools. He knows too, that he has the distinction of being a model for most, if not all of his pupils. It is also his professional wish that his pupils should in future be better and more educated than himself. On the other hand, national goals for development demand that more attention be paid (by primary schools) to teaching agricultural skills, environmental studies, local crafts and technologies, and a close contact between his school and the village, he also knows that as the more educated member of the village, it is part of his job as a teacher to advise, help and take part in village development projects.

From Mr Oben's response distribution on this section of the questionnaire, we get the impression that Mr Oben is saying that this public responsibility is so great that even his pupils' interests might properly be, to a limited extent, set aside to enable him to carry out his responsibilities as a citizen and as a member of the village. For example, he 'agrees strongly' that he and his pupils should take part in community projects, he 'agrees strongly' that it is his duty to give literacy classes to his villagers. He also 'agrees strongly' that time should be created for him to attend village festivals and other cultural activities.

This changing emphasis, both in Mr Oben's role as a primary school

teacher and in the role of primary school education in general, has led him to accept changes in the content of primary school. He is also prepared to innovate, but only up to a point. For example, he wants to see greater emphasis of the culture and environmental aspects of the curriculum, but he is not prepared to change his pedagogical practices, specifically, he is not prepared, as we have indicated, to change his teaching style and its formality which he regards as effective, if not more effective, than other methods now being paraded before him during refresher courses, in textbooks and in relevant educational journals. And of course, recent research (which he is probably not aware of) in Europe and North America reinforces Oben's beliefs,<sup>1</sup> that formal methods are more effective than informal methods.

In any case, Mr Oben's reticence is understandable. Let me illustrate with a specific example. His reticence on the question regarding the use of ethnic language as medium of instruction would obviously require a considerable adaptation to his teaching - that any fifty-year-old teacher who has built up his professional expertise in English would be hesitant about attempting.

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1. See Bennett, N. (1976), Teaching Styles and Pupil Progress, Open Books. Basing his conclusions on residual gains, Bennett (1976, p.152) contends: 'The results form a coherent pattern. The effect of teaching style is statistically and educationally significant in all attainment areas tested. In reading, pupils of formal and mixed teachers progress more than those of informal teachers, the difference being equivalent to some three to five months' difference in performance. In Mathematics, formal pupils are superior to both mixed and informal pupils, the difference in progress being some four to five months. In English, formal pupils again outperform both mixed and informal pupils.' So far as the three Rs are concerned, the evidence available points to the fact that formal methods are better than informal methods.

Finally, Mr Oben knows that he has many masters, his pupils, the parents of his pupils, and the politician, and he tries to serve them all. He tries to provide the environment and the opportunity for every one of his pupils to develop to his fullest potentialities in order to contribute to the material, civic and cultural progress of his environment. Mr Oben knows that parents' expectations fall into two main categories. The first group of parents expect him to teach their children to pass examinations in order that they might get a paid job, or possibly go into further education. The second group stress the need for their children to read and write for its sake.

Mr Oben is aware of the fact that the society at large often speaks with many voices and not infrequently in Cameroon, as in other developing countries, the educational philosophy may be at variance with the socio-economic philosophy and with the expectations of his pupils and their parents. Thus, Mr Oben, like any other 'average' primary school teacher in Cameroon, is faced with competing sets of goals to which relative priorities must be assigned as far as the reform of primary school education is concerned. We must therefore take these conflicting pressures on Mr Oben into account when considering his seemingly contradictory responses (or answers).

INTER-ITEM RELATIONSHIPS OF TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE PROPOSED SCHOOL REFORM

In the first part of this section I have considered in great detail the 'raw' and 'general' percentage distributions of teachers' responses (in order to put a human face to statistical analyses which follow)<sup>1</sup> to

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1. See my comment on statistical analysis in the preface to this report. (General Introduction to Thesis, p.16)

the teachers' attitudes to the reform scale. In this part I will concentrate on the statistically 'believability'<sup>1</sup> of the responses so far analysed.

The response distributions to the twenty-eight items in Table 9.11 may, as I have indicated, be analysed as reflecting a general 'favourableness' (or reform-mindedness dimension). If this analysis is correct, then favourable responses should be positively associated with each other and negatively associated with negative responses. Conversely, negative responses should be positively associated with negative responses and negatively associated with favourable (or reform-mindedness) responses.

Table 9.12 shows a matrix of inter-item correlations among all the possible pairs of items in Table 9.11. The Goodman and Kruskal's Gamma Coefficients which is a measure of association for ordered polytomics<sup>2</sup> was followed to produce the matrix. A closer examination of the correlation matrix shows that 177 out of the 210 (or 84.3%) predicted associations are statistically significant and all of them are in the predicted direction. This seems to suggest and support the hypothesis formulated in Chapter Seven that the data would show an

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1. Refers to 'validity' and 'reliability' of the measuring scale.
  2. See Leo Goodman and William H.Kruskal, 'Measures of Association for Cross Classification', Journal of the American Statistical Association, IL (1954), pp.732-64. The sampling distribution for the use of these classifications is given in Leo Goodman and William H.Kruskal, 'Measures of Association for Cross Classifications. III: Approximate Sample Theory', Journal of the American Statistical Association, LVIII (1963), pp.310-64.

underlying attitudinal dimension of a general 'reform-mindedness'<sup>1</sup> among the teachers. A second examination of the correlation matrix shows that there is no clear clustering of items according to their content as shown in Table 9.11. This seems to suggest we are justified in constructing one summary measure of attitudes towards different types of issues as dependent variable rather than analysing attitudes towards different types of reform issues separately.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF TEACHERS AND ATTITUDES TO PROPOSED REFORM

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a comparative study of the teachers' sub-groups and the instrumental (independent) variables which we hope will provide the best predictions in the variations of teachers' attitudes to the proposed reform. First, the data in Table 9.11 will be tested to determine whether the differences in the responses from the sub-groups are statistically significant as it was hypothesised in Chapter Seven; and second, attempts will then be made to relate each instrumental variable to the variations in teachers' responses.

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1. As Table 9.12 shows, these Gamma Coefficients are only of moderate size. This does raise the question of how consistent individual teachers are in their responses to the individual items. One illustration of this consistency would be to present all the possible cross-tabulations of the twenty-one indicators, but this would demand too much space, and it would also be difficult to draw a general conclusion from the many tables that would result. It was decided not to embark upon this laborious work, but merely to indicate that there is no reason to believe that if the tables were produced, they would produce different results.

TABLE 9.12: SHOWING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTITUDES TOWARDS DIFFERENT REFORM ISSUES: MATRIX OF CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

Item Number and Clue to Content	Item Numbers
	23 24 26 29 31 33 37 38 40 42 43 45 46 50 52 53 55 56 58 60 61
23. Imparting of accurate facts is the main concern of teachers	18
24. Environmental studies should form core curriculum	-16 -21
26. The school entry age be raised to eight years	20 18 26
30. All teaching should be based on local problems	02* 18 24 22
31. Schools should take part in local projects	30 19 31 26 05*
33. All local culture should be included in the curriculum	-08*-25 -32 -30 -33 -28
37. Teaching should be done through the vernacular	(N = 512)
38. The more difficult the subject, the better for pupils	26 30 36 29 27 21 25
40. Rural crafts should be made compulsory in schools	32 24 29 28 25 26 20 34
42. Standards fall when you introduce practical work	05* 18 33 18 31 34 36 30 18
43. Teaching is increasing the child's store of knowledge	-17 -20 -26 -17 -08*-19 -14 -28 -22 -09*
45. Both boys and girls should be taught domestic science	15 16 20 13 23 22 16 33 24 10 26
46. Pay greater attention to Cameroonian dishes	04* 20 19 21 25 23 22 31 16 12 30 45
50. Time given to handicraft should be increased	14 18 27 13 19 11 09* 25 24 21 26 40 06*
52. Post teachers to their areas of origin	17 23 26 14 32 14 11 42 17 24 19 21 08* 14
53. F.L.S.C. be set and marked by local teachers	07* 20 21 10 22 09* 12 28 30 31 41 28 18 30 07*
55. F.L.S.C. should include an assessment by headteacher	19 12 09* 17 15 15 13 20 29 27 31 41 22 24 26 19
56. All promotion examinations should be abolished	-08*-10 -11 -21 -19 -24 -17 -07*-24 -19 -30 -18 -03*-26 -24 -56 -23
58. Children sometimes need corporal punishment to learn	21 24 13 22 17 20 35 09* 14 18 46 11 26 22 14 18 11 18
60. Children learn faster when they sit quietly	25 16 26 09* 21 19 30 22 20 22 06* 46 51 32 18 11 15 22 42
61. Children of today need more discipline	-02*-18 -23 22 -11 -17 41 28 24 25 18 43 48 20 31 07* 22 10 07* 33 -

\* Not significant at the 5% level of confidence.



As I indicated in Chapter One, the major objective of this investigation was to survey teachers' attitudes to the proposed primary school reform to determine whether the teachers responded favourably to aspects of the proposed reform. The teachers were asked to scale their favourable or unfavourable attitudes towards the main reform issues on a Likert-type scale with five points running from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. A high score represents unfavourable attitude to the proposed reform. The scoring was reversed for items expressing negative disposition.

The Likert-type scale has a mean of 62.37 and a standard deviation of 11.74 scale units. Table 9.13 shows these basic data on the attitudes towards the proposed reform scale. As the response distributions on Table 9.11 show, teachers are generally in favour of the reform proposals. On a sample of 512 teachers and on a 28 item questionnaire, the mean of 62.37 also shows quite favourable attitude towards the reform. The expectation (formulated in hypothesis 1, Chapter Seven) is confirmed.

TABLE 9.13: SHOWING MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION, AND RANGE FOR SAMPLE ON ATTITUDES TOWARDS PROPOSED REFORM

Sample	No.	Mean	SD	Range
All teachers	512	62.37	11.74	Possible 28 to 150 Actual 58 to 137

To investigate the differences between teacher sub-groups in greater detail an analysis of variance was computed. From the print-

out it was possible, first, to extract the means and standard deviations for all the variables dividing the total sample into sub-groups by sex and classification. This gave eight sub-groups.

1. All teachers (N = 512)
2. All untrained teachers (N = 132)
3. Grade III trained teachers (M and F) (N = 188)
4. Grade II trained teachers (M and F) (N = 165)
5. Grade I trained teachers (M and F) (N = 20)
6. Others (N = 7)
7. All Female teachers (N = 83)
8. All Male teachers (N = 429)

**TABLE 9.14: SHOWING MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS AND RANGE FOR SAMPLE ON THE ATTITUDES TO REFORM SCALE (N = 512)**

Sample	N	Mean	SD	Range
1. All teachers	512	62.37	11.74	Possible
2. All untrained teachers	132	64.31	9.33	28 to 150
3. Grade III trained teachers	188	62.08	7.53	
4. Grade II trained teachers	165	61.47	8.41	Actual
5. Grade I teachers	20	59.51	5.29	58 to 137
6. Others	7	63.23	10.56	
7. All female teachers	83	64.93	8.64	

The results of the means and standard deviations for the four major sub-groups of teachers are set out in six tables below:

TABLE 9.15: SHOWING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PROBATIONERS (UNTRAINED TEACHERS) AND ALL TRAINED TEACHERS ON ATTITUDES TO THE PROPOSED REFORM

Probationers			Trained Teachers				
No.	Mean	SD	No.	Mean	SD	Difference	Significance
132	64.31	9.33	373	61.67	6.24	2.64	P 0.01

TABLE 9.16: SHOWING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN GRADE III TEACHERS AND GRADE II TEACHERS ON ATTITUDES TO THE PROPOSED REFORM

Teacher Grade III			Teacher Grade II				
No.	Mean	SD	No.	Mean	SD	Difference	Significance
188	62.08	7.53	165	61.47	8.41	0.61	N.S.

TABLE 9.17: SHOWING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN GRADE III TEACHERS AND GRADE I TEACHERS ON ATTITUDES TO THE REFORM

Teacher Grade III			Teacher Grade I				
No.	Mean	SD	No.	Mean	SD	Difference	Significance
188	62.08	7.53	20	59.51	5.29	2.57	P 0.01

TABLE 9.18: SHOWING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN GRADE II TEACHERS AND GRADE I TEACHERS ON ATTITUDES TO THE REFORM PROPOSALS

Teacher Grade II			Teacher Grade I				
No.	Mean	SD	No.	Mean	SD	Difference	Significance
165	61.47	8.41	20	59.51	5.29	1.96	N.S.

**TABLE 9.19: SHOWING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN ALL FEMALE AND ALL MALE TEACHERS ON ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE REFORM PROPOSALS**

All Female Teachers			All Male Teachers			Difference	Significance
No.	Mean	SD	No.	Mean	SD		
83	64.93	8.64	429	61.88	10.68	3.08	P 0.01

An examination of Tables 9.13 - 9.19 shows that there is a significant difference at 1% level of confidence in mean scores between untrained teachers and trained ones in their attitudes towards the proposed school reform. While there is no significant difference in mean scores between grade III and grade II teachers, there is significant difference between grade III and grade I teachers (Table 9.17). It is difficult to give a satisfactory reason for the lack of significance in mean scores between grade III and grade II teachers. It could be, as people have argued, that there is no significant difference in the training programmes of grades III and II teachers to warrant the amount of money budgeted for the training of the two grades of teachers. As I indicated in Chapter Six, both grade II and III training colleges have since been replaced by a single system.

The difference between grade III and grade I teachers was expected since a great majority of grade I teachers are products of L'école Normale d'instituteurs à vocation rurale (ENIR) which later changed its name to Institut de pédagogie Appliquée à vocation rurale (or IPAR) responsible for the proposed primary school reform. Differences at the same level of confidence were also found between all female teachers

and all male teachers (Table 9.19). The analysis of these means suggests that male teachers have more favourable attitudes towards the proposed school reform than female teachers.

**TABLE 9.20:** SHOWING RESULT OF ONE-WAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BETWEEN PROBATIONERS, GRADES III, II, AND I, OTHERS ON ATTITUDES TOWARDS PROPOSED REFORM SCALE

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degree of Freedom	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between	4201	4	1050.25	11.18
Within	47622	507	93.9	Significant beyond 1% level of confidence
Total	51823	511		

Further, on examination of Table 9.20, it can be seen that there exist great and significant differences between the mean score of the teacher sub-groups. It would not have been unreasonable to expect that the attitude of the individual teacher to the proposed reform would be strongly influenced by the pedagogical training the teacher has received or not received. Indeed, the data reported in Tables 9.14 - 9.20 support such a view. One-way analysis of variance (Table 9.20) between these sub-groups yields an F-ratio of 11.18, which is significant beyond the 0.1% level of confidence. Other forms of analysis and additional variables will be utilised in order to discover the true nature of these differences among the sub-groups.

In order to choose our independent (or instrumental) variables which provide the best prediction with the fewest independent variables, we shall make use of a stepwise regression (SPSS Program). For the two

systems of equation the instrumental variables are referred to one particular casual relation between two given variable concepts, where one is statistically taken as dependent and the other as independent. The following is the specification of the instrument variables for the proposed analysis.

TABLE 9.21: SHOWING THE SPECIFICATION OF THE INSTRUMENTAL (OR INDEPENDENT VARIABLES) FOR FURTHER ANALYSIS OF ATTITUDE SCALE

Teacher Characteristics (C <sub>s</sub> )	School Characteristics (C <sub>s</sub> )
<p>1. <u>SEX.</u> What is your sex? Male = 1. Female = 2</p> <p>2. <u>AGE.</u> How old are you? (1) Under 25; (2) 26 to 31; (3) 31 to 40; (4) 41 to 50; and (5) over 51.</p> <p>3. <u>TEACHING EXPERIENCE.</u> How long have you been teaching? (1) two years or less; (2) 3 to 5; (3) 6 to 10; (4) 11 to 15; and (5) over 16 years.</p> <p>4. <u>EDUCATIONAL LEVEL.</u> What is your highest academic qualification? (1) GCE O/L; (2) GCE A/L; (3) BA/BSc; (4) MA/MSc; and (5) None of these.</p> <p>5. <u>TEACHING QUALIFICATION.</u> What is your highest teaching qualification? (1) PT; (2) Teacher Grade III; (3) Teacher Grade II; (4) Teacher Grade I; and (5) Others.</p> <p>6. <u>PREVIOUS SCHOOL TAUGHT.</u> How many schools have you taught in since your first appointment? (1) Only one; (2) 2 to 3; (3) 4 to 5; (4) 6 to 7; and (5) over 8.</p>	<p>1. <u>SCHOOL CONTROL.</u> What denomination is your school? (1) Government; (2) Catholic; (3) Presbyterian; (4) Baptist; and (5) Others</p> <p>2. <u>LOCATION OF SCHOOL.</u> Where is your school located? (1) Township; (2) Semi-township; (3) On a motorable road; and (4) in a rural area.</p>

7. POSITION IN SCHOOL. What is your main position in the school?  
(1) Full-time H/M; (2) H/M with a class; (3) R/S Teacher; (4) Classroom teacher; (5) R/S teacher with a class; and (6) others.
  8. REFRESHER/IN-SERVICE COURSE. (a) Have you been to a refresher course in the past five years? (1) Yes; (2) No. (b) Have you been to an in-service course in the past five years? (1) Yes, (2) No.
  9. PLANS FOR FURTHER TRAINING. Do you have plans for further training? (1) Yes; (2) No; (3) Uncertain.
  10. KNOWLEDGE OF IPAR REFORM. Have you heard of the ruralisation of primary school in Cameroon? (1) Yes; (2) No. (b) Have you heard of IPAR-Buea? (1) Yes; (2) No. (c) What does the abbreviation IPAR mean? (d) Have you discussed the reform in your staff meeting? (e) Have you attended a course on IPAR-reform? (f) Rank these objectives about ruralisation in order of importance.
  11. TEACHER'S OCCUPATIONAL ORIENTATION (Scale)
  12. JOB DISSATISFACTION AND SATISFACTION (Scale)
- 

The instrumental variables have been presented in detail to emphasise the point that because of the nature of these differences between the teachers' sub-groupings it would be erroneous to assume that the relationships and analysis reported in Tables 9.15 to 9.20 was either direct or casual.

And likely contaminations of the attitude to the proposed school reform scale can be seen by looking at the inter-correlations of the scale with these seven (or teachers' and school) variables. Pearson product-moment correlations were computed using the (SPSS Program) set of packages. The resulting correlations are presented in Table 9.22 for all teachers and the three major sub-samples. Clearly, from the data presented in Table 9.22, any attempt to relate the attitude scale first to teachers' occupational role orientation and secondly to dissatisfactions and satisfactions scales must take account of the relationships which are shown to exist between attitude and these teachers' and school characteristics (or variables). Indeed, some hypotheses in Chapter Seven were formulated to take account of just these background variables.

**TABLE 9.22:** SHOWING PEARSON PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TO THE PROPOSED REFORM AND SEVEN BACKGROUND VARIABLES FOR ALL TEACHERS, GRADES III, II, AND I TEACHERS (N = 505)

Variable (a)	Teachers			
	All	III	II	I
1. Sex	.256	.219	.236	.227
2. Age	.262	.239	.252	.241
3. Teaching Experience	.231	.235	.227	.242
4. Teaching Qualification	.205	.201	.221	.253
5. Knowledge of IPAR	.243	.223	.237	.258
6. Refresher/In-service Course	.258	.233	.247	.251
7. Location of School	.267	.259	.265	(b)

(a) Only correlations significant beyond 5% level of confidence were extracted.

(b) No Grade I teachers in the sample were teaching in either semi-urban or rural areas in the sample. All Grade I teachers seem to be posted in large urban schools.



A summary of some of the major findings so far made:

- Finding I: Primary school teachers in English-speaking Cameroon are in favour of the proposed school reform. These findings are wholly consistent with earlier reports elsewhere in West Africa that there is a tendency for most teachers to favour innovation in education. The analysis of the predicted inter-correlations seems to support the hypothesis of an underlying attitudinal dimension of general 'reform-mindedness'.
- Finding II: There are variations in the attitudes towards the proposed reform among individual teachers. The inferences in finding I have therefore been based on aggregate attitude profile of the primary teachers. It would have been unrealistic for anyone to expect even teachers in the same school to express the same attitudes on such a wide range of reforms.
- Finding III: There is a statistically significant difference between the attitude towards the proposed reform scale total score for untrained teachers and trained ones.
- Finding IV: There is a statistically significant difference between the attitude to reform scale total score for Grade III and Grade I teachers, and
- Finding V: Male teachers are more favourable towards the reform proposals than female teachers. There is a statistically significant difference in the total score on the attitude towards reform scale.

THE SECOND QUESTION

THE RESTRICTED-EXTENDED ROLE ORIENTATION

It was hypothesised in Chapter Seven (hypothesis 10) that the more 'extended' the teachers perceive of their role, the more favourable will be their attitudes towards the proposed school reform. The teachers' role orientation was conceptualised along a 'restricted'- 'diffuse'- 'extended' continuum.

To test this hypothesis statistically, a series of questionnaires items (discussed in some detail in Chapter Eight) were designed as indicators of the teachers' orientation towards the occupational role. The items consist of Likert-type questions, but with six alternative answers ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. The range of scoring on the extended scale was thus from 1 to 6, a high score denoting a 'restricted' role orientation, a low score an 'extended' one, and an average score a 'diffuse' role orientation. The items selected for analysis are presented in Table 9.21. For each item, the percentage of teachers choosing each response category is given and the number of teachers choosing the option is also given in brackets. The response options are ranked so that the 'extended' response option is in the two left-hand columns and the 'restricted' response option to the right, the last two columns.

As indicated above, it was expected that favourable attitudes to the proposed reform as measured by the index means, will increase with increasingly 'extended' responses on each role orientation indicator. This hypothesis is fairly strongly supported (Table 9.24) by the data. There is a clear pattern in the mean scores for each item on the attitude scale with 'extended' responses on the occupational role orientation scale.

TABLE 9.23: SHOWING ALL TEACHERS' RESPONSES ON RESTRICTED-DIFFUSE-EXTENDED ROLE ORIENTATION

Role Orientation	Extended Role		Diffuse Role		Restricted Role	
Item Number and Text	St.A.	M.A.	Sl.A.	Sl.D.	M.D.	St.D.*
	1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>ORIENTATION TOWARDS COMMUNITY</u>						
62. Help community leaders plan community projects	36 (184)	24 (123)	18 (92)	13 (67)	4 (20)	5 (26)
65. Organise adult and literary classes for the adult community	36 (184)	40 (205)	11 (56)	11 (56)	2 (11)	-
67. Serve as a letter-writer and secretary to community leaders	33 (169)	27 (138)	16 (82)	22 (113)	2 (11)	-
70. Participate actively in the cultural activities of the community	22 (113)	36 (183)	16 (82)	13 (67)	13 (67)	-
81. Allow local residents to discuss their problems with him which they might not wish to discuss with their relatives	12 (61)	10 (51)	14 (72)	18 (92)	46 (236)	-
73. Help build up appropriate political attitudes and leadership qualities in the community	13 (67)	20 (102)	24 (123)	31 (159)	12 (61)	-
<u>ORIENTATION TOWARDS CHILDREN</u>						
63. Help children to acquire good manners	11 (56)	40 (205)	11 (56)	33 (169)	5 (26)	-

\* Abbreviations: St.A. - Strongly Agree      Sl.D. - Slightly Disagree  
M.A. - Moderately Agree      M.D. - Moderately Disagree  
Sl.A. - Slightly Agree      St.D. - Strongly Disagree

80. Encourage older children to teach younger sisters and brothers at home	42 (215)	52 (267)	4 (20)	2 (10)	-	-
68. Visit the homes of absentees and problem children to discuss their difficulties with their parents	53 (270)	42 (215)	4 (25)	(A) (2)	-	-

ORIENTATION TOWARDS SCHOOL SUBJECTS

74.* Spend more time and effort in teaching the subjects on the class timetable	31 (159)	44 (225)	11 (56)	7 (36)	7 (36)	-
78. Teach religious knowledge and moral education	11 (56)	9 (46)	9 (46)	13 (67)	27 (138)	31 (159)
86.* Teach the three Rs as his primary responsibility	20 (102)	27 (138)	20 (102)	22 (113)	11 (56)	-

ORIENTATION TOWARDS SCHOOL EXAMINATION

64.* Give extra classes in the evenings to help his pupils towards examination	51 (261)	36 (184)	7 (36)	4 (21)	2 (10)	-
72.* Teach children to pass examinations is his primary responsibility as a teacher	22 (113)	27 (137)	22 (113)	16 (82)	13 (67)	-
82.* Help his children to pass entrance examinations into secondary modern and grammar schools	42 (215)	33 (169)	13 (67)	7 (35)	5 (26)	-

(A) Less than one per cent

\* Items expressing 'Restricted' Role Orientation and therefore reversed.

The data also confirm our expectation that the vast majority of teachers will conceptualise their occupational role in very broad (or 'extended') terms.

#### 1. ORIENTATION TOWARDS THE COMMUNITY (EXTENDED)

The first nine items deal with the teachers' perception of their role in the local community. The distribution of responses shows clearly that most teachers in the sample define their role broadly. Only in one item, item 73, 'to build up appropriate political attitudes and leadership qualities in the community' do the teachers opt for the middle (or 'diffuse') position, with 55 per cent of the teachers either 'slightly agreeing' or 'slightly disagreeing'. We can only assume that teachers do not see political education as part of their job.

#### 2. ORIENTATION TOWARDS CHILDREN

The next three items attempt to measure the extent to which teachers saw the welfare of the children outside of their classrooms. The response distributions of the three items show, once again, that most teachers define their role broadly.

#### 3. ORIENTATION TOWARDS SCHOOL SUBJECTS

Items 74, 78, and 86 deal with the teachers' orientation towards school subjects. Inspection of the teachers' responses does not show any clear pattern. There may be two reasons for this. First, the items may be poorly suited for measuring the teachers' orientation to school subjects. Second, a more plausible explanation could be that a teacher can be highly dedicated to his subjects and at the same time highly

dedicated to his students; indeed, such a strong double commitment to the role may indicate a more total occupational involvement in teaching generally. In any case, primary school teachers are not trained as subject-specialists and this could have affected the response distributions. In item 78, 'teach religious knowledge and moral education', 297 teachers, 58 per cent of the total sample either chose the options 'moderately disagree' or 'strongly disagree'. One explanation could be that teachers in state-owned schools, where religion is not a subject on the school timetable, do not consider it their job to teach Religious Knowledge.

#### 4. ORIENTATION TOWARDS SCHOOL EXAMINATION

The last three items deal with the teachers' orientation towards school examinations. In Cameroon, as elsewhere in Africa, one of the biggest obstacles against various attempts to adapt education to local conditions is the almost extreme autonomy of the examination system. Sometimes what is taught does not arise out of such discussions as the ability of the pupils to grasp the concepts involved or the relevance of the topic, but rather on what topic the examiner in the Ministry of Education is likely to include in the examination paper. The response distributions for the three items show that most teachers regard helping their students pass examinations as an important part of their job. As I have indicated, this commitment to their students is quite in keeping with other attitudes so far analysed and with the objective reality of the society. The teachers' responses correspond to the 'evaluation and examination process' in the main attitude scale.

As I have already emphasised, the major interest in this question

is, however, to attempt to discover the extent to which the teachers' conceptualisation of their role might be associated with their attitudes to the proposed school reform. Table 9.24 shows the product-moment correlations<sup>1</sup> for the relationship between teachers' attitudes to the proposed school reform and teachers' role orientation scale.

TABLE 9.24: SHOWING THE PEARSON PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATION BETWEEN TEACHERS' ATTITUDES SCALE AND TEACHERS' ROLE ORIENTATION SCALE

Item Number and Text.	'Restricted'-'Diffuse'-'Extended' Scale	Product-Moment Correlations
62. Help community leaders plan community projects		.374
65. Organise adult and literacy classes for the adult community		.267
67. Serve as a letter-writer and secretary to community leaders		.313
70. Participate actively in the cultural activities of the community		.398
81. Allow local residents to discuss their problems with him which they might not wish to discuss with their relatives		.282
73. Help build up appropriate political attitudes and leadership qualities in the community		.349
63. Help children to acquire good manners		.213
80. Encourage older children to teach younger sisters and brothers at home		.235
68. Visit the homes of absentees and problem children to discuss their difficulties with their parents		.236
74. Spend more time and effort in teaching the subjects on the class timetable		.453
78. Teach Religious Knowledge and moral education		.218

1. As indicated earlier the product-moment correlations were computed using the (SPSS Program) set of packages.



86. Teach the three Rs as his primary responsibility	.411
64. Give extra classes in the evenings to help his pupils towards examination	.347
72. Teach children to pass examination is his primary responsibility as a teacher	.295
82. Help his children to pass entrance examinations into secondary modern and grammar schools	.371

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Inspection of the correlation ratios shows that the teachers' role orientation scale is fairly strongly associated with the teachers' attitudes to reform scale. Of the fifteen items, the only weakly associated with teachers' attitude to reform scale is item 63, 'help children to acquire good manners' (.213). The weak association may be that the item is poorly constructed to measure teachers' 'diffuse' role orientation.

Table 9.23 shows the inter-correlations among the fifteen items. Of the 105 predicted associations, only 10 are not statistically significant at the five per cent level of confidence, and all the significant coefficients are positive, though as the table also shows, there is considerable variation in the magnitude of the coefficients. The coefficients seem to suggest that there is a common dominant 'restricted-diffuse-extended' dimension. The analysis also seems to suggest and support the hypothesis that the more 'extended' (and less 'restricted') teachers are in defining their pedagogical task, the more favourable they are likely to be towards the proposed school reform.

TABLE 9.25: SHOWING MATRIX OF GAMMA COEFFICIENTS FOR DIFFERENT 'RESTRICTED-DIFFUSE-EXTENDED' ROLE ORIENTATION INDICATORS

Item Number and Clue to Content	Item Number															
	62	63	64	65	67	68	70	72	73	74	78	80	81	82	86	
62 Help community leaders to plan projects																
63 Help children to acquire good manners	24															
64 Give extra classes to help his children	21	17														
65 Organise adult and literacy classes	18	10	26													
67 Serve as a letter-writer to the community	11	12	(A)	25												
68 Visit homes of absentees and problem pupils	20	18	22	11	30											
70 Participate actively in community activities	19	09	16	13	21	19					(N = 512)					
72 Teach children to pass examinations	12	(A)	10	30	15	20	23									
73 Help build up appropriate political attitudes	14	20	06	(A)	13	10	21	11								
74 Spend more time on subjects on timetable	09	13	16	14	19	18	10	18	08							
78 Teach Religious Knowledge	14	18	24	08	(A)	26	11	33	20	37						
80 Encourage older children to help younger ones	22	(A)	19	15	28	12	17	19	12	(A)	12					
81 Allow local residents to confide in him	(A)	19	17	24	23	20	12	13	(A)	26	41	27				
82 Help children to go to secondary schools	06	16	23	16	31	14	26	17	32	36	29	36	44			
86 Teach the three Rs	16	21	10	25	21	(A)	15	28	35	12	(A)	29	38	22		

(A) The coefficient not significant at 5 per cent level of confidence.

ROLE ORIENTATION MEASURE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF PRIMARY TEACHERS

While some background data have already been presented on the sample in the previous sections, it is now necessary to provide comparison data on other variables and breakdowns not presented thus far. The specifications of the instrumental (or independent variables for the proposed analysis are shown on Table 9.21. The variables fall into two main groups, those which refer to teachers' characteristics ( $T_c$ ) and those that refer to school characteristics ( $S_c$ ). The first three tables (Tables 9.25,9.26,9.27; 9.28) present data relating to teachers' sub-groups mean scores on the role orientation.

As was indicated earlier, teachers were asked to scale their perception of the teaching role on a Likert-type scale with six points running from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. A high score denoted a 'restricted' role, an average score a 'diffuse' and a low score an 'extended' role orientation.

TABLE 9.26: SHOWING MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND RANGE FOR SAMPLE ON ROLE ORIENTATION MEASURE (N = 512)

Sample Category	N	Mean	SD	Range
1. All teachers	512	57.50	10.79	
2. All untrained (PT) teachers	132	56.42	11.2	Possible
3. Grade III trained teachers	188	58.09	11.4	20 to 120
4. Grade II trained teachers	165	57.38	9.8	
5. Grade I teachers	20	60.01	12.33	Actual
6. Others	7	57.79	5.62	53 to 77

The results of the means and standard deviations for the four major sub-groups of teachers are set out in three tables below.

**TABLE 9.27:** SHOWING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PROBATIONERS (UNTRAINED TEACHERS) AND GRADE III TRAINED TEACHERS ON ROLE ORIENTATION SCALE

Probationers			Grade III teachers			Difference
N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	
132	56.42	11.2	188	58.09	11.4	1.67

Calculated t = .766 Not significant.

**TABLE 9.28:** SHOWING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PROBATIONERS AND GRADE II TEACHERS ON ROLE ORIENTATION MEASURE

Probationers			Grade II teachers			Difference
N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	
132	56.42	11.2	165	57.38	9.8	0.96

Calculated t = .77 Not significant.

**TABLE 9.29:** SHOWING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PROBATIONERS AND GRADE I TEACHERS ON ROLE ORIENTATION MEASURE

Probationers			Grade I teachers			Difference
N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	
132	56.42	11.2	20	60.01	12.33	3.59

Calculated t = 1.22 Not significant.

The results from the above tables show that there is no significant difference between the various sub-groups of teachers in the definition of their role in English-speaking Cameroon. Even a more de-

tailed examination of mean scores analysed above through analysis of variance yields no statistical significance. An analysis of variance of the four distributions yields an F-ratio of 1.24, which, with degrees of freedom 3 and 508, is not significant at the five per cent level of confidence.

It is now possible to check the moderating effect that background variables have on the relationship between the teachers' role orientation and attitudes to the proposed school reform. Figure 9.1 shows the true complexity of this relationship. From Figure 9.1 it can be seen that the Pearson Product-moment correlation between the Role Orientational total score and the Teachers' Attitude score is  $-0.46$  which, with  $N = 512$ , is significantly beyond the 0.1% level of confidence. This correlation suggests that the more 'extended' an individual teacher perceives his role, the more likely that he is to favour the proposed school reform. Figure 9.1 also shows the relationship between the teachers' role orientation total score and other potentially moderating variables.

A more sophisticated form of analysis was utilised in order to discover the true nature of the relationship reported in Figure 9.1. Table 9.30 shows the results of a Stepwise Multiple Regression analysis using the teachers' role scale total score as the dependent variable.<sup>1</sup> Table 9.30 shows the stepwise multiple regression for all teachers; probationers, followed by grades III and II teachers; and grade I

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1. Such an analysis, termed using (SPSS computer program) ranks the independent variables entered into a multiple regression equation, by the percentage of the variance each accounts for in predicting the dependent variable, in this case teachers' role orientation scale.



teachers. For all teachers the analysis indicates that 21.8% of the variance is accounted for solely by the teachers' attitude scale score. The relationship is positive, indicating that the more favourable the teachers' attitudes are towards the proposed school reform, the more 'extended' they are likely to perceive their occupational role. With the addition of the variable 'age' some 22.8% of the variance is accounted for. The maximum significant number of variables which the equation predicts is six. Other additional variables did not have high enough 'F' ratio values to be significant. Thus maximally the six variables listed account for 27.5% of the variance of the dependent variable.

For probationers (untrained teachers) the multiple regression analysis indicates, however, that the 'location of the school' is the best predictor of the sub-group's role orientation total scale, accounting for 28% of the variance. An analysis of the second step in the equation indicates that the addition of the variable 'teacher's attitude scale', adds only 1%, giving a total variance accounted for as 29%. In all, only 4 significant steps were extracted and they account for 32.3% of the variance.

For grade III teachers the picture is similar to the whole sample. The multiple regression analysis indicates that the teachers' attitude scale is again the best single predictor of the sub-group's role scale total score, accounting for 31.9% of the variance. The six significant variables listed account for 37.8% of the variance of the dependent variable.

The results for grade II teachers are again similar. The teachers' attitude scale accounts for 18.4% of the variance dependent variable,

TABLE 9.30: SHOWING STEPWISE MULTIPLE REGRESSION USING ROLE ORIENTATION TOTAL AS THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE FOR ALL TEACHERS, PROBATIONERS, GRADES III and II <sup>(a)</sup>

Sample	Step No.	Variable Entered	Multiple		Increase
			R	R <sup>2</sup>	in R <sup>2</sup>
All Teachers (N = 512)	1	Teachers' Attitude Scale	.467	.218	.218
	2	Age	.477	.228	.010
	3	Teaching Experience	.485	.235	.007
	4	Location of School	.502	.252	.017
	5	Sex	.512	.262	.010
	6	Refresher/In-Service Course	.524	.275	.013
Probationers (Untrained Teachers) (N = 132)	1	Location of School	.529	.280	.280
	2	Teachers' Attitude Scale	.538	.290	.010
	3	Teaching Experience	.549	.301	.011
	4	Refresher/In-Service Course	.562	.323	.022
Teacher Grade III (N = 188)	1	Teachers' Attitude Scale	.565	.319	.319
	2	Age	.571	.326	.007
	3	Teaching Experience	.579	.335	.009
	4	Location of School	.586	.343	.008
	5	Sex	.599	.359	.016
	6	Knowledge of IPAR's Reform	.615	.378	.019
Teacher Grade II (N = 165)	1	Teachers' Attitude Scale	.429	.184	.184
	2	Age	.435	.189	.005
	3	Teaching Experience	.442	.195	.006
	4	Location of School	.457	.209	.014
	5	Sex	.469	.220	.011
	6	Knowledge of Reform	.478	.228	.008

(a) Grade I teachers were not entered for analysis. There were only 20 respondents.



and all the other five steps are also significant. Like the grade III sub-group, the sixth step significant is 'knowledge of IPAR's Reform', that is from those teachers who are either in experimental schools or have attended courses specially organised by IPAR for the purpose of disseminating information about the proposed reform.

Three out of the four sets of data presented in Table 9.30 show that the picture is fairly consistent. All three analyses support the hypothesis that the favourable attitudes to the proposed school reform is best predicted by the perception of the teachers of their occupational role orientation. The fact that data for untrained teachers are rather different from trained teachers has implication for teacher education discussed in the last chapter of this study.

THE THIRD QUESTION

DISSATISFACTION SCALE

The third and final question was concerned with the correlates of attitudes to change in terms of difficulties and satisfaction. Whether these two factors are in any way related to the way in which the teaching profession express their attitudes to work-related change (reform of the primary school).

The job 'difficulties' scale consisted of 15 items (described in some detail in Chapter Eight) were adopted for this study. The teachers were asked to say whether the particular difficulty did or did not apply to them in their job as a teacher. Three categories of response were allowed: 'always applies', 'sometimes applies', and 'never applies'. The responses were coded, for computational purposes, as 3; 2; or 1 respectively. A total difficulties scale score can be derived, therefore, by the addition of the score on each item a maximum of 45. Such an additive process will give a generalised description of level of job difficulty for each individual.

Table 9.31 shows some basic data on the difficulty scale total score. The overall mean score, for the entire sample (N = 512) on the scale was 24.83, while the overall mean for untrained teachers was 27.23. Such data seem to suggest that untrained teachers reported lower levels of overall job difficulty than trained teachers. A further analysis was undertaken to see whether the difference between the two means is statistically significant.

Table 9.32 shows that the difference is significant beyond 0.1% level of confidence. A similar analysis was conducted for the three trained teachers' sub-groups, but no significant difference emerged between them. With no hard evidence, we can only assume that the reported higher level of overall job difficulty among trained teachers

**TABLE 9.31: SHOWING MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS AND RANGE FOR SAMPLE ON DISSATISFACTION SCALE**

Category	N	Mean	SD	Range
Probationers	132	27.23	6.7	Possible
Grade III teachers	188	24.22	7.1	15 to 45
Grade II teachers	165	23.55	5.5	
Grade I teachers	20	24.83	9.2	Actual
Others	7	26.34	4.8	15 to 36
All teachers	512	24.83	6.53	

**TABLE 9.32: SHOWING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PROBATIONERS (UNTRAINED TEACHERS) AND TRAINED TEACHERS FOR SAMPLE ON DIFFICULTY SCALE**

Probationers			Trained Teachers			Difference
N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	
132	27.23	6.7	373	23.96	6.51	3.27

Calculated t = 4.88 Significant beyond 1% level.

reflects their deeper knowledge of teaching and teacher effectiveness in contrast to the superficial knowledge of untrained teachers who have no image of either an 'ideal' teaching situation or teacher.

A rank ordering of the fifteen items is to be found in Tables 9.31, 9.32 and 9.33. It will be seen first, that trained teachers express themselves more strongly, rank one dissatisfaction for trained teachers having a mean score of 2.29 (SD .67); rank one for untrained teachers having a mean score of 2.05 (SD .92). Second, the ordering of these dissatisfactions is substantially different between trained

and untrained teachers.

As Table 9.33 shows, the whole sample of 512 teachers has a mean score of 2.18 (SD .67) on rank one item, 'poor pay'. It is

TABLE 9.33: SHOWING RANK ORDER OF DIFFICULTY SCALE FOR THE WHOLE SAMPLE

Rank	Item Content	Mean	SD
1	Poor pay	2.20	.68
2	Inadequate training for the job	2.12	.64
3	Inferior working conditions	1.93	.73
4	Delay in paying out salaries	1.89	.76
5	Heavy work load	1.83	.67
6	Shortages of books, equipment, aids, etc.	1.81	.72
7	Few prospects for promotion	1.76	.69
8	Insufficient responsibility	1.65	.65
9	Classes too large to manage	1.63	.74
10	Too frequent transfers	1.63	.74
11	No respect from adults	1.58	.77
12	Insufficient help from educational Inspectors	1.50	.66
13	Poor relationship with educational administrators	1.46	.78
14	Too frequent changes in the curriculum	1.41	.63
15	Poor discipline in schools	1.41	.78

perhaps natural that 'poor pay' in the teaching profession should be ranked first. When talking with teachers about their profession one regularly hears complaints about their salaries. Over 80 teachers used the space at the end of the questionnaire booklet to complain about their financial position, and particularly at the differences in salaries between government teachers and voluntary agencies' teachers. This, with poor conditions of service, late payment of

salaries (ranked among the first four places), poor housing, and a sense of isolation for the majority of teachers in rural areas, accounts for the low morale in schools.

TABLE 9.34: SHOWING RANK ORDER OF DISSATISFACTION FOR TRAINED TEACHERS ON DIFFICULTY SCALE (N = 373)

Rank	Item Content	Mean	SD
1	Poor pay	2.29	.78
2	Delay in paying out salaries	2.20	.76
3	Inferior working conditions	2.08	.71
4	Shortage of books, aids, and equipment	1.93	.68
5	Inadequate training for the job	1.85	.76
6	Heavy work load	1.81	.66
7	Few prospects for promotion	1.75	.65
8	Too frequent transfers	1.68	.62
9	Insufficient responsibility	1.68	.64
10	Classes too large to manage	1.61	.59
11	No respect from adults	1.58	.57
12	Poor relationship with educational administrators	1.49	.53
13	Insufficient help from Inspectors of education	1.49	.51
14	Too frequent changes in curriculum	1.43	.49
15	Poor discipline	1.39	.55

Cameroon's (possibly all Africa's) greatest problem in the field of primary teacher education is not that of raising the quality of its initial training, but of keeping its teachers in the field interested, active and efficient. In this context it is interesting to note that the first three ranked items deal with the teachers' financial and social difficulties rather than with educational or professional inadequacies within the system. It seems from this that it is not just a

question of keeping teachers up to date with new curricular changes or preparing them adequately in academic and professional matters, though this is important, it is the necessity to keep up morale.

**TABLE 9.35:** SHOWING RANK ORDER OF DISSATISFACTION (DIFFICULTIES) FOR PROBATIONERS (UNTRAINED TEACHERS) ON DIFFICULTY SCALE (N = 132)

Rank	Item Content	Mean	SD
1	Poor pay	2.05	.73
2	Delay in paying out salaries	2.02	.77
3	Heavy work load	1.90	.71
4	Inadequate training for the job	1.88	.69
5	Few prospects for promotion	1.88	.65
6	Classes too large to manage	1.83	.61
7	Shortage of books, equipment, aids, etc.	1.72	.58
8	No respect from adults	1.66	.63
9	Insufficient responsibility	1.61	.53
10	Too frequent transfers	1.55	.67
11	Poor discipline in schools	1.55	.66
12	Insufficient help with educational Inspectors	1.55	.62
13	Inferior working conditions	1.47	.59
14	Too frequent changes in curriculum	1.44	.68
15	Poor relationship with educational administrators	1.44	.56

A similar analysis was carried out according to the five geographical locations of the teachers: teachers in remote areas (103); teachers in marginal areas (101); teachers in poorly served rural areas (96); teachers in well served rural areas (90); and teachers in urban and semi-urban areas (122). As expected, teachers in remote and rural areas express

themselves more strongly, rank one dissatisfaction for them having a mean score of 2.39 (SD .69). In contrast to teachers in urban areas, teachers in remote and rural areas complained about 'shortages of books, equipment and other teaching aids', and 'poor relationship with educational inspectors and administrators'. These are ranked fairly highly. It is not surprising that teachers in remote areas should complain about lack of books and other teaching aids. It is a well known fact that when books and other school equipment are bought, they are first distributed among the urban schools. Unlike 'poor pay' and other status difficulties ranked, 'shortages of books and other teaching aids', impair efficiency on the job in rural areas.

Table 9.35 shows the rank orders, by mean score on individual items, of the dissatisfaction scale, for probationers, grades III, II and I teachers. While the rank orders are not substantially different overall, certain items are ranked differently by the four groups. All ranks, however, may be regarded as a listing of job dissatisfactions by their relative importance. In other words, 'poor pay' could be regarded as the major dissatisfaction for all groups, while 'poor working relationship with educational administrators' and 'too frequent changes in curriculum', both ranked twelfth for probationers or untrained teachers; 'poor discipline in schools' for grade III teachers; 'too frequent changes in curriculum' for grade II teachers; and again 'poor discipline in schools' for grade I teachers are the least important dissatisfactions in teaching.

The major interest of this section of the research is, however, not to investigate teachers' dissatisfactions and difficulties, though such an investigation will be useful to educational administrators, but



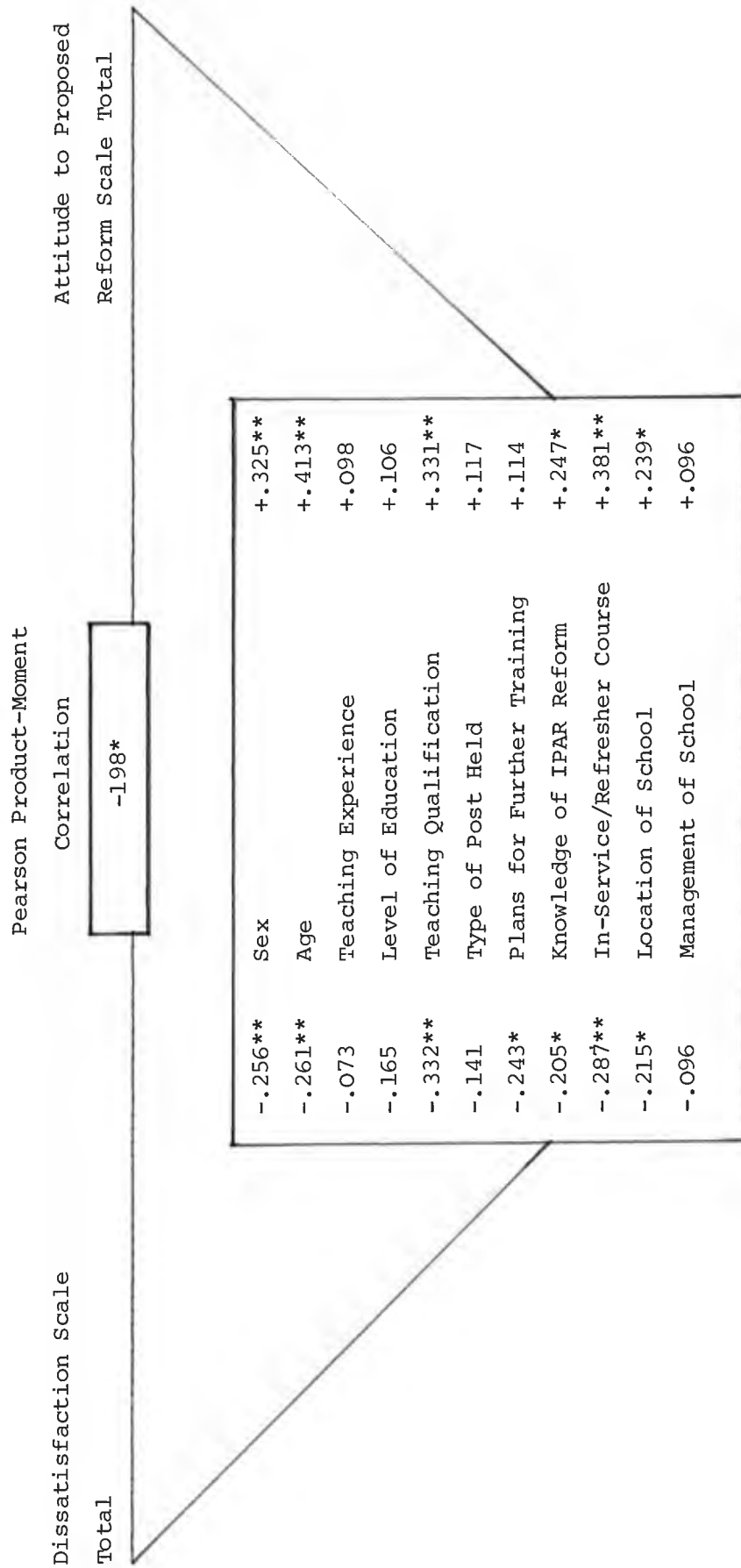
TABLE 9.36: SHOWING RANK ORDER OF DISSATISFACTION ITEMS BY MEAN SCORES FOR ALL UNTRAINED TEACHERS, GRADE III TEACHERS, GRADE II TEACHERS AND GRADE I TEACHERS

Primary teachers' sub-groups Item Content*	P.T.		Grade III		Grade II		Grade I	
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank
Poor pay	2.05	1	2.27	1	2.28	1	2.56	1
Inadequate training for the job	1.88=	4	1.80	6	1.80	6=	2.05	5
Inferior working conditions	1.47	11	2.06	2	2.07	2	2.40	3
Delay in paying out salaries	2.02	2	1.91	3	2.19	3	2.50	2
Heavy work load	1.90	3	1.83	5	1.80	6=	2.01	6
Shortages of books, equipments, aids	1.72	7	1.91	4	1.90	4	2.16	4
Few prospects for promotion	1.88=	5	1.70	8	1.80	6=	1.95	7=
Insufficient responsibility	1.61	9	1.50	11	1.86	5	1.85	9=
Classes too large to manage	1.83	6	1.66	10	1.54	8	1.70	11
Too frequent transfers	1.55	10=	1.74	7	1.58	7	1.95	7=
No respect from adults	1.66	8	1.67	9	1.41	12	1.76	10
Insufficient help from educational Inspectors	1.55	10=	1.44	13=	1.51	10	1.87	8
Poor working relationship with educational administrators	1.44=	12=	1.44	13=	1.53	9	1.85	9=
Too frequent changes in curriculum	1.44=	12=	1.47	12	1.33	13	1.67	12
Poor discipline in schools	1.55	10=	1.32	14	1.44	11	1.60	13
	N = 132		N = 188		N = 165		N = 20	

\* Arrangement based on the ranking on Table 9.33.

to attempt to discover the extent to which these dissatisfaction or job difficulties might be associated with an individual teacher's attitudes to educational reform. Figure 9.2 shows that the relationship between the difficulties and dissatisfaction, and the attitude

FIGURE 9.2: SHOWING THE PEARSON PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN DISSATISFACTION SCALE TOTAL AND TOTAL ATTITUDE SCALE FOR THE PROPOSED SCHOOL REFORM WITH SOME IMMEDIATE VARIABLES WHICH ARE MODERATING THIS RELATIONSHIP FOR THE SAMPLE (N = 512)



\* Significant at 5% Level

\*\* Significant at 1% Level.

scale is just about significant at the 5% level of confidence. From the same figure (9.2) it can be seen that the Pearson Product-moment correlation between Dissatisfaction Total score and the Attitude scale  $-.198$  which, with  $N = 512$ , is just significant at the 0.5% level of confidence. Descriptively this weak correlation indicates that dissatisfaction is unlikely to affect teachers' attitudes to the issues contained in the proposed school reform.

A close examination of the individual items in the dissatisfaction scale was considered necessary. By examining the individual items in this scale it may be possible to discover why the relationship between it and the attitude scale is so weakly associated. Table 9.37 shows the correlations of the individual items of the job dissatisfaction scale with the attitude scale (question one). As can be seen from Table 9.37 there are only two significant correlations in this matrix, 'Inadequate training for the job' and 'Insufficient help from educational administrators'. There is no immediate explanation for the weak association between the dissatisfaction scale and the attitude scale. It could be that the items are not directly related to the reform issues, and therefore not good predictors of teachers' attitudes to the proposed school reform.

In Figure 9.1 we indicated that the relationship between dissatisfaction scale and the attitude scale which is  $.198$ , is significant at the 5% level of confidence. However, to attempt to claim any practical significance from  $.198$  would clearly be erroneous. A sophisticated form of analysis must be utilised in order to discover the true nature of the relationship. Table 9.38 shows the results of such an analysis - a Stepwise Multiple Regression analysis using the dissatisfaction total

TABLE 9.37: SHOWING CORRELATIONS FOR DISSATISFACTIONS WITH ATTITUDES SCALE TO REFORM (N = 512)

Item Number and Text	
93. Poor pay	.075
89. Inadequate training for the job	.198*
98. Delay in paying out salaries	-.108
91. Inferior working conditions	.166
88. Heavy work load	.096
97. Shortage of books, equipment, aids, etc.	-.191
92. Few prospects for promotion	.181
94. Classes too large	-.079
101. Too frequent transfers	.191
87. Insufficient responsibility	-.073
90. Poor relationship with educational administrators	-.033
100. Insufficient help from educational Inspectors	.193*
96. Too frequent changes in curriculum	-.041
99. Poor discipline in schools	.175

\* Significant at the 5% level of confidence.

score as the dependent variable.

Table 9.38 shows the Stepwise Multiple regressions for all teachers, followed by probationers (or untrained teachers) and all trained teachers. For all teachers the analysis indicates that only 3.8% of the variance is accounted for the dissatisfaction scale. The relationship is negative. With the addition of the variable 'location of school', some 4% of the variance is added.

For untrained teachers the multiple regression analysis indicates that the dissatisfaction scale again accounts for 3.9% of the variance. As in the case for all teachers, the relationship is negative. The

TABLE 9.38: SHOWING RESULTS OF STEPWISE MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS USING DISSATISFACTION SCALE TOTAL AS DEPENDENT VARIABLE FOR ALL TEACHERS, ALL PROBATIONERS<sup>(a)</sup> AND ALL TRAINED TEACHERS

Sample	Step No.	Variable Entered	Multiple		Increase in R <sup>2</sup>
			R	R <sup>2</sup>	
All Teachers N = 512	1	Dissatisfaction Scale	.198	.038	.038
	2	Location of School	.280	.078	.040
	3	Teaching Qualification	.292	.085	.007
	4	Sex	.302	.091	.006
	5	Age	.317	.100	.009
	6	Knowledge of Reform	.336	.113	.001
Probationers (Untrained) N = 132	1	Dissatisfaction Scale	.199	.039	.39
	2	Location of School	.246	.060	.021
	3	Plans for Further Training	.261	.068	.008
	4	Refresher/In-Service Course	.274	.075	.007
	5	Knowledge of Reform	.292	.085	.010
	6	Educational Level	.315	.098	.013
ALL TRAINED TEACHERS N = 373	1	Dissatisfaction Scale	.201	.040	.40
	2	Location of School	.235	.055	.015
	3	Age	.261	.068	.013
	4	Teaching Qualification	.290	.084	.016
	5	Sex	.303	.092	.008
	6	Knowledge of Reform	.321	.103	.011

(a) 'Others' defined as secondary school leavers with no teaching qualification have not been included in this analysis. There were seven of them.

second step in the equation indicates that the addition of the variable 'location of school' adds only 2.1%, giving a total variance accounted for as 6%.

For all trained teachers (which included grade III, II and I teachers), the picture is not very different from the rest. The dissatisfaction scale again accounts for 4% of the variance. With the addition of the second step, the 'location of school' variable, only some 1.5% of the variance is added. In all, the six significant variables account for only 6.3% of the variance in the dissatisfaction scale total score.

The stepwise multiple regression analysis shows that the dissatisfaction scale total score for all teachers in the sample is only weakly predicted by the attitude scale total score. But, perhaps the more important result revealed by this computation, is the fact that the variable 'location of school' shows very strongly in all the three sections of the table. This suggests that 'location of school' (and hence the teachers) is a very important source of dissatisfaction among all grades of teachers. The question which poses itself is why is the 'location of school' such a strong source of dissatisfaction among all grades of teachers?

Perhaps the first point of fact that ought to be made is that from the relatively stimulating community of the training college, most young teachers find themselves posted to very remote schools. Here, as I discovered from the questionnaire (question 8: How long have you been teaching in your present school?), most teachers have been marooned for long periods without professional stimulation from their colleagues, without books, without any social contacts of their own educational

standard or any leisure entertainments other than the village festival. It is not surprising that in these conditions many quickly become apathetic and disillusioned. Esprit is low, reflecting low job and social need satisfaction.

The second point is that although research evidence is scarce, low morale is a valid indicator of the degree of enthusiasm with which the teachers are likely to go about their teaching job. From the evidence collected during visits I made to various schools, there is no doubt that low morale among teachers is one of the greatest problems facing Cameroon in the field of primary school. The results in this section seem to confirm these observations.

THE FOURTH QUESTION

SATISFACTION SCALE



JOB SATISFACTION AS A PREDICTOR TO ATTITUDES TOWARDS REFORM

The presentation of the results concerning the relationship between the job satisfaction scale and teachers' attitudes towards the reform scale will follow closely the form used previously in the presentation of the job dissatisfaction data. The job satisfaction scale consisted of eight items. The coding was identical to the coding for the dissatisfaction scale, giving a satisfaction scale total score of  $8 \times 3 = 24$ . The additive process will give a generalised description of the level of job satisfaction for each individual.

TABLE 9.39: SHOWING MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND RANGE FOR SAMPLE ON SATISFACTION SCALE (N = 512)

Category	N	Mean	SD	Range
Probationers (or untrained teachers)	132	17.63	6.09	Possible
Grade III trained teachers	188	16.37	7.13	8 to 24
Grade II trained teachers	165	16.75	6.25	
Grade I trained teachers	20	16.81	6.74	Actual
Others	7	17.09	6.53	12 to 20
All teachers	512	16.85	6.55	

Table 9.37 shows some basic data on the satisfaction scale total score. The mean for the entire sample was 16.85 (SD 6.55). A one-way analysis of variance between the four main groups yields an F-ratio of 1.31, which is not significant. Thus, unlike the dissatisfaction scale, where probationers reported statistically significant lower levels of dissatisfactions, there seems to be no difference between the groups as far as job satisfactions are concerned.

TABLE 9.40: SHOWING RESULT OF ONE-WAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE  
BETWEEN PROBATIONERS, GRADES III, II, AND I TEACHERS  
ON JOB SATISFACTION SCALE

Source of Variance	Sums of Squares	Degree of Freedom	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Between	10906.8	3	3635.6	0.23
Within	787313.6	508	15498.3	Not significant at 5% level of confidence
Total	798220.4	512		

It would be unreasonable to expect, after the analysis in the preceding chapter which showed that teachers were generally dissatisfied with teaching, that different groups of teachers would report different levels of satisfaction with the teaching profession.

When the Stepwise Multiple regression analysis is produced, using the job satisfaction scale total score as the dependent variable in the equation (Table 9.41) entering the teachers' attitude scale and biographical and school variables as the independent variable, a picture very similar to the difficulty scale total score emerges. Although Table 9.41 shows that for all teachers, the best single predictor of the job satisfaction scale is the teachers' attitude scale score, the variance of 4.5% is very small, though significant at the 5% level of confidence, with an F-ratio value 1.85.

For untrained teachers (or probationers) the results are somewhat different as the best predictor of the job satisfaction is the location of the school where the probationer is teaching. The relationship is positive, suggesting that untrained teachers are happier when posted to urban schools than to rural ones. However, only 1% of the variance

TABLE 9.41: SHOWING RESULTS OF STEPWISE MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS USING JOB SATISFACTION TOTAL SCALE AS DEPENDENT VARIABLE FOR ALL TEACHERS, PROBATIONERS, AND TRAINED TEACHERS

Sample	Step No.	Variable Entered	Multiple		Increase in R <sup>2</sup>
			R	R <sup>2</sup>	
All Teachers N = 512	1	Job Satisfaction Scale	.211	.045	.045
	2	Sex	.234	.055	.010
	3	Age	.244	.060	.005
	4	Teaching Experience	.252	.064	.004
	5	Location of School	.267	.071	.007
	6	School Denomination	.279	.078	.007
Probationers (Untrained) N = 132	1	Location of School	.315	.100	.100
	2	Sex	.338	.114	.014
	3	Job Satisfaction Scale	.342	.117	.003
	4	Educational Level	.349	.122	.005
All Trained Teachers N = 373	1	Job Satisfaction Scale	.205	.042	.042
	2	Sex	.226	.051	.009
	3	Age	.235	.055	.004
	4	Teaching Experience	.239	.057	.002
	5	Location of School	.246	.061	.004
	6	School Denomination	.255	.065	.004

is accounted for by this variable. With the addition of the second step, the sex variable, some 10.4% of the variance is added. As the table shows, only four steps are statistically significant, no other step is, the F-ratio being too low.

The results for trained teachers are very similar to the results for all teachers. The teachers' attitudes scale accounts for just 4.2% of the variance of the dependent variable. The second step

entered is the variable 'sex', which accounts for just .9%, giving a total variance of 5.1%. The third, fourth, and fifth steps of the analysis are significant, but not the sixth, 'school denomination'. This suggests strongly that 'sex', 'age', 'teaching experience' and 'location of school' are associated with teachers' satisfaction. The correlations are all negative suggesting, in the case of age, that older teachers are more satisfied with teaching than younger ones.

Taking all three sets of data presented in Table 9.45 the picture is fairly consistent with the dissatisfaction scale. Only two of the three analyses support the hypothesis that the general level of reported job satisfaction is best predicted by the teachers' attitude scale and even then the support is weak. The third analysis is best predicated by background (or school characteristics) variables.

Since the major interest of this question is to investigate the extent to which job satisfaction of teachers might be associated with their attitudes to reform and to work-related change, a closer examination of the individual items in the job satisfaction scale seems appropriate.

It should be remembered that three categories of response were allowed: always applies; sometimes; and never applies. The responses were coded, for computational purposes, as 3; 2; or 1 respectively. As indicated already, a total job satisfaction scale score can be derived. But, here we are concerned with the mean score of each of the eight items. Table 9.42 shows the rank orders, by mean score, of the job satisfaction items, for all teachers.

TABLE 9.42: SHOWING RANK ORDER OF JOB SATISFACTION SCALE FOR THE SAMPLE (N = 512)

Rank	Item Content	Mean	SD
1	It is a responsible job	2.72	.63
2	Gives you a sense of achievement	2.48	.69
3	Makes you use your intelligence	2.35	.72
4	It gives you a chance to use your initiative	2.24	.75
5	It is interesting	1.94	.67
6	It is exciting	1.92	.77
7	It is varied	1.80	.65
8	You feel at the centre of things	1.77	.48

TABLE 9.43: SHOWING RANK ORDER OF JOB SATISFACTION SCALE FOR PROBATIONERS (OR UNTRAINED TEACHERS) (N = 132)

Rank	Item Content	Mean	SD
1	Makes you use your intelligence	2.95	.78
2	It gives you a chance to use your initiative	2.84	.74
3	Gives you a sense of achievement	2.78	.67
4	It is a responsible job	2.65	.78
5	It is varied	2.60	.61
6	It is exciting	2.53	.55
7	It is interesting	2.44	.68
8	You feel you are at the centre of things	2.32	.52

Table 9.44 shows the rank ordering of job satisfactions for untrained teachers. It will be seen first that untrained teachers express themselves less strongly than the whole sample, 'Makes you use your intelligence', is ranked first with a mean score of 2.95 (SD .78), which is nearly 3.00 the maximum for the item. This is

**TABLE 9.44:** SHOWING RANK ORDER OF JOB SATISFACTION ITEMS BY MEAN SCORES FOR ALL TEACHERS, GRADES III, II, AND I TEACHERS

Item Content	All Teachers		Grade III		Grade II		Grade I	
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank
It is a responsible job	2.72	1	2.67	1	2.41	2	2.53	1
Makes you use your intelligence	2.35	3	2.15	4	2.33	3	2.18	3
It gives you a chance to use your initiative	2.24	4	2.29	3	1.87	5	2.05	4
Gives you a sense of achievement	2.48	2	2.35	2	2.52	1	2.37	2
It is varied	1.80	7	1.93	5	1.70	6	1.83	6
It is interesting	1.94	5	1.69	7	1.95	4	1.94	5
It is exciting	1.92	6	1.84	6	1.69	7	1.76	7
You feel at the centre of things	1.77	8	1.57	8	1.62	8	1.69	8

**TABLE 9.45:** SHOWING RANK ORDERS OF JOB SATISFACTIONS AND CORRELATIONS WITH TEACHERS' ATTITUDE SCALE TOTAL SCORE FOR THE SAMPLE (N = 512)

Rank	Item Content	
1.	It is a responsible job	.176
2.	Gives you a sense of achievement	.222*
3.	Makes you use your intelligence	.231*
4.	It gives you a chance to use your initiative	.188
5.	It is interesting	-.089
6.	It is exciting	.143
7.	It is varied	.168
8.	You feel at the centre of things	-.013

\* Significant at the 5% Level of confidence.

not surprising as most untrained teachers have always used entry into teaching as a stepping-stone to further their education through teacher training. Second, the ordering of these satisfactions is substantially different from that of the whole sample.

The results for all teachers are somewhat similar to those reported earlier by the dissatisfaction scale, that only two items are significant in the matrix. The results suggest that these items are not really good predictors for teachers' attitudes to school reform. Two of the items are negatively correlated. On the other hand, the results are consistent with those obtained on the 'dissatisfaction scale', and this seems to suggest (as indicated by the rather moderate expression of satisfaction) that morale among many teachers is generally low.

During the last ten years the quality of the teaching force has improved dramatically as a larger and larger proportion of untrained teachers have been trained, and secondary school leavers who have not secured places in secondary schools have entered teacher training colleges to train as teachers. But, as overall standards of teaching qualifications have risen, so have complaints about teachers' morale. There are probably two reasons for this:

First, the more trained teachers have become, the more aware they have become of the inadequacies of the system in terms of material (books, tools, desks, classrooms) and human support. Second, as teachers have become more trained, so have they expressed dissatisfaction with their pay which has risen slower than prices and the cost of living generally. Those teaching in missionary schools have resented, as was indicated earlier, the difference in pay between them and their counter-

parts in state owned schools. It seems from these results that efforts to motivate the teaching force must form part of the overall strategy for primary school reform.

SUMMARY AND TEST OF HYPOTHESES

- H-1 The primary teachers' attitudes towards the different reform issues will be correlated to reflect a common attitudinal dimension of general reform-mindedness. This hypothesis was confirmed.
- H-2 The younger the primary school teacher, the more reform-minded he is likely to be. This hypothesis was also confirmed.
- H-3 The greater the amount of formal pedagogical training primary teachers have received the more reform-minded they are likely to be.  
There was a significant difference at .01 level of confidence between all trained teachers and all untrained teachers. There was no significant difference between grades II and III teachers. There was, however, a significant difference at the 5% level of confidence between grades I and II and/or III teachers.
- H-4 Primary teachers with secondary school education will be less reform-minded than primary teachers from teacher training colleges.  
No satisfactory results because the number of secondary school leavers teaching at the primary level in my sample was too small (7) for any statistical analysis.
- H-5 Teachers who entered training college because of a desire to obtain professional qualification will be more reform-minded than those who entered it as a stepping-stone to other professions. No satisfactory results, again, because the teachers who indicated the latter choice were too few.



- H-6 Teachers who know the aims and objectives of ruralisation will be more reform-minded than others. Knowledge of ruralisation per se was not confirmed, but teachers in experimental schools were more favourable to the curricula reforms.
- H-7 Teachers who have attended in-service and/or refresher courses on the reform will be more reform-minded than those who have not. This hypothesis was confirmed. The difference was at .01 level of confidence.
- H-8 Teachers in the experimental schools will be more reform-minded than others. This hypothesis was confirmed. The difference was significant at .001 level of confidence.
- H-9 Headmasters will be more favourable to the reform proposals than ordinary classroom teachers. No satisfactory results because of the small number of headmasters in the sample.
- H-10 The more 'extended' primary teachers perceive their occupational role, the more reform-minded they are likely to be. This hypothesis was confirmed. The difference was significant at .01 level of confidence.
- H-11 Teachers who score high on job satisfaction scale will be more reform-minded than those who score low. This hypothesis was rejected. There was no significant difference between the two groups.
- H-12 Teachers in schools with favourable conditions of services will be more reform-minded than teachers in less favourable conditions. This hypothesis was also rejected.

'The worst thing is to rush into  
action before the consequences  
have been properly debated.'

(Pericles)

#### CHAPTER TEN

RESULTS, DISCUSSIONS, SUGGESTIONS AND CONCLUSION

#### 5.10.1 Introduction

In order of presentation this study has (a) analysed the historical, social and environmental factors which have traditionally influenced school reform, but more importantly, teachers' attitudes to educational change or reform; (b) has categorised and assessed the nature of the proposals for ruralisation initiated in the 1970s, and finally, has surveyed the attitudes of primary school teachers towards some major aspects of the ruralisation programme.

As in this summarising Chapter Ten four things would be attempted, it was felt convenient to divide the chapter into four short sections. The first section attempts, with hindsight, to outline some perceived shortcomings in research design and methodology which must be taken into account in drawing conclusions from the data reported. The second section is concerned with a summary which is drawn directly from the data presented in Chapter Nine. The third section is concerned with those conclusions which may present the action implications. The final section deals generally with what could be entitled the nature and content of the reform.

#### 5.10.2 Perceived Shortcomings of the Study

For a research student, often the most important outcome of a research study is the experience that results from errors and omissions which were made when designing it and also realising what additional important evidence could have been gathered if more time and resources had been at his disposal. In the case of the research reported here, there are at least three areas of improvement. The first of these shortcomings concerns the historical analysis in Chapter Three where

attempts were made to describe the curriculum in primary school today and how it evolved, for as my analysis proceeded it became increasingly evident that the real curriculum in a school is dependent on the knowledge, skills, attitudes and motivation of teachers which in themselves are to a considerable degree dependent on how they have been trained. It would have been valuable, therefore, to describe teacher education, the curriculum of teacher education, its historical genesis, its present nature and the pressure of change being exerted on it. Future research may look, in more detail, into this connection between teacher education and teachers' attitudes towards the ruralisation of education.

The second omission concerns the nature of the sample and the omission of managerial and other executive personnel from the sample. Although, as was indicated and generally accepted, teachers are the main adopters and transmitters of the new educational content and practices, the extent of the commitment of managerial and other executive personnel to the proposed reform is an index of the sort of material and human support that teachers can expect from them. For example, from my interview with teachers in their schools, there was concern among some of them that they were not getting enough support and information about the ruralisation programme. This could either be because the administrative officials are themselves unenthusiastic about the programme or because the resources for linking information from the Institute of Primary School Reform to teachers in schools is limited. The acceptance of the goals and objectives of the ruralisation programme by administrators working in the programme is a question which could profitably have been examined at the same time as surveying the attitude of teachers. Any further research should attempt to balance

the design by having both teachers and administrative officials in the sample. In the final analysis the success of the ruralisation programme would depend not only on teachers' understanding and attitudes towards the proposed reform, but also on the attitudes and commitment of the administrative officials to the programme.

A third improvement which should be considered in the planning of any further investigation would be the widening of the scope of the 'reform-mindedness' concept to include assessment of the capacity of the teachers to change and adapt to new situations. Since the new ruralisation teaching materials being produced purport to represent a new style of teaching (specifically student involvement, as opposed to rote memory which teachers themselves learned by), it is necessary to study the extent to which favourable attitudes towards reform issues can be translated into innovatory behaviour amongst the teachers in their classrooms.

On the other hand, the problem of the methodology to be used in such an assessment is quite daunting. Apart from the theoretical problem involved in attempting to establish a relationship between favourable attitudes and innovatory behaviour in the classroom, there remain substantial problems in the development of reliable and valid measuring scales. However, despite these theoretical and methodological problems, the addition of scales to measure the ability of teachers to change, or to adapt to new pedagogical requirements, is of such importance that it needs, at least, to be attempted.

The final and perhaps major improvement which should be considered in the planning of any further research would be the widening of the sample to include the attitudes of the pupils to the new orientation

in their curriculum; and the attitudes and opinions of parents to the purpose of the school, using a number of criteria (for instance, the extent to which parents are satisfied with the education the schools are giving to their children). It is now my belief that in any study of this kind some efforts should, at least, be made to enable the researcher to sound the opinions of parents - as in the final analysis teachers would seek to satisfy parents rather than government.

In Chapter One it was noted that very extensive and complicated statistical analysis would be kept to the minimum in this study, as complicated statistical equations, impressive though they might look, tend to give the researcher a false sense of achievement and a belief in the once-and-for-all crucial study. But, as I also indicated in the General Introduction, the closer a piece of educational research comes to satisfying the ideal situation, with all strictness and controls, and sophisticated analysis, the further away in practice is this from the actual situation in schools. This has led to disillusionment with educational research when it was found that confirmed hypothesis did not work in practice, or cherished ones were unconfirmed.

The final caution must be that although multiple regression analysis has been used extensively in Chapter Nine as a tool for discovering the partial relationship between attitudes and other predictors of attitudes such as role orientation, dissatisfaction or satisfaction, and other background variables, other statistical analyses have not been used to cross-check the data presented in Chapter Nine. To the purist, then, the results must remain suspect, but to the practical researcher the results shed some useful light upon teachers' attitudes towards the proposed school reform.

### 5.10.3 A Summary of Conclusions Derived from the Data

#### 5.10.3.1 Introduction

Before I draw some tentative conclusions from the data presented on teachers' attitudes in Chapter Nine, it is perhaps necessary to remind the reader of the background against which these conclusions would be made. The detail background was provided in the first two parts (Chapters Two to Six) of this thesis. It would also be necessary to summarise briefly the kind of reform that was intended and how much of it demanded of teachers and assess the different pressures which have emerged and how they have (or might have) affected teachers' attitudes to the proposed changes.

In Chapter Two I described the context within which curriculum reform would have to operate with particular emphasis on the economic, social, political, and the demographic realities of Cameroon. From this brief analysis it emerged, among other things, that within Cameroon society there are enormous wage gaps and gaps in material standards of living. Yet mobility between these classes of society is relatively easy through school education. There is as a result an enormous popular demand for education, particularly for higher education. This puts pressure on teachers to provide that kind of education which would enable children to advance to secondary education.

In Chapter Three I attempted to analyse the primary school curriculum from the founding of the first recognisable schools to the achievement of independence in 1961 and after, in an attempt to isolate factors which have affected the school curriculum during the seventy-seven years of formal education in Cameroon. I noted how the Christian missionary tradition moulded and shaped attitudes to the primary school

and its curriculum and in particular how two conflicting traditions of adaptation to rural life and preparation for wage employment can be traced, and how the teachers, parents and children rejected the one and accepted the other.

In Chapter Four I analysed the primary school curriculum in schools, its present nature and the pressure for change which was exerted on it. I showed why most of the curricula were inappropriate for a rural society like Cameroon. In Chapter Five I described in some detail the IPAR proposals and their shortcomings. Finally, in Chapter Six I analysed the characteristics of the teachers who will teach in the 'new' schools. In the same chapter and throughout the thesis I have attempted to show how poorly educated the teachers are, how although poorly trained, or in most schools untrained, they face large classes and long hours, and how frequently most of them perform their work virtually isolated from intellectual stimulus. These are the first set of variables which should be taken into account in summarising the findings of this research as well as in suggesting lines of action by educational authorities in Cameroon.

Finally, as every major educational reform and curriculum change contains certain endogenous factors which usually influence teachers' attitudes to it, it is perhaps necessary to summarise briefly the kind of reform that was intended and how much of it demanded of teachers and assess how these demands might have affected teachers' attitudes. The detail proposals for primary school reform made by IPAR are described in Chapter Five (sections 3.5.1-3.5.7). What follows is a brief summary of some of the recommendations.

The first thing that should, perhaps, be made clear is that in



very broad terms, IPAR attempted to adapt primary school education to the economic, social, and political realities of Cameroon and to prepare primary school pupils and primary leavers for integration into life and work of their communities. All the recommendations sought to replace theoretical primary education for a minority by an education for the masses which would be such as to contribute towards the training of producers, particularly agricultural producers, citizens and adults well integrated in their social and cultural environment. IPAR, therefore proposed, among other things, changes in:

(a) Primary School Structures

- The raising of the minimum age of entry into primary school from six to either seven or eight years;
- the school year should be organised according to the agricultural years of the various communities.

(b) Primary School Content

- The integration of previously large number of subjects on the primary school timetable into four main areas (Environmental Studies including agricultural and social aspects; Arts and Craft or local technology; Mathematics and English);
- that craftwork should be made one of the main components of every primary school course at every level of the primary school.

(c) Primary School Assessment

- There should be continuous assessment with one final examination organised to serve final assessment as well as selection for further education;

- decentralisation of the examination system so that local material could be included in all examinations at the primary level.

(d) School/Community Links

- Proposes closer links between schools and their local communities.

These recommendations and others which are contained in the IPAR report make at least three new demands on teachers which are likely to influence their attitudes to the reform and curriculum change.

a. The need to acquire new knowledge. Although according to the IPAR proposals the primary school syllabus would contain fewer subjects than before, the new subjects will stretch the skills and knowledge of the teachers to limits previously unknown. Subjects integration is a concept that the majority of teachers in the field would not have previously given much thought to. If children are to be taught to look at problems of modernisation across conventional subject boundaries, then teachers must possess the skill and the knowledge to introduce such issues in integrative manner.

b. The need to learn new conceptual frameworks. Integrated teaching inevitably draws much from the social sciences which most, if not all, the primary teachers would have had little training in. In the IPAR proposals such conceptual frameworks as environmental studies, village technology or subject integration, would become in-phrases, but none of these is liable to be in the teachers' normal repertoire. The consequent need to learn new facts will be small assignment compared with the difficulty that will be faced by teachers in using new concepts.

c. The need to define a new relationship between school and community.

As I have already indicated in this chapter, the contribution of the school to the community has been negligible, in most communities rather negative. The IPAR proposals attempt to change this situation by turning the local school into a learning centre for the whole community. The teacher's occupational role would have to change accordingly. But, of course, the teacher's role will change only to the degree to which the local community itself has changed or is changing. There are at least three types of identifiable communities in Cameroon to which a primary school teacher would assume different roles:

1. A community which already understands its needs and whose expectations, aspirations and skills, as well as its problems, are much greater than what the local primary school and its teachers can offer. These communities are mainly in urban centres. Their populations are heterogeneous and their problems considerably more complex and demanding higher skills and much more money to solve them than primary schools and teachers can offer.
2. There is a second kind of community which is changing fast. It is being greatly influenced by the media - mainly the radio - which reaches a wider audience. Such a community would usually be engaged in small scale modernisation programmes such as adult literacy classes, water projects, or building a health centre. Here the teacher and his pupils can take a very active part in these projects.
3. There is the third kind of community which is still relatively outside the process of modernisation, still relies and is kept together by traditional institutions. Naturally, to these different degrees of change and modernisation, the role of the teacher

and his involvement in local issues and projects and contact between the school and its local community will have to correspond accordingly.

In the first community, the strongest link between the school, teachers and the community is via parents' and teachers' associations. In such a community the school is likely to gain more from the community's resources and amenities than vice versa. It may get additional support from the community in the form of financial contributions. Here the teacher's role would be restricted to the activities of the school. The needs of the community both in skills and amenities would be such as primary teachers and their school cannot offer. As far as curricula reforms and implementation is concerned the acceptance by the teachers of such changes would be crucial for their success. The community can be made more aware of the changes through early involvement in the project.

In the second community, the teachers and the school can have great influence in the process of change. The teachers may be the only 'educated' people in the community. In such a community the teachers need to involve parents in such projects as modern agriculture, community health, as well as literacy classes. The teachers would also need to explain to the community curricula changes that are going on in the school. Unless their explanation is careful, misunderstandings can lead to insecurity and opposite reaction. The teachers' community duties would be just as important as their classroom duties.

In the third community, the teachers and the school should initiate modernisation through community projects such as community health, water supply and most importantly, adult literacy classes. Local support for

curricula implementation will be small, but this should not be used as an excuse for not involving the parents and the community in curricula reforms. The teachers need to continue the process of involving parents in its activities, trying to explain to them the new changes. Generally, the population will be made up of illiterates.

Having outlined some pressures and demands which educational reform and curriculum change makes on teachers and assessed how such pressures and demands are likely to influence and affect their attitudes towards the changes categorised in Chapter Five, it is now appropriate to put forward some tentative conclusions concerning the data in Chapter Nine.

#### 5.10.3.2 A Summary Derived Directly from the Data

In Chapter One, one major question was posed which it was hoped might be answered by this research. In Chapter Eight the question was turned into a questionnaire which was distributed to primary teachers and in Chapter Nine data were presented on the attitude survey. From the analysis of these data it emerged that:

- (a) The vast majority of primary teachers favour and support an environmentally based curriculum.
- (b) They also favour and support the inclusion of practical subjects in the school curriculum within reason.
- (c) At the same time, these teachers reiterate the main role of the primary school in teaching basic skills, particularly numbers, writing, reading, and communication skills.
- (d) They recognise and see the need for variations in the content of the primary school curricula and teaching methods.

In the remainder of this section, I will present the basic empirical support for the four main findings (or messages) above. I will begin this section with a general statement about teachers' attitudes to educational reform. The review of some relevant literature in Chapter One gives the impression that most teachers are strong opponents to educational reform. The present findings are not wholly consistent with this earlier impression. The four major findings above show that most teachers, in Cameroon at least, are willing to accept changes or reforms that are not too radical or do not threaten their positions. This statement is supported by two further findings.

The first, the data analysed in Chapter Nine showed that the teachers in the sample are overwhelmingly in favour of closer links between primary schools (including the pattern of ideas and values embodied in the content and process of teaching) and their local communities. This, we must assume, is not seen by the teachers as a radical departure from what obtained in the past. But, as everyone concerned with primary education in Cameroon and in other parts of Africa knows, the historical link between local schools and their teachers on the one hand, and the local communities on the other, is largely superficial. There are at least three reasons for this.

In the first place, all primary school curricula are centrally prescribed. Second - and linked with the first reason - primary schools are administratively controlled by provincial Inspectors who receive their directives from the Ministry of National Education, but not from local councillors who could encourage closer links between them and their local schools. Although I indicated in Chapter Seven that most schools have parents-teachers' associations, their effectiveness and

success depends very much on the enthusiasm of the headmaster. Even where the local headmaster is enthusiastic, the powers of the parents-teachers' meetings are limited. They may, for example, raise money to repair classrooms or buy a few textbooks, but they cannot determine what goes into the school curriculum and what is taught to their children. Finally, because the primary school has traditionally been regarded both by teachers and parents as a centre of learning for children and not for adults, the schools and teachers have tended to remain rather isolated from adults and from the local life.

The findings from this study (and discussions I had with teachers in their schools) suggest that the relationship between schools and the local communities will remain superficial until such a time when the concept of the 'local school' is defined to include not only a centre of learning for children, but also for the local community. The strong support shown by teachers for a closer contact between schools and their communities also suggests that most teachers would welcome such a change.

As we have seen from the main findings summarised on page 317 teachers, although receptive to some changes react strongly against changes which threaten their positions. The evidence is provided by their rejection of the proposals made for changes in the language of instruction, examination policy and reorganisation of the school calendar to fit the agricultural seasons. The data also suggest that most primary teachers would refuse to use any modern methods of teaching which would undermine their classroom authority. Nor will most of them be prepared to see the abolition of corporal punishment in their classrooms.

However, these results tended to be different for different grades

of teachers, and were also moderated to a greater or lesser extent by other background variables. The variables referring to teachers' pedagogical background; teachers' biographical background; and characteristics of the school (Chapter One) provided some moderating differences which are worthy of consideration. It was found that the younger the respondents, the more favourably they are likely to feel towards the ruralisation programme. For all teachers, age accounts for six per cent of the variance in the attitude scale and the second strongest of this correlate after pedagogical training. Teaching experience was negatively related to attitudes towards ruralisation programme. If the correlation is due to the social correlates of aging, then one powerful reason clearly comes to mind. It is possible that as teachers grow older and gain more experience, they tend to settle, as was indicated in Chapter Nine, into familiar and comfortable teaching routines and may grow increasingly rigid and resentful of any changes which would require them to adjust to new ways of teaching. It is also possible that with increased experience, teachers become increasingly cynical and sceptical about modern philosophies of education.

The data also indicated that sex was correlated to teachers' attitudes towards the ruralisation programme. The evidence collected showed that male teachers were more favourable to the changes than female teachers. It is possible that the amount of practical subjects proposed for inclusion in the curriculum may be regarded by many female teachers as a threat to their position in school as most of the practical subjects would require a man to handle them.

It has always been assumed in Cameroon that in terms of educational theories and subject disciplines Grade II teachers were better prepared



than Grade III teachers. The data presented here showed no significant difference between the two grades of teachers. On the other hand, Grade I teachers who attained this status through further training, rather than civil service promotion, were more favourable to the proposed school reform than Grade III and II teachers.

The data also showed that knowledge of the ruralisation programme per se was not a significant factor in moderating teachers' attitudes, but it was also found that teachers in experimental schools and teachers who have been either to refresher courses or in-service courses organised by IPAR were likely to be more favourable to the ruralisation programme. As will be seen in the next section, this particular finding suggests that an interaction between information (knowledge) and experience in relation to attitudes towards educational reform is possibly more crucial when the information presented to teachers is designed to bring about a change in attitudes.

The total attitudes scores were related to a series of characteristics of the schools at which the teachers were employed. These school characteristics were analysed as if they were characteristics of individual teachers. As the school characteristics were correlated with each other and were used to extricate the partial effect of these variables on the teachers, it was found that the 'location of school' was highly significant in whether teachers expressed dissatisfaction or satisfaction with the teaching profession which was shown to correlate, though weakly, with teachers' attitudes to the proposed reform. The results suggest that teachers in urban and semi-urban areas are less dissatisfied with teaching than their counterparts teaching in rural and remote areas.

As I indicated in Chapter Nine, entire schools and most rural dis-

districts are affected by poor morale; schools where attitudes and the examples of older members of the staff quickly break the spirit of potentially efficient new recruits, districts with indifferent or inefficient supervision. By contrast in urban and semi-urban areas, there exist interest, enthusiasm, and initiative among the teachers and easy access and help from Divisional or District Education Offices has succeeded in producing a climate favourable to school reform. The results suggest that schools in rural and remote areas will need very heavy investments in terms of human supervision and teaching aids if the standard of teaching in such areas is to be raised, let alone changed.

The variations in attitudes are also clearly related to the teachers' perception of their occupational role. The data presented in Chapter Nine show that there is a fairly strong relationship (Pearson Product-Moment correlation .460) between teachers' role orientation total score and total attitude scale score towards the ruralisation programme. The more 'extended' teachers are in the definition of their occupational role, the more favourably they view ruralisation of primary school curriculum.

The findings (Table 9.23) show that a vast majority of teachers define their occupational or teaching role very broadly, attaching just as much importance to academic activities in their classrooms as to non-academic and social activities in the community. The data also showed that the older the teachers are, the more 'extended' their orientation towards their occupational role. These data are not consistent with findings in Western Europe where older teachers tend to be more 'restricted' in their orientation towards occupational role than younger

ones (Lauglo, 1972). There are two possible reasons for this.

First, it is the younger teacher who tends to be far more removed from his village of origin than the older teacher. Empirical evidence on rural to urban migration seems to support this statement (see Chapter Three). It is usually the young 'educated' person who leaves his village to look for urban employment and life. So it seems with these same attitudes of mind, young teachers are less likely to take part in local activities than their older and more experienced colleagues. The second reason is both historical and cultural. As I indicated in Chapter Seven, the teacher's role in Cameroon, as elsewhere in Africa, has traditionally consisted of differentiated tasks as leader of various community organisations, and for obvious reasons he was both a clerk to community councils and an unordained religious minister. Historically these tasks became the responsibility of the headmaster who was usually the older person. Culturally, whenever the local councillors sought advice or help, they usually called in the headmaster and other older members of staff. Culture dictates that help and advice can only be requested from elders. These two factors have helped older teachers to associate themselves more closely (and hence define their role more broadly) with the local community.

Finally, it might have been supposed that teachers' attitudes to reform and particularly to the ruralisation programme would have been affected by their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the teaching profession. But the results of the inquiry into this show only a very weak relationship. As with other parts of the questionnaire, the relationships tended to be different for different categories of teachers, and were also moderated by some 'explanatory variables'. The three most

significant variables were 'age', 'location of school', and 'grade' of teacher. The dissatisfaction scale was negatively correlated with 'age', 'location of school' and 'grade' of teacher.

#### 5.10.4 Action Implications

The preceding summary of data in this study suggests several areas where action is needed for the implementation of the ruralisation programme in Cameroon. This section discusses some of these areas under the title 'action implication'. I begin with the implications for teacher education.

##### 5.10.4.1 Teacher Education

Although experts differ widely on how to accomplish educational reform and how to combat teachers' resistance to curriculum reform, all agree that whatever measures they want, many have to centre around teacher education. In other words, teacher education must be seen as an essential part of curriculum or educational reform. Although it would be unwise to attempt to define too precisely the concept of teacher education, the use of the word 'education' here is deliberate, recognising the need to widen the content and methods of teacher preparation in order to give the new graduate from a 'training' college or University Department of Education a broad professional vision as well as sound practice.

It is very clear from the response patterns of teachers on the questionnaire that two very wide gaps would be created by the IPAR reform. The first would be that between what teachers are being asked to teach in schools and the orientation of the curriculum for teacher

education. Although much vigorous and systematic research was conducted before the proposed changes in primary education were drawn up, not too much attention was given to the curriculum for teacher education. As a result, the initial training course is still dominated by specialists in Education (psychologists, sociologists, philosophers, etc.) and other academic subjects in the primary school curriculum such as Mathematics, English, History, Geography, and Elementary Sciences.

There is also a wide gap between what is taught in school and the needs and conditions of the communities these schools serve. It was also clear from teachers' responses that they did not see very clearly the link between what they were teaching children and its relevance to the children and to the larger community. One reason for this is that the curriculum for teacher training is narrow, unrelated to the realities of the larger community. A second reason for the gap is, as indicated in Chapter Nine, the dominance of written assessment in teachers' colleges as well as in the primary school.

Where does all this lead us? First, it leads us to the revaluation of the content and methods of teacher education; new aims, new priorities, and a reorganisation of curriculum for teacher education - preferably - into instructional departments according to the chief problems of education in the modernisation process or according to the proposals for curriculum integration in the primary school rather than according to the now academic and educational subjects: for example, the curriculum for teacher education may include, among other departments, the department for cultural studies (history, languages, literature, sociology) and for agricultural sciences including geography, also the

department for environmental sciences or studies.

This reorganisation should give teachers both sound academic background, thorough grounding in pedagogical methods, and - what is so lacking as my data indicate - a basic understanding of the political, economic, social, psychological, and cultural role of education in the modernisation process of Cameroon. This should also lead to a mature and responsible teacher, creative in thinking, rationally critical in approaching educational and societal problems, and able to adapt to new demands in new environments. It is also likely to make him a responsible and adult member of the local as well as of the larger community, understanding the place of his own profession in the larger framework of modernisation of the community.

I am fully aware that the implications of my proposal imply a very different approach to structures, contents, and even certification, discussed very briefly. As far as new structures are concerned, the first suggestion which was indicated earlier is for Government to make a clear commitment to change the preparation of teachers from teacher-training colleges to teacher-education centres which should operate very broad curricula with periodic and intensive supervision in local schools. This would require consultation both within Cameroon - such as with agriculturalists, University of Cameroon, and some experienced teachers - and outside of Cameroon, with those countries (Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Lesotho) where new conceptions of teacher education are being applied in less traditional teachers' colleges. Such consultation will cost money, but it could be solicited from international organisations including the World Bank, the United Nations Development Fund as well as support from friendly governments.

In respect of the content of teacher education we need to bear in mind the very clear lessons from the survey. The willingness of teachers to 'think environmentally' but their unwillingness to modify their teaching approaches to accommodate to this new orientation. Hence the imperative need to link content with methodology. The general principles may be isolated:

- (a) knowledge of subjects (in the context of instructional departments) including awareness of objectives. It is generally agreed (by people who have read the IPAR proposals) that one of its major objectives is to achieve an increased institutional and subject 'integration' through the introduction of 'environmental studies' as a core subject. The great diversity of approaches to integration and environmental studies means that the question that must be answered by teacher educators from the outset is: should environmental studies be taught as a specialist course with an inherent interdisciplinary nature, or should it be a theme that pervades the entire primary school curriculum and teaching methods generally? Whichever alternative is adopted, knowledge and skills of subject areas and their interrelatedness should be taught to the prospective teachers.
- (b) Knowledge of context which should include psychological conditions of learning, motivation, intellectual and moral development and learning readiness; subject-matter of other subjects of the school curriculum; awareness of national affairs which should include the economic and social reality of Cameroon. Trainee teachers should be made aware of the direction of government policy and how it impinges upon the educational policy, particularly the rationale for educational reform.

(c) Knowledge of methodology in the classroom situation and in dealing with the community. (1) In the classroom the teacher needs the ability to communicate his ideas very clearly and on the level of his pupils. He needs skills for classroom management, an ability to adapt materials to suit the children and the local environment. The training in the production of teaching materials is now very necessary since nationally produced teaching aids would not be suitable for the varied environments in Cameroon. (2) In the community the teacher needs the skills to communicate more effectively with the residents. Also an ability to analyse the learning needs of the community so as to include some of them in his everyday teaching.

#### 5.10.4.2 In-Service Education

Although I had indicated earlier that teacher education and curriculum reform are part of the same process, the reorientation of the teacher education curriculum to conditions created by educational reform and curriculum development is rather a long term objective. Besides, a single course of teacher education, however long it lasts and however excellent it may be, cannot give a teacher all the 'tools' necessary to cope with all problems, particularly problems created by school reforms or curriculum changes. All teacher education programmes must have built into them follow-up programmes or in-service education to help teachers with new curricula in their schools or help them keep up to date with new theories. It seems more appropriate, therefore, to say that in-service education (not teacher education in terms of initial training) and curriculum reform are part of the same process.



In-service education and curriculum development must go together and both must be regarded as an essential and continuing part of the education system.

The responses by the teachers suggest that in-service education will be necessary to bring most of the teachers up to date with some of the radical proposals contained in the IPAR report. The problem now is how to conceive and apply in-service courses which would give maximum results at minimum cost and provide teachers with most up to date methods of teaching and current thinking in education in general. The following courses may be suggested:

College Courses. The present teacher training college can be made to provide a range of opportunities for in-service courses for teachers from a fairly wide area. The courses may be organised and taught jointly by technical assistants from IPAR and the college tutors. The courses may last from one school term to one academic year and leading, perhaps, to a diploma. This would not only encourage most teachers to want to attend them, but would also encourage them to take the course seriously while undergoing it. However, relatively few teachers can be released from their schools for such long periods, and therefore the colleges could also offer shorter courses.

Shorter Residential Courses. Among the shorter and less expensive courses that can be offered to both rural and urban teachers in restricted geographical areas is the residential weekend or week, where the main issues, the philosophy and the implementation of the reform proposals will be considered and discussed. In such discussions participating teachers could be encouraged to use and be shown the application of new materials. Model lessons using the ruralisation materials,

and presented either by teachers who have already used them, or by technical assistants from IPAR, could also be included in these short courses.

Day and Evening Courses. The majority of teachers, particularly those in semi-urban and urban centres for whom distances to be travelled do not constitute an insuperable problem could attend day or evening courses. In such cases lectures and seminars could take place in schools. In some cases (and if there are incentives) some courses may be organised on Saturday mornings.

Holiday Courses. These may be held at district level and where teachers in remote areas cannot attend evening or day courses or where some teachers could not attend week long courses because there were difficulties in covering their classes.

Radio and TV. Other services that could be an ancillary to the mainstream of in-service education would be radio and television. These could relay programmes on the proposed reform at certain times of the day. Such programmes could show good teachers in the experimental schools with their children.

On-the-job In-service Courses by Itinerant Teams. Here, the task of in-service course can be entrusted to a special team which would travel through the region giving courses about the reform. In general, the team could stay between two and four weeks in some central place where they can serve at least three schools. In this, and other courses I have indicated, it is necessary to maintain a judicious balance between general education including pedagogical training, and special training geared specially to the understanding of the proposed reform.

Support System. It would also be necessary to maintain an effective

support system. No one means of support will serve to improve teachers' understanding of the reform. Rather there is need to identify different agencies of support and build them into an integrated local system providing the help that teachers will need. Such a project, the Indonesian support system project, has attempted to identify the most common methods of support and where they can be most effective. Methods of support identified include:<sup>1</sup>

- visits by field supervisors
- help on the job from visiting master teachers or subject advisors
- help from school head or more experienced teachers
- visits to other centres, schools' classes to observe better practice
- in-service courses
- workshops to review lesson schemes, discuss experience, and produce local teaching materials.

The support system relies on both vertical integration, e.g. National-Provincial-Divisional-District school operation, as well as horizontal integration, e.g. administration-field supervision-in/school supervision-teacher training pre-service/in-service; formal/informal. This model can be modified and adopted for use in Cameroon.

#### 5.10.4.3 Examination Reform

The results of this study revealed that to most teachers, success in the primary school certificate examination and other promotion

1. See Hawes, H.W.R. et al. (1979), 'Qualitative Improvement through professional support for teachers in primary schools: An action project'. An unpublished typed manuscript.

examinations rank as the most important goal for primary education. There is, therefore, every reason to believe that examinations will continue to exert a great influence on what will be taught under the new curriculum if action is not taken before the reform is implemented. How might one, therefore, exploit - as the results in this study have shown - the teachers' desire to localise the content of the curriculum, and yet their unwillingness to have any local setting and marking of examinations? The first step to answering the question is to find out why most teachers were reticent on local examinations.

It is possible to speculate that because to parents and teachers and their children the examination is a major determinant, possibly the major determinant, of the child's future prospects, most teachers would not like to be held responsible for the failure of children, some of whose parents will be well known to them. What may be necessary, therefore, is to evolve a model which is a combination of internal and external moderation and hence combines the flexibility necessary for a ruralisation programme and the security needed by the teachers. The following model might be considered as a basis for discussion:

- (a) The first leaving school certificate examination may be set both internally and externally. Externally set papers could be constructed in Mathematics, English, composition, and possibly in History and Geography. These would be marked, as they are now, in regional centres and moderated centrally. While every attempt should be made to ensure that these papers were marked with care, the demand of national standardisation should not be allowed to contribute to overformalisation of the design of questions.

Internal papers may be set in science and environmental studies,

first perhaps by a panel of teachers within one geographic area. In order to maintain standards, these local papers might be moderated first at district level, and second nationally. In this way, teachers would be introduced gradually to the idea of decentralisation of the examination system which is the greatest obstacle to the introduction and effectiveness of environmental studies.

- (b) The possibilities of the extension of this principle may include, in the future, an assessment through record cards and school report of the children. This could be made an essential part of the certificate examination.

As long term goals these alternatives must be pursued but their practical implementation is dependent on further training of teachers and headmasters and closer supervision by Education Officers. There are therefore implications to the curriculum planning for the provision of training for personnel in the expertise necessary for future examination design to take account of the immediate environment of the school and the child.

#### 5.10.4.4 Material Production

The preceding paragraphs have suggested action in three important areas in order to change teachers' attitudes towards the proposed reform and to ensure that when it is finally implemented, it will achieve the desired objectives. I have not suggested easy solutions. Rather, I hope, I have indicated areas which only a government, determined to reform its educational system as a whole, would contemplate to undertake. But, action on the part of the government in the areas suggested so far

would not automatically guarantee success of the reform. Problems still exist. The first concerns the planning of curriculum materials. New curricular developments usually are accompanied by a great deal of new material. These materials would be of two kinds: (a) teachers' manuals and (b) pupils' texts. As some teachers' manuals are already published in soft cover, no significant savings and subsequent increase in the availability of copies can be effected through cheaper production. Perhaps, however, the government could decide to publish the manuals itself through Government Printers or solicit financial support from foreign aid sources. There is no virtue in producing new materials merely for the sake of change, and it must be realised that much that is currently in use by teachers may remain suitable, or may be made suitable for use after revision and adaptation.

The absence of the pupils' texts for use when the reform is implemented is more serious. A new set of pupils' materials would have to be produced for children. Such materials must be produced by authors who know their subjects, who know the educational level for which they are writing, and who understand the culture of the children although such prerequisites are by no means easy to achieve, particularly at the primary level with which this study is concerned. In order to achieve this objective, two policy changes may have to be contemplated. The first involves the training of indigenous writers and other curriculum workers. Such training is both desirable and necessary if the culture of the society is to take its appropriate place in curriculum material. The length, the type of training and the place of training need to be considered carefully. Candidates selected for such training also need to be considered carefully.

The second policy change to be contemplated is that the Ministry of Education must adopt a more flexible attitude to the question of seconding talented teachers to IPAR for the writing of curriculum materials, and as a corollary to this, other gifted writers in other ministries could be seconded to the Ministry of Education and into IPAR. The production of materials would also require an experience and ability of a curriculum analyst to check their effectiveness and appropriateness for both teachers and children, and, above all, the appropriateness of the materials to various cultural and geographical environments. The last point should also lead to a major policy decision as to whether the materials would be produced centrally and marketed to schools, or whether they would be produced at district level. Knowing the dearth of expertise in this area, centralised production and marketing of educational material to schools appears to be the better solution, at least for now. Once equipment and other school materials are distributed it is necessary that schools are provided with facilities to store them and to make use of them in the way IPAR recommends.

#### 5.10.4.5 Communication

The second problem that could determine the success or otherwise of the ruralisation programme concerns communication between all the partners involved in this reform: communication between IPAR and teachers in the field through the media of teacher education, in-service education and the radio and television. More importantly, there need to be good lines of communication between IPAR, teachers' colleges and parents. In the past, far too little money and time has been devoted to achieving such aims, particularly at the local level between the

school and the community. As IPAR begins implementing its curricula it should include a planned programme designed to publicise the new changes and the reasons for them at all levels of society. Where possible community leaders such as chiefs, councillors, community development and agricultural assistants need to be involved in an attempt gradually to convince the communities at large that the new changes can have direct relevance to the modernisation of their communities. As the analysis in Chapter Nine has shown, parents' attitudes towards the curriculum can have an immediate and direct effect on teachers' attitudes.

#### 5.10.5 Curriculum Design

The processes and patterns of curriculum development enjoy a considerable literature, 'most of it dealing with tidy models rather than with the untidiness and uncertainties of actual implementation' (Hawes, 1968), which characterises the real world. These 'tidy' models are easily available in most standard texts or books on curriculum design or development. It is neither useful, therefore, nor relevant to reproduce them in this paragraph. The relevant question seems to me to be: what is the implication for curriculum design for the data analysed in Chapter Nine? There are at least two important implications.

The first concerns the diversity of teachers, parents, their children, and their environments. If a diverse group of pupils is to be catered for satisfactorily, IPAR must be able to offer a diverse and flexible primary school curriculum, suited as far as possible to the special circumstances of each school and community. To achieve this



objective the decision on which part of the curriculum is to be learnt and taught and on methods of organising learning should be taken by the schools themselves. Teachers and parents must participate in the decision.

The second concerns the abilities and willingness of teachers to interpret and teach the content of the new curriculum which would vary enormously - also that in many cases many parts of the syllabus will be misinterpreted, shortened or omitted. The curriculum designers will have to take this into account. The designers should, perhaps, also know that certain innovations cannot be expected to take place in certain schools because of the quality of the teachers.

Looked at from this perspective two principles seem to emerge, the first is that since the content of the curriculum should be flexible and since the ability of the teachers to interpret and teach some of the subjects varies, the requirements for the 'core' curriculum should vary if they cannot be abandoned. The regulations may be rewritten to prescribe only that certain subjects (English Language, Reading, Mathematics, elementary science) will take, for example, 50 per cent of the school timetable. The remaining time is for the headteacher, perhaps with the help of the community, to use as he sees fit. This means that IPAR must help schools and their communities to develop, within broad national curriculum lines, programmes which would meet their particular needs and their abilities to carry them out.

It is only in this way that the nature of curriculum reform which IPAR recommends can be achieved. There are considerable problems which would attend such a change of policy, problems already anticipated and connected with examination design and production of materials. A third

problem which decentralisation of the curriculum brings to the forefront is the evaluation of curriculum materials. While it is agreed by most experts nowadays that it is necessary to try to find out whether a curriculum works or not, it is also argued that the process of curriculum evaluation is not easy to perform; and most complicated to perform in decentralised systems of education where few people know about it and where money is not readily available for the authorities to secure the help of experts from abroad.

In Cameroon, an attempt to evaluate the curriculum will undoubtedly suffer from lack of manpower and lack of expertise. But such difficulties must not be allowed to obscure the fact that some sort of evaluation of the curriculum must be attempted. It is, for example, possible for well trained and experienced teachers or teacher trainers to express valuable and sophisticated judgement concerning the strengths and weaknesses of a particular part of the curriculum without specially designed tests which are logically linked to educational objectives. However, it may be valuable for those seeking such information to provide the untrained evaluators with a list of questions to guide their observation. One important by-product that may result from such teacher evaluation is an increased interest in curriculum development and change of attitudes to educational reform.

#### 5.10.6 Implementation

I do not propose to enlarge on the many problems of material production and distribution, teacher re-training, community and teacher acceptance which must be faced in the final implementation of new curricula. These have been analysed at some length in earlier sections.

The magnitude of the task and of the various issues which must be considered by those who contemplate educational reform and curricula renewal have, I hope, been raised although not exhaustively discussed.

At this juncture, one point only will be made since it relates to the detailed application of curriculum implementation. The implementation of new curricula involves a set of logical steps. Ideally, as Richmond (1967) suggests, '... the planning of any nationwide reform would allow for four more or less clearly defined stages: (1) a preliminary stage of controlled experimentation followed by (2) a stage of limited implementation, i.e. some kind of pilot-run leading to (3) a stage of final evaluation culminating in (4) a stage of universal dissemination.' Ideally then, all new curricula and curricula materials must undergo a period of trial before they are finally implemented countrywide. Here one can envisage a number of problems.

The first concerns the part of the curriculum that should undergo trial. If, as I have suggested, the curriculum should be flexible to meet the needs of diverse environments, diverse teachers and their pupils, only the 'core' curriculum can undergo anything near to a detail trial and experimentation. Other parts, including non-multi-purpose materials would require special schools in special environments. In a society like Cameroon, where both expertise and finance are very scarce, 'commodities' experimenting in each environment is simply not possible. An alternative may be to ask certain schools to try the curricula and make their comments to experts in the curriculum development centre - in this case IPAR-Buea. The second problem concerns the choice of schools for the trial and experimentation of new curricula. That this needs to be done not in demonstration schools near the curri-

culum development centre - as is now the case - but in ordinary schools and with the sort of average teacher (or teachers) I analysed in Chapter Nine (section (section 5.9.2) is a point that must be seriously and carefully considered.

#### 5.10.6.1 Concluding and Guiding Principles

There are, of course, many issues that could not possibly be discussed in this section. However, two points have so far emerged. First, the dearth of money and expertise in this area may just be 'a blessing in disguise' as this would give ordinary classroom teachers a chance to become involved with every decision and each stage of curricula planning and implementation.

Second, curriculum change is a process involving politicians, administrators, and professional experts, with different roles in society and stratified attitudes and values. But, above all, curriculum change depends to a great extent on teachers' interest, acceptance and ability to deal with the innovations. They must, therefore, be involved, recognised, and stimulated as the executive agents. Let us look at each of these points briefly:

- (a) The teacher should be involved in the process of curricula change at every stage as he is the executive agent. This seems so obvious that it needs no reminding, but as T.Husen (1974) points out, 'when changes in curriculum are contemplated, the central government appoints a group of experts at national level. They are supposed to dream up the new ideas and concepts, eventually subject them to some testing by inviting criticism from selected educators and then tell the teachers "how it all ought to be done". We

always meet the same model: more or less rigidly conceived plans are advanced and expected to be not only put into practice, but also accepted by the teachers who carry the daily burden and toil.' As the results in this study have shown, we cannot expect teachers to accept ready-made curricula just because they have been commissioned by government and prepared by professional experts. It is more likely that if teachers are fully involved and participate fully at each stage of curriculum development, they would easily accept changes they have been partly responsible for.

- (b) Teachers should be recognised as key factors in curriculum change. Although the initial investigation undertaken by IPAR as a preliminary to curricula development used information supplied by teachers, they were never fully involved with the detail planning and implementation of the research. It must also be noted that, generally speaking, the reasons for the changes and the basic aims of the new curriculum were not discussed with serving teachers. This may, in part, explain why teachers were reticent on certain issues. Teachers should, therefore, be given a chance to be better informed on the reasons for new curricula and they should also be made to take part in the planning and development of new curricula.
- (c) The teacher should be stimulated to improve his performance. This can be done in two ways. First, through incentive schemes which would help to raise their morale; and second, through teacher-education and in-service courses. Both ways have been discussed in full in the preceding sections. I can only add here that for teachers to be stimulated, they also need to have a realising

sense of their country's past, its traditional society, its aspiration for modernity, the behaviour patterns and attitudes of its people, the problems facing it. This, in turn, calls for a general education of the highest order.

All these points are likely to contribute in making changes much easier to teachers. It should also be pointed out that in addition to these human factors, material factors can also help or inhibit change to a great degree. In this respect there are at least four conditions (that have been discussed) necessary if the reform is to progress smoothly:

- a. There should be provision of sufficient minimum materials for curricula reform.

I have already shown that new material and new curricula are part of the same process. The first set of important materials for curricula reform would include new buildings, more permanent furniture, more space for movement and demonstration work. This is important because new approaches in teaching methods will require more space. There must also be storage space for the use of teachers and their pupils. Equally important is the provision of educational materials. As changes will require new syllabuses, new methods of teaching, new approaches, naturally new materials - as I have already indicated - have to be introduced for both teachers and pupils. Consumable materials, for instance, must be sufficient and available, if creative activities and practical work is to be emphasised. But, as I have already indicated, the choice of material for each particular environment must be carefully considered.

- b. --- and the material should be as far as possible equitably distributed.

At present there is a wide disparity of resources between state and missionary schools. In some mission schools (and these are usually in rural areas) material provision and even staffing are far below the minimum needs. There are usually no permanent classrooms, no furniture, hardly any books for pupils and, as I indicated in Chapter Seven, one teacher may be teaching up to four different classes. If the reform is to have the desired and national effects envisaged by IPAR, then there must not be any elite schools as those we have in urban centres in Cameroon. The difference in quality, range and amount of material available to schools is likely to intensify if schools are required to buy their own equipment and materials.

c. --- and there should be an adequate system of production and supply of school materials.

Curriculum change generally involves developing new materials, testing and evaluating them. It is a long and expensive operation until the finished product can be published and distributed. Therefore well organised machinery is required to co-ordinate the different stages of material production. In some countries curricula changes have been implemented either by introducing materials produced elsewhere, or modified them, or produced them locally. For example, the Caribbean Mathematics project was carried out by the Institute of Education of the University of West Indies in Barbados. Supported by CEDO and UNESCO, it has produced some materials as a result of teachers' team-work, under the aegis of the Institute. Units of the work were discussed, criticised, tested, revised and modified before their final publication. Such a success story may encourage other developing countries like Cameroon that commercial enterprise need not necessarily be the only method of producing school materials.

d. The materials must be written in simple language.

There is nothing more wasteful than to design materials, have them evaluated for appropriateness, but have them locked up by teachers because they do not understand them. Materials should therefore be written with the average teacher, particularly the average teacher in rural communities, in mind and should - within reason - allow for the variations which exist between different communities within Cameroon.

e. Teachers must be taught how to use the materials.

The production of materials may still be a less expensive operation than training or retraining of the teachers to use them. The first principle for whoever produces curricula material should be that he is producing them for ordinary schools with ordinary classroom teachers. The first problem with new materials, particularly where teachers were not involved in their design and production, is that not all teachers are able fully to understand materials produced for talented and well-trained teachers or for experimental schools.

As I have indicated above, teachers in rural areas will need particular help with materials as they teach for most of the year without a visit from an educational Inspector. Once they begin to put the materials into wrong use, it would be difficult to correct their mistakes. Attempts must, therefore, be made to make such average teachers know how to use all materials from the first day such materials are introduced into the classroom. Naturally, attempts must also be made, as I have already indicated, to produce materials that are flexible and adaptable to regional and local variations.



#### 5.10.7 Pressures and Conclusion

In the following paragraphs I shall attempt to assess the different issues which have emerged and had been identified and which would be liable to affect teachers' attitudes towards reform. I have identified three major factors which are likely to affect teachers' attitudes.

The first concerns the different levels of teachers' qualification or training and their different abilities to perform the task of teaching which was identified earlier in this chapter. Before new curricula are implemented in schools, the teachers should not only know the task they have to perform, but also the difficulties they are likely to face when performing it, that is, not merely what they have to teach but why they are teaching it and the relation of what they are doing with the whole curriculum, with the educational philosophy that the new curricula express and with the national philosophy which underlies the whole educational reform. But these are issues that require a great deal of sophistication to be properly understood and grasped. While grades II and I teachers may understand some of these issues very well, it is unlikely that grade III, and particularly probationary teachers (who have themselves just left primary school) will grasp the issues with the same maturity and sophistication. The effect of these training variations to teachers' attitudes was confirmed in this chapter (section 5.10.3.2, p.317).

This has implication for national curriculum planners. It means, naturally, that curricula must have clear objectives. They should achieve the expression of these objectives in such a way that they can both be easily assimilated by the average teacher and transmitted by him. It further means that the new curricula must be studied, discussed

in staff meetings, seminars, in-service courses, parents-teachers' associations so that the teachers will be able to make the new curricula objectives their own. Finally (and I have stressed this throughout this chapter), the general level of the primary teachers' education needs to be raised. The demands that will be made on the teachers (section 5.10.4, p.324) by the new curricula are such that only high general education and a thorough teacher training course will give the teachers the skills to cope with the inevitable problems that different teaching environments will pose.

The second factor that most likely affects teachers' attitudes concerns the differing pressures to which teachers are subjected in their schools by pupils, parents, and politicians. As I have already indicated, pupils and their parents exert considerable pressure on teachers to cut out and exclude from their teaching task any part of the curriculum that is not examinable and therefore unlikely to further the children's education. On the other hand, for the politician it is precisely these extra-curricular tasks that the current reform is meant to encourage. To the average teacher, it is extremely difficult if not impossible, to stand up to this sort of pressure, even if he wished to do so. There are two factors of considerable importance - the first is that the average teacher rarely leaves college with a deep understanding of these problems. Once out of college he is isolated. In-service opportunities are inadequate in both volume and quality. Inspection is infrequent. Teachers, particularly in rural areas, are unlikely to receive a professional visit more than once a year. Second, his weakness is exacerbated by the fact that he has no strong union to encourage him to stand up to these conflicting pressures. This survey

reveals that teachers are reticent in their responses in these areas of the reform where pressure, particularly from the parents and their children is likely to be most severe - abolition and decentralisation of examinations, raising of the school entry age, or assessment of the child's performance by the school. When society speaks with many voices, teachers will naturally conceptualise their tasks in diversity of contexts.

The third factor concerns the teachers' natural resistance to educational reform and curricula change. This problem, as I have already indicated, is worldwide but perhaps accentuated in developing countries like Cameroon where the level of teachers' academic education is low. This has two important effects. In the first place, because the average teacher is unlikely to be clear enough about the national philosophy which underlies the new curricula he is more likely to rationalise his attitudes on school reform issues in terms of his working conditions - self-interest, if you like - rather than primarily in terms of the educational merits of the reform if these two considerations should conflict. As I have indicated, albeit briefly, the demands that the new curricula make on the average teacher in terms of new knowledge, new skills and new attitudes are such that they would considerably influence his attitudes. In the second place, there is the natural tendency of teachers, particularly older and untrained teachers, as of parents, to see the educational process in terms of what they themselves had experienced, this in its turn being reinforced by the influence of traditional attitudes to authority and traditional patterns of learning. It is, therefore, important to realise that teachers' capacity to accept change depends on the nature of the change proposed.

It is hoped that what seemed in Chapter Nine as contradictory responses on the part of the teachers in the sample will now be seen as quite a logical attempt by ordinary teachers in ordinary schools to establish a modus vivendi amid the conflicting demands and pressures which have been analysed.

#### FINAL NOTE

This study has attempted to examine the attitudes of teachers towards primary school reform, in particular to the ruralisation programme in the English-speaking Cameroon. I began the study, first by suggesting that the concept of teachers' attitudes to educational change is complex. Second, I suggested, as a result, that teachers' attitudes to educational reform could only be meaningfully analysed and understood in the wider context of the society, the existing educational system and practices, and the background of teachers in the existing schools.

The diversity of teachers' response patterns in this research is strong evidence in support of these contentions. The variability in the response patterns appears to be a result of these three sets of variables. The first set of variables is concern with the complex and sometimes contradictory demands upon teachers by a society which speaks in many voices. The second set of variables concerns an educational system and its practices that have through generations moulded and shaped teachers, as well as parents and their children's attitudes to primary school education. The third and final set of variables is the teachers' background; they differ with respect to sex, age, experience and professional training, exposure to parental and environ-

mental pressures and a combination of fear and ignorance of the reform.

The results of the research have very clearly shown that generalisations which are sometimes made regarding teachers' conservatism or their resistance to educational reform and the motivational factors which underly their attitudes towards innovative educational reforms need to be more carefully defined and qualified. The only statement which could be made with some degree of confidence about the attitudes of Cameroonian primary teachers is that there is a positive tendency to accept the proposed ruralisation programme.

Sufficient unto the day is the attempt thereof!

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Abbia, Cameroon Cultural Review (Yaoundé)

Also titled: Abbia: Revue Culturelle Camerounaise

Journal of Curriculum Studies, Manchester

Oversea Education, London

Prospects: quarterly Review of Education, UNESCO, Paris

Teacher Education, Oxford

West Africa, London

West Cameroon Teacher Journal, Buea

Innovation in Education, Paris

UNESCO Chronicle, Paris.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: SHOWING A SUMMARY OF SOME DIMENSIONS OF RESISTANCE TO CHANGE BASED UPON WATSON (1967) Part One: INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS

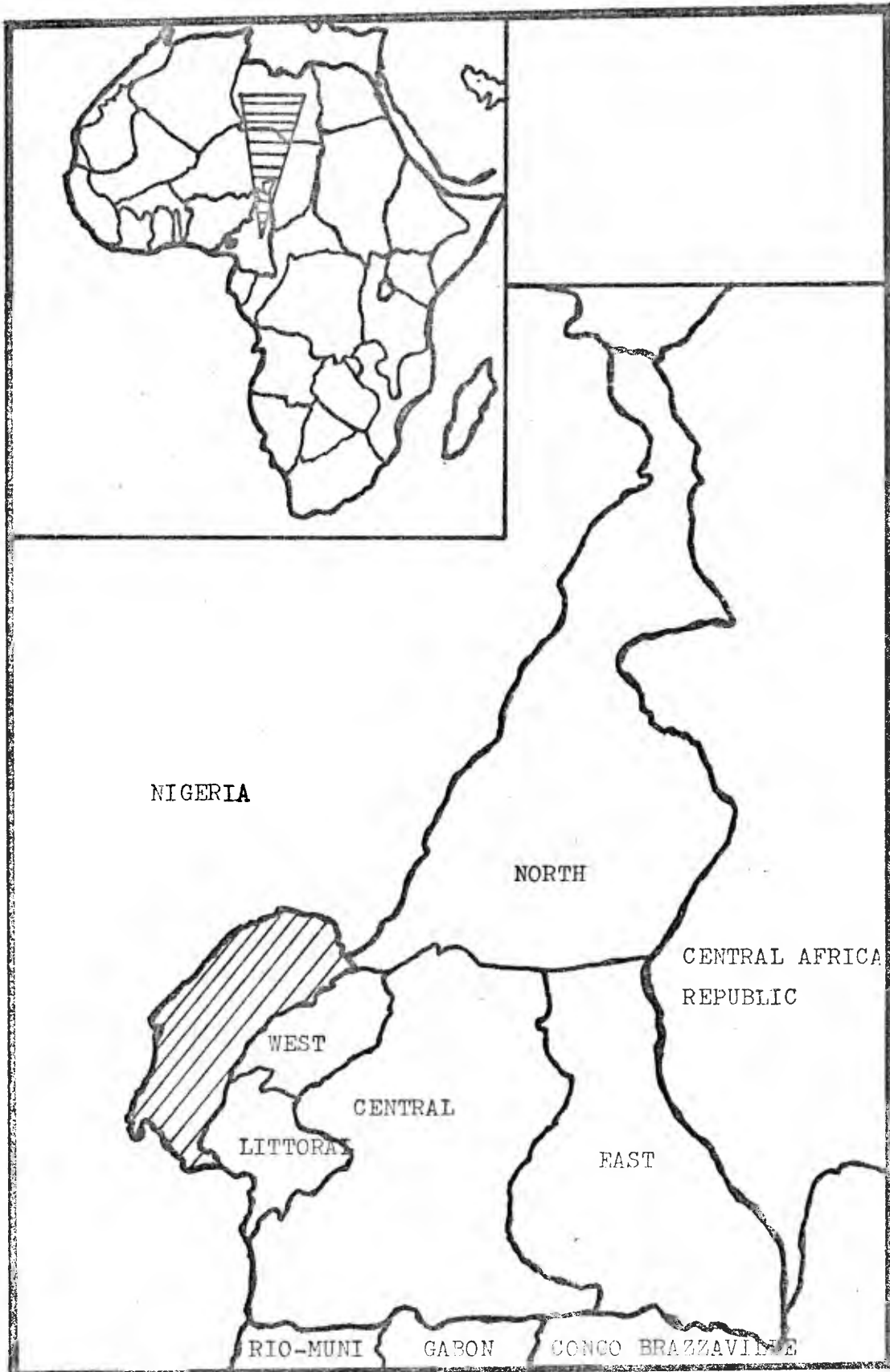
DIMENSION AND BRIEF EXPLANATION	MAJOR REFERENCES
1. <u>HOMEOSTASIS</u> The tendency for the human body to stabilise on the basis of self-regulation. However, work with animals and humans seems to indicate a need for humans to interact with a changing environment	Cannon (1932) Lilly (1956) Hebb (1958)
2. <u>"HABIT"</u> 'Functional Autonomy' or the suggestion that activities first undertaken as a means to some culminating satisfaction often become intrinsically gratifying. This may seem as a preference for the familiar. Some evidence to suggest that 'safety' in the psychological sense is associated with the familiar	Allport (1937) Maslow (1943) Maslow & Mittleman (1941)
3. <u>PRIMACY AND DEPENDENCE</u> Reacting to new situations by using behaviour patterns previously found to be effective. Thus, teachers may continue to teach in the way they themselves were taught, despite training.	
4. <u>SELECTIVE PERCEPTION AND RETENTION</u> An attitude having been established, the person responds to new suggestions within the framework of that established outlook. Further persons may not hear clearly, nor remember well, communications with which they disagree	Allport & Postman (1945) Watson & Hartmann (1939) Levine & Murphy (1943)
5. <u>ILLUSIONS OF IMPOTENCE AND SELF-DISTRUST</u> Most simply described in the familiar statement 'You can't teach an old dog new tricks'. There is evidence to suggest that many believe this, while there is also evidence that the contrary is the case.	Rosen et al. (1965)
6. <u>INSECURITY AND REGRESSION</u> The tendency for the individual to seek security in the past. 'The golden age of youth is a paradise lost'. When life becomes difficult and frustrating, individuals think with nostalgia about the happy days of the past. The phenomenon frustration/regression has been described by many researchers	Berkowitz (1962)
7. <u>SUPEREGO</u> While this dimension is perhaps the least parsimonious, it does suggest that a personality function, the 'superego', acts as a powerful agent serving tradition and moral stricture. Little evidence exists to support the contention	Freud (1922)

Source: 1. Compiled from Watson (1967), *ibid.*  
2. Huberman, A.M. (1973), Understanding Change in Education, UNESCO: IBE.

APPENDIX I: SHOWING A SUMMARY OF SOME DIMENSIONS OF RESISTANCE TO  
CHANGE BASED UPON WATSON (1967) Part Two: GROUP  
CHARACTERISTICS

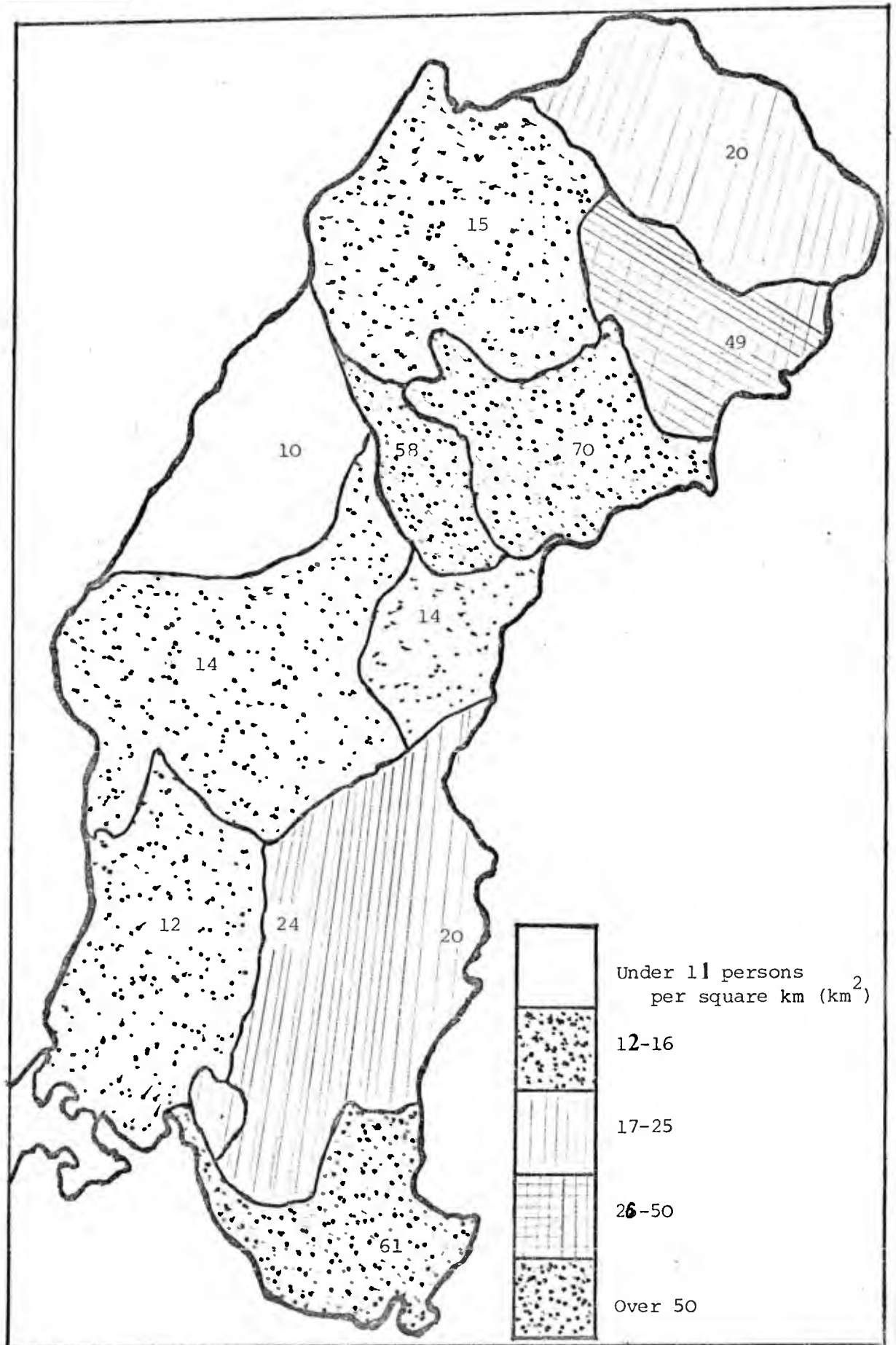
DIMENSION AND BRIEF EXPLANATION	MAJOR REFERENCES
<p>1. <u>CONFORMITY TO GROUP NORMS</u> The power of the group to exert pressure upon the individual. The sanctions that the group may employ are many and various; communication may decrease, the individual may be ignored or excluded. Even physical force may be used. There is evidence that changes may be better introduced by group decision than by individual pioneering</p>	<p>Asch (1958) Back (1950) Festinger et al. (1950) Sherif (1936) Whyte (1956) Lewin (1952) Coch &amp; French (1948)</p>
<p>2. <u>SYSTEMATIC AND CULTURAL COHERENCE</u> Change is often resisted because of the effects it may have upon mutually interdependent parts of the organisation or system. Change in one part may give rise to counter productive changes elsewhere. Change introduced, without regard to any wide ranging repercussions will tend to be resisted</p>	<p>Mann &amp; Neff (1961) Strauss in Whyte (1956) French et al. (1960) Misumi (1959)</p>
<p>3. <u>VESTED INTERESTS</u> There will be resistance to change if that change presents a threat to vested interests whether these are economic, prestige or status. Evidence concerning sudden changes in cotton prices and outbreaks of lynching in the southern states of America may be quoted</p>	<p>Hovland &amp; Sears (1940) Mintz (1946) Brown (1954)</p>
<p>4. <u>THE SACROSANCT</u> There will be resistance to change which is directed at aspects of organisational or group behaviour which could be said to be 'sacred', that is safeguarded or required by tradition</p>	
<p>5. <u>REJECTION OF OUTSIDERS</u> Few psychological phenomena are so universal as that of suspicion and hostility toward outsiders. These have been observed both in animals and amongst humans. There have been a great many studies of inter-group hostility and, in particular, displacement activities and the development of scapegoating behaviour. Particularly, it has been suggested that highly prejudiced individuals have learned to blame others for their frustrations. Thus, the defensive reactions of cohesive groups to the threat of outside intervention, represents a substantial barrier to the innovator. Strategies of change must take account of these reactions</p>	<p>Kohler (1922) Wood (1934) Fenichel (1946) Bettelheim &amp; Janovitz (1954)</p>

APPENDIX II: ANGLOPHONE CAMEROON



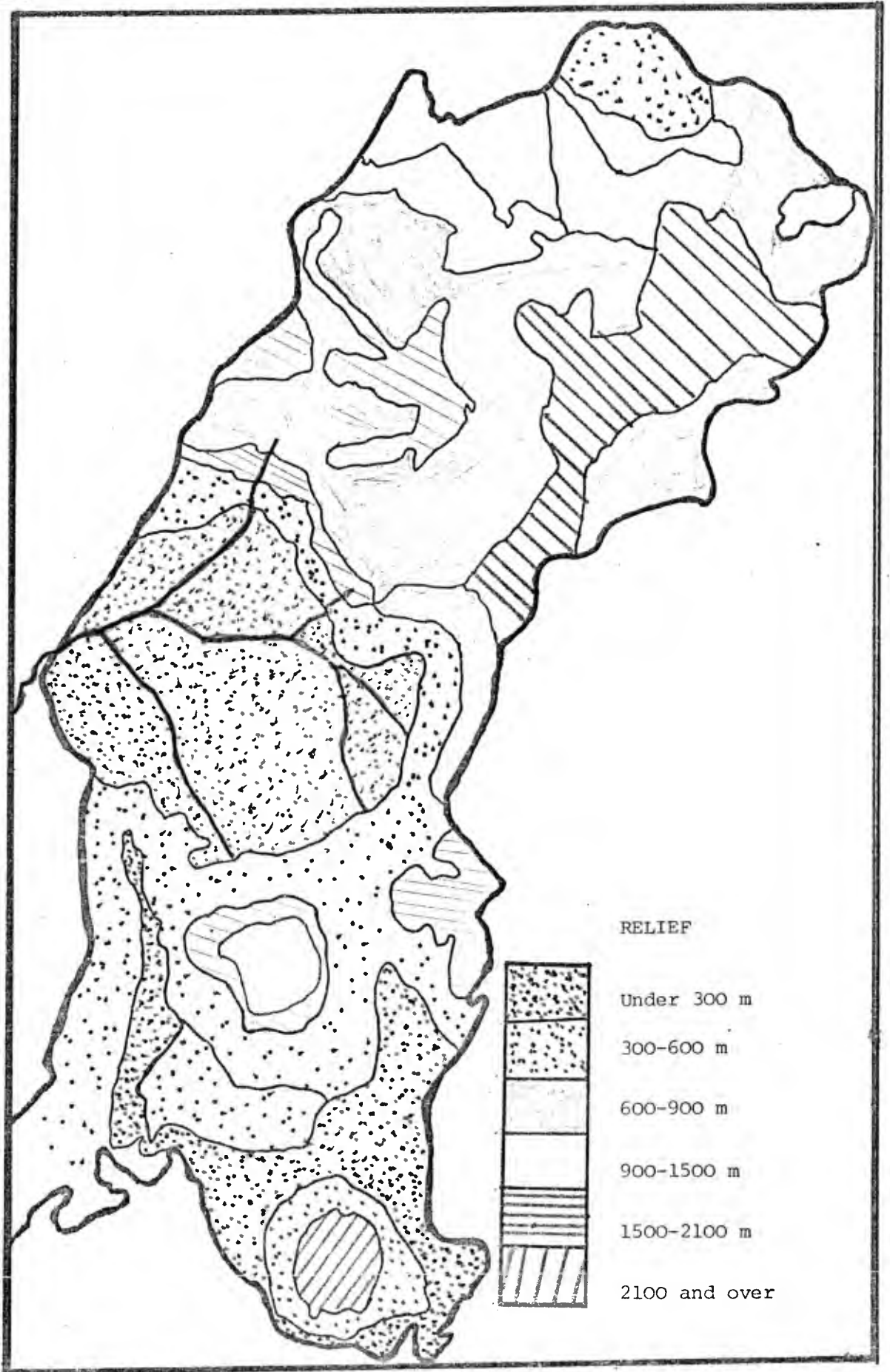
Source: IPAR-Buea.

APPENDIX III: ANGLOPHONE CAMEROON. POPULATION DENSITY



Map drawn by M. Abangma

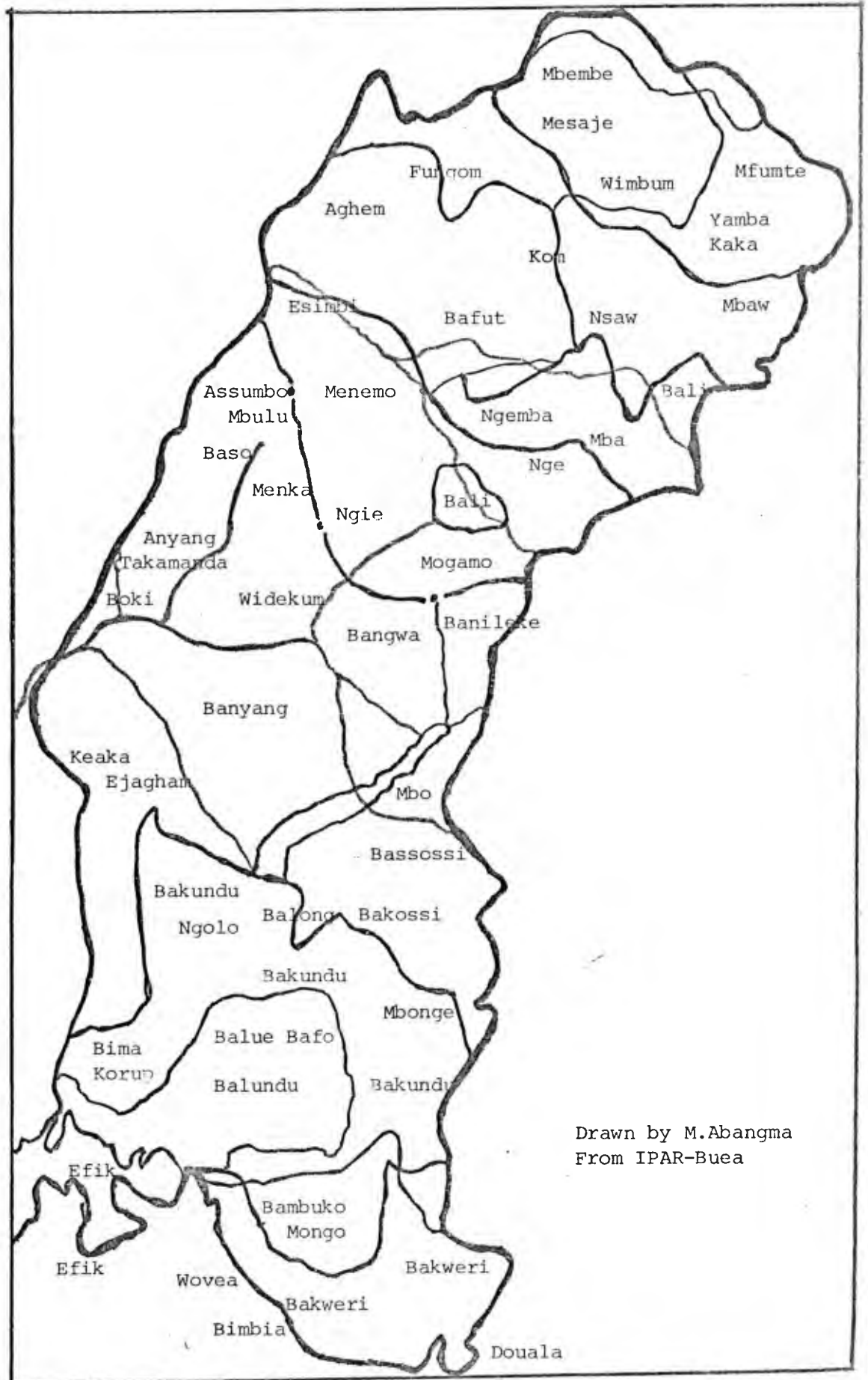
MAP II: ANGLOPHONE CAMEROON. RELIEF MAP



Map drawn by M. Abangma



APPENDIX IV: ANGLOPHONE CAMEROON. ETHNIC MAP



Drawn by M. Abangma  
From IPAR-Buea

APPENDIX 5: SHOWING MISSIONS' ARRIVAL CHART IN CAMEROON

- 1st Mission: B.M.S. 1844
- 2nd Mission: American Presbyterian Mission 1885
- 3rd Mission: B.M. 1886
- 4th Mission: Pallotin Fathers 1890
- 5th Mission: G.B.M. 1891
- 6th Mission: Gossner 1913
- 7th Mission: Saint-Esprit 1916
- 8th Mission: S.M.E.P. 1917
- 9th Mission: Sacré Coeur 1920
- 10th Mission: Mill Hill Fathers 1922
- 11th Mission: Norwegian Mission 1925
- 12th Mission: Return of B.M. 1925
- 13th Mission: Return of G.B.M. 1926
- 14th Mission: S.D.A. 1926

APPENDIX 6: SHOWING EXPENDITURE UPON PRIMARY EDUCATION AS A  
PROPORTION OF TOTAL BUDGET, 1963-1969 IN FRANCS CFA

Year	Total Budgetary Revenue	State Revenue	Federal Government Balancing Subvention	Expenditure on Secretariat of State for Primary Education	
A	B	C	D	E	
1963/64	1,920,541,669	648,841,669	1,272,000,000	28,779,222	
1964/65	1,841,405,894	641,405,894	1,200,000,000	21,557,239	
1965/66	2,465,659,899	715,659,899	1,750,000,000	23,215,439	
1966/67	2,838,601,092	844,446,999	1,550,000,000	19,975,405	
1967/68	2,887,475,952	1,035,601,092	1,800,000,000	13,873,275	
1968/69	2,917,475,952	1,247,475,952	1,640,000,000	15,199,970	
1969/70	2,633,775,996	1,143,775,996	1,490,000,000	17,189,997	
Year	Expenditure on Educ. Dep. including Voluntary Agencies (F)	Total E + F = G	G as % of B	G as % of C	F as % of C
1963/64	366,087,263	394,866,485	20.6	60.9	56.4
1964/65	455,792,412	477,349,651	25.9	69.7	71.0
1965/66	590,173,749	613,389,188	24.9	85.7	82.5
1966/67	689,684,434	709,662,839	29.1	80.2	77.9
1967/68	751,111,271	769,984,544	27.9	74.1	72.3
1968/69	883,860,694	849,060,664	29.4	68.1	66.8
1969/70	854,965,170	872,155,167	33.1	76.2	74.7

Source: Primary Education in West Cameroon: Some Important Facts, Secretariat of Primary Education, Buea, July 1971

APPENDIX 7: SHOWING RECOMMENDED TIMETABLE FOR INFANT CLASSES

	8.0	8.15	8.30	8.55	9.20	9.55	10.15	10.45	10.50	11.10	11.35	11.55	12.10	12.35
M	Assembly H/7.Inspec. Prayers Re- gistration	News and Nature Talk	Number Occu- pation	Phys.Edu- cation	Reading	Writing	INTERVAL	10.45	Regis- tration	Religious Instruction	English Conversation	Free Play	Free Occupation	Story and Dramatisation
T	Assembly H/7.Inspec. Prayers Re- gistration	News and Nature Talk	Number Occu- pation	Phys.Edu- cation	Reading	Writing	INTERVAL	10.45	Regis- tration	Religious Instruction or Story	English Conversation	Free Play	Handwork	Singing or Singing Games
W	Assembly H/7.Inspec. Prayers Re- gistration	News and Nature Talk	Number Occu- pation	Phys.Edu- cation	Reading	Writing	INTERVAL	10.45	Regis- tration	Religious Instruction	English Conversation	Free Play	Nature Walk (Story, if wet)	Free Occupation
Th	Assembly H/7.Inspec. Prayers Re- gistration	News and Nature Talk	Number Occu- pation	Phys.Edu- cation	Reading	Writing	INTERVAL	10.45	Regis- tration	Religious Instruction or Drawing	English Conversation	Free Play	Handwork or Number Games	Singing or Singing Games
F	Assembly H/7.Inspec. Prayers Re- gistration	News and Nature Talk	Number Occu- pation	Phys.Edu- cation	Reading	Writing	INTERVAL	10.45	Regis- tration	Religious Instruction	English Conversation	Free Play	Story and Drama- tisation	Practical Hygiene and Compound Work

Source: Secretariat of State, Ministry of Primary Education, Buea.

APPENDIX 7: RECOMMENDED TIMETABLE FOR STANDARD I AND II

	8.15	9.45	9.10	9.45	9.55	10.25	10.55	11.25	11.30	12.0	12.30	1.0	1.30
M	Assembly Prayers Registration	English	Phys. Education	Arithmetic	Break	Writing	Religious Instruction	INTERVAL	Registration	Vernacular Reading	Needlework or Handwork	Story	
T	Assembly Prayers Registration	English	Religious Instruction	Arithmetic	Break	10.30 Gardening or Nature Study P.E.	10.30 Gardening or Nature Study P.E.	INTERVAL	Registration	Hygiene	English	General Know- ledge	Singing
W	Assembly Prayers Registration	English	Phys. Edu- cation	Arithmetic	Break	Writing	Religious Instruc- tion	INTERVAL	Registration	English	Story and Drama- tisation	12.45 Sp.Training or Singing	Art
Th	Assembly Prayers Registration	English	Religious Instruc- tion	Arithmetic	Break	10.30 Gardening or Nature Study P.E.	10.30 Gardening or Nature Study P.E.	INTERVAL	Registration	Vernacular Reading	English	Handwork	
F	Assembly Prayers Registration	English	Phys. Edu- cation	Arithmetic	Break	Writing	Religious Instruc- tion	INTERVAL	Registration	Vernacular Composi- tion	General Know- ledge	Hygiene	Compound Cleaning

APPENDIX 8: SHOWING SUMMARY OF AREAS COVERED BY THE REPORT

1. EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE covers:

Duration of course; school entry age; length of school year and holiday and school organisation, dealing with pupil-teacher ratio and specialist teachers.

2. EDUCATIONAL CONTENT covers:

Subject areas; general educational approach; practical activities; low cost; adaptation to the environment; language of instruction; teaching and learning materials; special subject content and method; Environmental Studies; definition of environmental studies; method; agricultural aspects of environmental studies; social aspects of environmental studies; Arts and Crafts/Technology; objectives of Arts and Crafts/Technology; content of syllabus; Mathematics; preamble to the syllabus; tentative syllabus; general objectives of the programme; specific objectives of the programme; elements of the proposed syllabus; Language; objectives; content; method; teaching aids; and co-ordination of language teaching policies.

3. TEACHER EDUCATION covers:

Structure; pre-service training; in-service training (up-grading); content of teacher education; the importance of professional training; teaching aids; Syllabuses; environmental studies; arts and crafts/technology; mathematics; language; working conditions; posting of teachers; probationary period; the employer's contractual obligations towards the teacher; consultation; salary structure; promotion; the teacher's con-

tractual obligations towards the employer; and conclusions.

4. INFORMATION AND PUBLICITY covers:

Information for the general public; information for the educational authorities; and information for the teachers.

5. ASPECTS OF ADMINISTRATION covers:

The role of the Divisional Inspectorates/Education Resources centres; staffing and equipment of Divisional Inspectorates/Education Resources centres; and the problem of school fees.

6. EVALUATION/EXAMINATION covers:

Evaluation of the curriculum; evaluation of pupils; evaluation of teachers; content and method of evaluation; evaluation of agricultural activities; evaluation of practical skills and work performance in arts and crafts/Technology; and method of examination.

7. COMMUNITY-SCHOOL RELATIONS covers:

Co-operation between schools; parent-teacher associations.

APPENDIX 9: SHOWING THE QUESTIONNAIRE TO TEACHERS

This study is about the Reform, otherwise known as 'ruralisation', of primary school education in the north- and south-west provinces of Cameroon. The study is 'anonymous', and for this reason we request that you do not write in your name or any other indication of your identity as an individual. The personal information which we require is only to be used in statistical correlations: for example, we might show that 20% of grade two teachers who have taught for less than five years hold one opinion and 50% with over ten years of teaching experience hold an opposite opinion. We are interested solely in frequencies and statistical tendencies not in individual cases. This is not of course, an intelligence test of any kind. There are, therefore, no right or wrong answers. The only right answers are those which best express your personal feelings.

In most cases, you will have to choose among several possible answers. We request that you tick (✓) the letter corresponding to your answer. There will be some in which the alternative answers provided do not precisely correspond to your opinion. In such cases, tick the response closest to your opinion. PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS.

SCHOOL:

Please tick (✓) or circle (o) only one answer for each question.

CODING

- |                                 |             |                          |
|---------------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| 1. What is your sex?            | a) Male     | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|                                 | b) Female   |                          |
| 2. What is your marital status? | a) Married  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|                                 | b) Single   |                          |
|                                 | c) Divorced |                          |
| 3. How old are you?             | a) Under 25 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|                                 | b) 26 to 30 |                          |
|                                 | c) 31 to 40 |                          |
|                                 | d) 41 to 50 |                          |
|                                 | e) Over 51  |                          |



4. How long have you been teaching?

- a) two years or less
- b) 3 to 5 years
- c) 6 to 10 years
- d) 11 to 15 years
- e) 16 to 20
- f) 21 years and over

11

5. What is your highest academic qualification?

- a) G.C.E. O/L
- b) G.C.E. A/L
- c) B.A/B.Sc
- d) M.A/M.Sc
- e) None of these

12

6. What is your highest teaching qualification?

- a) P.T.
- b) Teacher Grade III
- c) Teacher Grade II
- d) Teacher Grade I
- e) Other (specify)

13

7. How many schools have you taught in since your first appointment?

- a) One school only
- b) 2 to 3
- c) 4 to 5
- d) 6 to 7
- e) 8 to 9
- f) Over 10

14

8. Where are you teaching at present?

- a) In my tribal area
- b) In my subdivision
- c) In my Division
- d) In my province
- e) None of these

15

9. What is your main position in the school?

- a) Full-time H/M
- b) H/M with a class
- c) R/S teacher with a class
- d) Classroom teacher
- e) Handicrafts teacher
- f) R/S teacher full-time
- g) Other (specify)

16

10. Where is your School located?

- a) Township
- b) In a semi-township
- c) On a motorable road
- d) In a rural area

11. What denomination is your school?

- a) Government
- b) Catholic
- c) Presbyterian
- d) Baptist
- e) Private
- f) Other (Specify)

12. Have you been to a refresher course during the last five years?

- a) Yes
- b) No

13. Have you been to an in-service course in the past five years?

- a) Yes
- b) No

14. Do you have plans for further training?

- a) Yes
- b) No
- c) I am uncertain about this

15. State the occupation (job) you most desired at the time of completing primary or secondary school

16. Which was the most important consideration to you in choosing teaching?

Rank these seven phrases in order of importance, 1,2,3, - 7

- a) Fondness of children
- b) To secure advanced training
- c) Attractive salary
- d) Long vacations
- e) Liking for teaching
- f) Advice of relatives
- g) Seemed the only thing to do at the time

17. Have you heard about the (ruralisation) the reform of primary school education in Cameroon?

- a) Yes
- b) No

18. Have you heard about IPAR-Buea?

- a) Yes
- b) No

31

19. What does the abbreviation IPAR stand for in English?

- a) Institute of applied pedagogic research
- b) Environmental Institute for primary school research
- c) Institute for practical Agricultural research
- d) Institute of rural development
- e) Institute for rural and pedagogical training
- f) None of these

32

20. Have you been able to discuss the IPAR reform in your staff meeting?

- a) Yes
- b) No

33

21. How many times have you attended a course on the IPAR reform?

- a) Never
- b) Once
- c) Twice
- d) More than twice

34

22. These are a few commonly made statements about the objectives of the IPAR reform. Please rank them in order of importance, 1,2,3,4,5.

- a) Encourage primary school leavers to stay and work where they were educated
- b) Adapt primary school education to the realities of the Cameroonian environment
- c) Help primary school leavers to go back to their villages when they complete school
- d) Increase the amount of manual work in the primary school timetable
- e) Teach primary school children modern skills and techniques in agriculture

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The next 30 questions deal with some of the recommendations of the IPAR team in Buea. We request you to express your opinion by indicating how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement. Remember that there are no right or wrong answers. Only your opinion is right.

Please tick only one.

SA = Strongly Agree  
A = Agree  
UNC = Uncertain  
DA = Disagree  
SDA = Strongly Disagree

SA A UNC DA SDA

23. The imparting of accurate facts should be the main concern of primary teachers 40
24. Environmental Studies should become the core subject in the primary school syllabus 41
25. The only reasonable way of assessing a teacher's competence is by the number of children who pass examinations 42
26. The school entry age should be raised from six to eight years 43
27. If we base the syllabus primarily on the child's interest, there will be very little to teach that is really worthwhile 44
28. In primary school we should be concerned not so much with learning facts as with helping the child to adjust to his environment 45
29. Manual work should not be made compulsory at the primary school level 46
30. All teaching in the primary school should be based on local problems and oriented towards their solutions 47
31. All primary schools should take part in all development projects in their locality 48
32. In order to foster national unity the primary school curriculum should include the culture of all ethnic and tribal groups in Cameroon 49
33. The culture of the place where the school is located should be given a prominent place in the curriculum 50
34. Not everything that is taught in primary school should be linked with the environment of the child 51
35. The new schemes of work do not give sufficient attention to Writing, English, and Arithmetic 52

SA A UNC DA SDA

36. Craftwork of the children should be assessed for the First School Leaving certificate 53
37. Teaching in the first classes of the primary school should be carried out through the medium of the local vernacular 54
38. The more difficult the subject matter of a lesson, the better it is for the development of the child's intelligence 55
39. The IPAR school reform has put too much emphasis on practical work 56
40. The teaching of rural crafts should be made compulsory at all levels in the primary school 57
41. Local craftsmen and women should be invited to act as paid instructors in primary school 58
42. Standards of education fall when you introduce compulsory craftwork into the school timetable 59
43. Teaching is essentially a process of increasing the child's store of knowledge 60
44. All primary school teachers should be taught the proper use of tools and material used in crafts and agricultural lessons 61
45. Boys and girls should be taught Domestic Science in primary school 62
46. In Domestic Science lessons greater attention should be paid on the development of Cameroon dishes 63
47. The teaching of agriculture should be limited to primary schools in rural areas 64
48. Only children who are not clever enough to go to secondary schools should be taught agricultural skills 65
49. Children in primary schools are too young to learn agriculture and craft 66

SA A UNC DA SDA

- 50. The time allotted to the teaching of handicraft should be increased from 40 minutes to two hours
- 51. Primary school teachers should set and mark FSLC
- 52. Teachers should be posted to areas whose language they speak well

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The next nine questions deal with examinations and attitudes towards primary education in general. Tick the response closest to your feelings and experience so far.

FA = Fully Agree  
A = Agree  
UNC = Uncertain  
DA = Disagree  
FDA = Fully Disagree

FA A UNC DA FDA

- 53. The FSLC should be set and marked by teachers in each Division
- 54. The subjects of the FSLC should be increased to include agriculture
- 55. The FSLC examination should also include an assessment by the school of what the child has contributed or done in the community
- 56. All yearly and promotion examination should be abolished
- 57. If teachers become too friendly with children in school, discipline would suffer
- 58. To make children learn it is sometimes necessary to resort to corporal punishment
- 59. A good teacher does not have to rely on teaching aids (apparatus)
- 60. Children learn better when they sit quietly in class than when they go out to observe nature around the school
- 61. Children of nowadays need more discipline and supervision to learn

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The next twenty-five questions deal with the ROLE of the primary school teacher in the school and community. We are anxious to know how strongly you feel a teacher should or should not do the following as part of his duty as a teacher.

SA - Strongly Agree  
MA - Moderately Agree  
SLA - Slightly Agree  
SLDA - Slightly Disagree  
MDA - Moderately Disagree  
SDA - Strongly Disagree

SA MA SLA SLDA MDA SDA

- |  |                                 |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 62. Help community leaders to plan community projects  | <input type="text" value="5"/>  |
| 63. Help children to acquire good manners  | <input type="text" value="6"/>  |
| 64. Give extra classes to his children in the evenings to help them pass examinations                | <input type="text" value="7"/>  |
| 65. Give adult and literacy classes to the community   | <input type="text" value="8"/>  |
| 66. Where needed read scriptures in church   | <input type="text" value="9"/>  |
| 67. Serve as a letter writer and secretary to community leaders                                      | <input type="text" value="10"/> |
| 68. Visit the homes of absentees and problem children to discuss their difficulties with the parents | <input type="text" value="11"/> |
| 69. Send his pupils to help in community work  | <input type="text" value="12"/> |
| 70. The teacher should participate actively in the cultural activities of the community              | <input type="text" value="13"/> |
| 71. Invite the local community to see what is going on in the school                                 | <input type="text" value="14"/> |
| 72. Teach children to pass examination is his primary responsibility as a teacher                    | <input type="text" value="15"/> |
| 73. Help build up appropriate political attitudes and leadership qualities in the community          | <input type="text" value="16"/> |

SA MA SLA SLDA MDA SDA

- |  |    |
|--|----|
| 74. Put more effort and time on teaching the subjects on his class timetable   | 17 |
| 75. Help interpret government policies and decisions to the community  | 18 |
| 76. Give advice on community health, nutrition and hygiene to the community  | 19 |
| 77. Help the community to identify its needs and plan community education  | 20 |
| 78. Teach religious knowledge and moral education  | 21 |
| 79. Encourage and build up parent-teacher associations   | 22 |
| 80. Encourage older children to teach younger sisters and brothers at home   | 23 |
| 81. Allow local residents to discuss their problems with him which they might not wish to discuss with their relatives | 24 |
| 82. Help his children to pass entrance examinations into grammar and modern secondary schools                          | 25 |
| 83. Try and maintain certain social distance from the community in order to keep his respect                           | 26 |
| 84. Orient the community to a situation where it can help itself or derive full benefit from government services       | 27 |
| 85. Encourage children to stay in their villages when they complete school   | 28 |
| 86. Teach English, Arithmetic, Writing is his primary responsibility   | 29 |

From your experience of teaching so far, which of the following, if any, are a source of dissatisfaction to your work. Your personal experience for this study is invaluable.

AA - Always Applies  
SA - Sometimes Applies  
NA - Never Applies



AA SA NA

- |   |    |
|---|----|
| 87. Insufficient responsibility and authority   | 30 |
| 88. Heavy work  | 31 |
| 89. Inadequate training for the job   | 32 |
| 90. Poor relationship between classroom teachers and educational administrators   | 33 |
| 91. Inferior working conditions as compared with other professions  | 34 |
| 92. Few prospects for higher promotion  | 35 |
| 93. Poor pay  | 36 |
| 94. Classes too large to manage   | 37 |
| 95. No respect from adults  | 38 |
| 96. Too frequent changes in the curriculum  | 39 |
| 97. Shortages of books, equipment, and other teaching aids  | 40 |
| 98. Delay in paying out salaries  | 41 |
| 99. Poor discipline in schools  | 42 |
| 100. Insufficient help from education inspectors  | 43 |
| 101. Too frequent transfer  | 44 |
| The next ten questions deal with job satisfaction. From your experience of teaching so far which of the following apply to you? |    |
| 102. It is exciting   | 46 |
| 103. It is interesting  | 47 |
| 104. It is a responsible job  | 48 |
| 105. It gives you a chance to show your initiative.   | 49 |
| 106. It gives you a sense of achievement  | 50 |
| 107. It is varied   | 51 |
| 108. You feel you are the centre of things  | 52 |
| 109. It makes you use your intelligence   | 53 |

How much do you as a primary school teacher, have in common with people in the professions or occupations mentioned below.

Tick only one column

NIC = Nothing in Common  
 LIC = Little in Common  
 MIC = Much in Common  
 VMIC = Very Much in Common  
 IAU = I Am Uncertain

	NIC	LIC	MIC	VMIC	IAU
110. - Community Development Officer					55
111. - Law enforcing officer (police, chief)?					56
112. - Health Inspectors and Dispensary attendants?					57
113. - Agricultural Extension officers?					58
114. - Social workers?					59
115. - Youth leaders and political agents?					60
116. - Secondary school teachers?					61
117. - Religious representatives?					62
118. About how many pupils' parents have you had a chance to meet and talk with?					
a) None					
b) 1 to 3					
c) 4 to 10					
d) Above 11					63
119. About how many pupils' homes have you been able to visit?					
a) None					
b) 1 to 3					
c) 4 to 10					
d) Above 11					64

For each of these statements, indicate how well informed you are. Tick only one

VWI = Very Well Informed  
 MI = Moderately Informed  
 PI = Poorly Informed  
 VPI = Very Poorly Informed

	VWI	MI	PI	VPI
120. The feelings and attitudes of the parents of my pupils				
121. The homes and family background of my pupils				

65

66

VWI MI PI VPI

- 122. The national affairs of Cameroon
- 123. The economy and the economic potential of Cameroon

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PLEASE SEE THAT YOU HAVE ANSWERED ALL QUESTIONS. NOW MAKE YOUR COMMENTS.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME.