Hassana, Hamidou

Quality teacher education in Cameroon. The role of sociocultural backgrounds in pedagogical reform projects

Opladen • Berlin • Toronto : Budrich Academic Press 2022, 390, iii S.

in Kooperation mit / in cooperation with:

https://www.budrich.de

Kontakt / Contact:

Hamidou Hassana

Quality Teacher Education in Cameroon

The Role of Sociocultural Backgrounds in Pedagogical Reform Projects

Hamidou Hassana
Quality Teacher Education in Cameroon

Hamidou Hassana

Quality Teacher Education in Cameroon

The Role of Sociocultural Backgrounds
in Pedagogical Reform Projects

Table of Contents

Dedication

To the late Prof. Dr. Rainer Kokemohr

> In einer Welt schneller Veränderungen werden neben leistungsbezogenen Lernprozessen Bildungsprozesse wichtiger. Denn herausgefordert durch unverständliche Erfahrungen, wie sie zunehmend auch durch gesellschaftliche Veränderungen ausgelöst werden, führen uns Bildungsprozesse, indem sie unsere Orientierungen und Denkweisen verändern, zu deren ‚besserem' Verständnis, das, durch weitere Erfahrungen kritisiert, modifiziert oder widerrufen, weitere Bildungsprozesse nach sich ziehen kann. [Bildungsprozesse verändern uns], indem sie uns Unverstandenes und damit uns selbst in unseren Welt-Selbstverhältnissen anders verstehen lassen und uns ermöglichen, mit der Welt und mit uns selbst in wichtigen Dimensionen technischer, sozialer und kultureller Art ‚angemessener' umzugehen. (Kokemohr, 2021, p.28)

Acknowledgments

The author owes many people for the success of this book. His heartfelt thanks go to Rainer and Anja Kokemohr, who have devoted their time, energy, and finances to provide him and his family with their long-standing support during my undergraduate and graduate studies at the Université Évangélique du Cameroun (UEC) and throughout his doctoral studies at the University of Hamburg, Germany. Prof. Dr. Rainer Kokemohr, despite his fragile health conditions, had always been at his side to provide him with scientific support and positive feedback, sharing his many years of experiences at Mbouo and literature for this book. His sudden death in March 2020 has shaken the author to the core. May his wife, Dr. Anja Kokemohr, family, and their friends Peter and Susanne Huggett find the outcome of their long-standing resilience in this work.

The author's profound gratitude goes to his academic supervisors, Prof. Dr. Hans-Christoph Koller and Prof. Dr. Sylvia Kesper-Biermann, for their exceptional academic guidance and scientific counseling throughout his journey toward the doctoral degree. The project has gained better cohesion and coherence thanks to their structural and content observations. Many thanks go to his supervisors from the University of Maroua, Prof. Bachir Bouba (M.C) and Prof. Félix Nicodème Bikoi (em. Pr.). May Dr. Markus Friederici, Director of the Graduate School, and his colleagues from the International Office of the Faculty of Education of the University of Hamburg be rewarded for their permanent support in all administrative matters related to the Cotutelle cooperation with the University of Maroua.

He is profoundly thankful to the Rector of the UEC, Rev. Dr. Jean Blaise Kenmogne, for his support, advocacy, and visionary belief in their reciprocal responsibility and capacity to improve the quality of teacher education in the Protestant education in Cameroon, Africa. Thanks to the institutional support and recommendation of the UEC under his governance, the author could complete his doctoral studies with the scholarship of Bread for the World. His greatest debt is to Bread for the World for providing him with the doctoral scholarship in Germany in cooperation with the UEC. The author is also very grateful to the Foundation Kurt and Käthe Klinger for granting him an additional scholarship to complete the doctoral work.

Prof. Dr. Angelika Paseka and Prof. Dr. Tilman Grammes should be acknowledged for inspiring discussions. The gratitude also goes to all the colleagues from the doctoral colloquium of Prof. Dr. Hans-Christoph Koller and the Documentary Method Working Groups for their attentiveness and suggestions for this work. Prof. Daniel Nkemleke, Dr. Eric Ekembe, the principal of COLEEDUC of Bafoussam, the teachers of Ecole de Référence of

1 Introduction: The Problem of Sociocultural Backgrounds (SCBs) and Quality Teacher Education (QTE) in Cameroon, Africa

This first chapter provides (1.1) general background to quality teacher education (QTE) reforms in Cameroon, Africa, which is followed by a preliminary presentation (1.2) of the pedagogical reform principles underlying some educational projects implemented in the EEC missionary station in Mbouo-Bandjoun in the West of Cameroon. The chapter introduces (1.3) the empiric problem of the significance of actors' sociocultural backgrounds (SCBs) for QTE in Cameroon, (1.4) the research questions, objectives, and scope. It also describes the (1.5) researcher's motivations and the significance of the investigation. The chapter ends by highlighting the book's general (1.6) organization.

1.1 Introductory remarks about QTE reforms in Cameroon, Africa

It is generally agreed that a quality teacher education improves the quality of teaching and learning processes (UNESCO, 2015). Quality teacher education in Africa, especially Cameroon, consists of institutional reforms for quality teacher training. In this perspective, the quality teacher education reforms in Cameroon predominantly concerned the quantitative provision and the improvement of human resources (trained teachers) to respond to economic and educational policies of ruralization after independence (Fonkeng, 2007) to cover up the deficit of teachers after the economic crisis of 1985 (SPEC[1], 1992; Tchombe, 1999; UNESCO, 2005; Fonkeng, 2007), to redefine the role of education in the development of democratic values and participation in a global world after the crisis period of struggle for democracy in 1991/1992 (education forum, 1995, education law, 1998), and to adapt to and harmonize the education concerning the demand of the internal and the global market (Bologna Process).

---

1 SPEC: Secrétariat Permanent de l'Enseignement Catholique (Permanent Secretariat of Catholic Education)

These political, economic, and social contexts of this structural evolution triggered educational paradigms of the literary civilization (IPAM[2], 1978, p. 17), the nationalization of education and its provision for all (UNESCO, 1972; IPAR[3], 1969) as well as democracy and development (Biya, 1987/2018), globalization and millennium development goals (UNESCO, 2005). Subsequent teaching and learning orientations were, respectively, an instruction or a literacy development (IPAM, 1978, p. 157), a new pedagogical approach, NAP (Hamani, 2005), an objective-based pedagogical approach, OPP (IPAM, 1978) and recently, a competency-based approach, APC (Françoise Cros et al., 2009). In all these teacher education reforms, the top-down approach has remained the dominant orientation through the ideally promoted values and the paradigm of the learner-centered pedagogy present in educational discourses from NAP to APC as well as throughout the Active and Participative Pedagogy (PAP) and the Active and Creative Pedagogy (PAC) in the state as well as in some private educational organizations (SPEC, 1992; OEPP[4], 2002).

Considering this general observation, teacher education reform in Cameroon appears to be much more an institutional phenomenon (Tchombe, 1999) than a substantial change of-and-in practice endeavor (Kokemohr, 1990; 2014). The initiating, conceptualizing, and implementing actors of these reform endeavors seem to be those from the top level of the educational institutions. For instance, Mapto Kengne (1998-2013, p. 5) pointed out that: "Teachers are not consulted on the various adjustments made to the educational system." (own translation)[5] Decision-makers seem to play a dominant role in these teacher education reforms.

This hierarchical orientation and dominance of educational reform endeavors depict the top-down mono-logical character of formal education. Kokemohr (2018, p.149) portrayed an example of a simplified structure of Germany's linear system of education in the 19th century, which consisted of three hierarchical levels. The top-level entails *Ethics* intending to provide educational ideas of a good life for all, *Sciences* aiming at providing a proven body of knowledge, and *Psychology* providing teaching and learning methods. The mid-level translates these into educational knowledge and skills conceived as education goals. The bottom level is the transmission level of knowledge consisting of classroom teaching-learning activities. This simpli-

---

2   IPAM: Institut Pédagogique Africain et Malgache (Pedagogical Institut of Africa and Madagascar)
3   IPAR: Institut Pédagogique à Vocation Rurale
4   OEPP: Organisation de l'Enseignement Privé Protestant (Organization of Protestant Private Education)
5   Unless indicated otherwise, all the translations are author's translation. The indication "own translation" is used throughout the text purposely.

fied example of the structure of the German formal education from the 19th century also applies to African and Cameroonian educational systems.

Figure 1: Top-down structure of formal educational systems
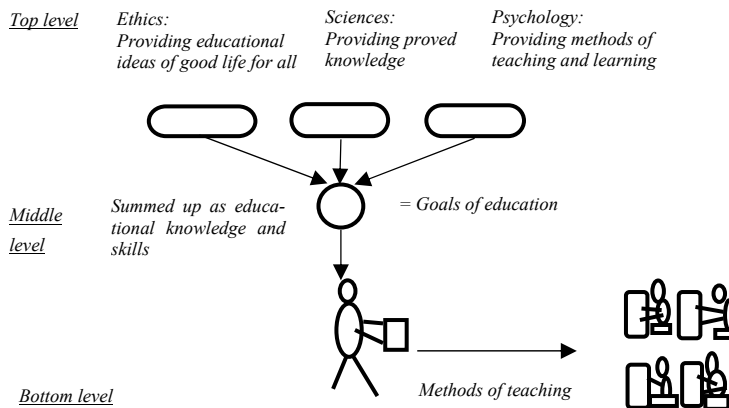
(Source: author, adapted after Kokemohr, 2018, p.149)

After the failure of the 1848/49 revolution, there was an attempt in Germany by the king (Hartmann et al., 1974, pp. 54-56) "to control the threat of social contingency by political and cultural administration and by military means simultaneously. As a result, a suitable system for controlling education was developed by some obedient pedagogues giving birth to a conservative paradigm of didactics focusing on a giving social, economic and political order" (Kokemohr et al., 2018, p. 128). According to Kokemohr "the idea was to define all parameters and methods of teaching-learning at school given the production of obedient people ready to accept the desired knowledge and the desired social behavior" (ibid., p. 129).

Similarly, the three hierarchical levels shown in the above chart seem to depict Cameroon's general educational paradigm, where the teacher-learner interaction has remained mono-logically construed and reproduced concerning reforms in practice (Foaleng, 2010, pp. 14-15), even though the power relationship has become increasingly complex considering the globalization influence of the liberal economy and the social order (Bologna Process, UNESCO principles of education, UN's millennium development goals). This top-down power relationship seems to promote a receptive development of teachers and learners in the sense that the former adopts a receptive attitude toward educational reforms provided at the upper and the middle levels (Kokemohr et al., 2018), whereas the latter are recipients of the body of knowledge the former transmits within the mono-logical system of education

at the bottom level (Kokemohr et al., 2018; Kä Mana, 2012a; Fonssi, 2012; 2018; Moukoko, 2012).

This linear and top-down power relation seems to persist in some reforms endeavored by private education organizations, such as the EEC and the Catholic Education Boards (reviewed in chapter 3). Therefore, teaching-learning interaction processes remained "beautiful principles" and had very little to do with observable field practice processes (Fonssi, 2011, pp. 14-15; 2018, p. 24). Moreover, Fonssi himself voiced this critique when he presented the pedagogical principles he described as fundamentals of the UEC, even though he portrayed them as "socle" or "souffle novateur des ambitions" (Fonssi, 2012, pp. 12-15). The educational or pedagogical reform principles seem most often so "beautifully" prescribed that they tend to assume automaticity in bringing about changes or improvements in practice. Thus, a failure in practice appears to be attributed to this dichotomist discourse of theory versus practice, like in the following claim of Fonssi (ibid., p. 15): "Everything happened as if on the one hand the principles were abstractly affirmed in their majesty while on the other hand, the practice was royally outside their empire."

The question is: In how far can the gap between some ideally formulated pedagogical reform principles and the field practice characterize reform criticism in the dichotomist discourse mode of good versus bad teaching-learning paradigms within cooperative educational relations sustaining the contradiction of cultures as a base for educational discourse (Kokemohr et al., 1990)? To reflect on this structure of power relations in cooperative reform endeavors, the work discusses the following critique of Kä Mana (2012a, pp. 64-65) of the projects Reseau Ecole et Développement (RED) and Comité d'Etudes et de Réflexion Pédagogiques (CERP) in comparison to the program Dynamisation Fontionnelle des Objectifs Pédagogiques (DYFOP). He submits that:

> In the [RED] project, as in the CERP dynamics, it is also necessary to highlight the important weight of two German pedagogues whose theories have tended to break the dynamics of local creativity to the point of appearing in the eyes of some as a new form of domination that does not say its name. Whether about the pedagogue Hans Bühler during RED or Rainer Kokemohr during CERP dynamics, the suspicion of a foreign theoretical hold in Cameroon could not be broken (own translation).

The problem is not in how far this observation might be true or false, for the statement itself somehow claims to "mettre en lumière" some presuppositions of 'briser,' of 'domination' and the 'soupçon' of 'mainmise.'" The author of this work would, thus, like to highlight the simplistic mode of criticism in place in the context of the cooperative educational project development evolving complex sociocultural (also economic and somehow political) background issues. His interpretation is that the different EEC educational

reform projects developed in cooperation with some German scholars and German protestant funding organizations, such as EZE-EED Bread for the World, are portrayed as suffering from this cooperation. The reason is that they are perceived on the backgrounds of colonial history, determining a black-white worldview leading to the interpretation of a world-self-relation, depicted as a contradiction of the good versus the bad, the local versus the foreign. This criticism seems to be reinforced in the latter relationship since Kä Mana claims the following as the first force of the project DYFOP in comparison to the others above-mentioned: "Moukouri Edeme placed his project [DYFOP] under the sign of local research, with local 'intelligence' doing local work on local realities" (ibid., p. 65). The DYFOP project succeeded in simplifying the understanding of educational, pedagogical, and didactic goals. It endeavored to classify these goals, objectives and aims into notional subcategories to facilitate the bottom level of teaching and learning interaction (systematization of curricula using some flowcharts).

However, one could object to the critique, for it dealt very little with the so-called local realities but rather tried to highlight objective-oriented pedagogies originating from the history of the birth of German[6] didactics and the American military education experiences taken over by educational systems under the influence of the growing liberal economy. Meanwhile, the CERP project interested social communities for it researched family histories, sociocultural backgrounds of some actors of the EP (Kokemohr, 1996a; 1996b; 1997) and attempted a change in the dynamics of the classroom, the school, and the school society's interaction (Kokemohr, 1999a; Foaleng, 2005; Fonssi, 2018). The discourse of foreign versus local is here constructed on the backgrounds of the colonial history of relationship (black-white worldview) still hunting North-South relationships, where the so-called local endeavor is ideally praised, and the so-called foreign is suspiciously portrayed, even though generally perceived as prestigious in the everyday social and educational life.

Even though the local-versus-foreign criticism underlined the suspicion of domination of the former by the latter (as appears in Kä Mana's observation mentioned above), most of the cooperative educational projects involving a North-South partnership (within this example of a church context as well as within governments contexts) seem to be based on the prestigious character of "the foreign" and the strategic economic perspective (Kokemohr, 2015). The local is considered an ideal identity construction and claim (like presupposed in Kä Mana's appreciation mentioned above of DYFOP). In other words, it appears to be an issue of reputation (prestige) and money (funding), which are put forward to justify the tendency to want "white" partners in an educational project instead of aiming at a joint struggle to tack-

---

6   See the above-mentioned chart, developed in Rainer Kokemohr (2018).

le educational problems. A German scholar talking about his experience in Cameroon recounted an exchange he had with one of his Cameroonian partners. The following is the passage of the story he shared.

> Why do you need to have "whites" in the project? "That's always good when you want to get the money," he told me. His argument was, "Euhmm, euhmm, yes, we need "whites," then that's better acknowledged here, and that's the way to get money." There was not anyone who did not argue, "we need that for the project." He never said that. //Reputation and money//Reputation and money (extract from the transcript of an interview with RK, own translation).

In this discussion involving North-South partners (Kokemohr, 1999a), reputation and money appear to have played a significant role in motivating cooperative projects and the subsequent interaction processes of their development. The research question is: How could this and other power relation features of the sociocultural backgrounds of the participants have influenced the development processes of the pedagogical reform projects in Cameroon, Africa? This study, therefore, focuses on the case of the EEC teacher education reform projects developed in Mbouo-Bandjoun in the Western region of Cameroon. Chapters 3 to 5 of this work provide further details on the projects' institutional, philosophical, and pedagogical development processes. The paragraphs below provide general backgrounds of the EEC educational development in Cameroon and underline the pedagogical reform experiences in Mbouo-Bandjoun, which are further reconstructed in chapters 4, 5, and 6.

1.2   Preliminary Backgrounds of the Pedagogical Reform Principles of the UEC

The EEC has founded many primary and secondary schools in Cameroon to contribute to the state's engagement in providing a good education for pupils and students. In developing teaching and learning in its schools, the EEC supported pedagogical research projects and actions in education. In collaboration and cooperation with European church funds and universities, the EEC educational board developed such projects to improve its educational quality by regularly organizing in-service teacher training programs at the Centre Polyvalent de Formation (CPF) in Mbouo-Bandjoun in the western region of the country.

In 1991, after some years of observation of the Cameroonian educational system and field research (in schools and school communities), an experimental pedagogical project of intensive in-service teacher training was launched in EP, a primary church school in Mbouo (Kokemohr, 1990; Kenmogne and Kokemohr, 1993; Foaleng, 2005). A research team conducted

the project from the University of Hamburg, led by Rainer Kokemohr, in collaboration with professionals from the EEC, led by Jean-Blaise Kenmogne. The program CERP dealt with the questions: "How can one awaken and liberate the learners' intellectual, affective, cognitive and social potentialities to make them creative in tackling present and future problems and challenges?" (Kokemohr, 1999a, p. 5). How can one awaken and liberate the inner creativity of each learner? To answer these questions, a pedagogical approach based on three principles was developed and experimented with within the Ecole Pilote de Mbouo. These pedagogical principles[7] include the *principe d'interaction*, the *principe des sens divers*, and the *principe de la responsabilité réciproque* (see also Kokemohr, 2002a; 2014).

First, the *Principe d'interaction* was understood as the freedom to interact, reflect, and discuss a target pedagogical problem of common concern. Such freedom at the base of pedagogical action should be a commodity to all participants (learners and teachers), the teacher monitoring the discussion as a partner of the learners in the pedagogical context of teaching-learning. Learners in such a context are active partners and immerse themselves fully in search of an explanation of a phenomenon, argumentation, an opinion, or a resolution of a pedagogical problem. Thus, lessons should be phrased in an interesting pedagogical problem that triggers the learners' potentialities in a quest for solutions (Moukoko, 2012).

Second, the *Principe des sens divers* is developed around the paradigm of problem-oriented pedagogy. There are many ways, routes, possibilities, methods, and perspectives to explain, argue, or resolve a pedagogical, didactic problem. In contrast to the traditional teaching-learning approach, where the teacher provides the knowledge on a pedagogical subject (*sense unique*), the *Principe des sens divers* states diversity in approaching a pedagogical problem that is a common concern of mostly the learners, the teachers only being monitors of the pedagogical context of teaching-learning. There is no prior, ready-made solution, explanation, or argumentation that the teachers[8] transfer to the learners for memorization. The teachers rather contribute to the debate as members/partners of the group discussion or as facilitators of the learning process and context.

The *Principe d'interaction* helps trigger the students' intellectual, affective, cognitive, and social potentialities to reflect on solutions concerning a target pedagogy creatively. Hence, the *Principe d'interaction* is a prerequisite to the *Principe des sens* divers since the freedom to interact makes learners more active and use their potential to create solutions. Learners are actively immersed in knowledge construction and contribute to the process by indi-

---

7   More about the conditions, the circumstances, and some practical experiences of these reform ideas further reconstructed and discussed in chapter 4 of this work.
8   This is here considered as the only instance of authority of a knowledge detention.

vidual potentialities triggered by the freedom the pedagogical context of teaching-learning provides.

The last principle is the *Principe de résponsabilité réciproque*, which completes the other two components to set up a collegial social context that engages all participants. Reciprocal responsibility reinforces the solidarity within the group members (class) to integrate them into the given social context with a common goal and vision. It relies on reciprocal criticism and acceptance, such as a democratic principle of freedom of a society to participate in an ongoing discussion on a given problem of common concern.

These pedagogical principles have proven successful at the EP (Kokemohr, 2002a; 2014), where the church decided to put the approach forward to train its teachers accordingly, creating a teacher training college named Institut de Pédagogie pour Sociétés en Mutation (IPSOM) in 2005. This institution initially aimed at training teachers at the primary school level. However, it was turned into training teachers at the secondary school level due to the state regulations regarding higher private training institutions[9] (Foaleng, 2005). IPSOM started its experimental academic year on October 3, 2005, with five students enrolled in four disciplines of specialization: English-, French-, history-, geography- and mathematics didactics. Five other students later joined to reach the number ten of the first IPSOM students (Foaleng, 2005). The EP was transformed into the Ecole de Reference (ER) from this time on.

This training is based on innovative pedagogical principles (above defined) for a more autonomous learner-centered education (Kokemohr, 2009; 2011). In 2010, with the state's liberalization of the medical training sector, the church created the UEC with two other faculties: the Faculty of Agronomy and Environmental Sciences (FASE) and the Faculty of Medicine and Health Sciences (FMSS). IPSOM became the Faculty of Sciences of Education (FSE), and the School of Theology in Ndoungué became the Faculty of Protestant Theology and Religious Sciences (FTPSR). These institutions were developed within the Cameroonian context and a top-down approach to teaching and learning culture. In many ways, this new dynamic of teacher education based on socio-constructivist principles, even though promising, has been challenging both teachers and students who had to learn to build knowledge together. The act of building knowledge together seems to be compromised and helped by some features of the sociocultural backgrounds of teachers, learners, and administrative staff involved in the process.

9   More on this is discussed in chapter 5 on the institutional framework of the pedagogical reform projects of the EEC in Mbouo-Bandjoun, West Cameroon.

1.3 Empiric Introduction to the Problem of the Study

The study uses an extract from the transcript of the introductive phase (1mn:17s) of an international colloquium[10] in 2008 at IPSOM to provide an introductive framework for the problem of the significance of the actors' SCBs for a quality teacher education (QTE) in Cameroon. The colloquium served as a scientific follow-up reflection on the project IPSOM. This empiric material was chosen because it appears to be an authentic academic set-up or setting that gathered students, teachers-researchers, German cooperation scholars, and university administrators to discuss adequate teaching-learning methods and philosophy at IPSOM. Therefore, its analysis might reveal instances or occurrences that somehow depict features of SCBs that could inform about the everyday life of the project.

Excerpt from the transcript of the opening speech of the colloquium at IPSOM (February 2008):

> Monsieur Jacques (MJ): ah, euhm, euh, ah pour tout ce que nous aurons à faire pendant cette journée/euh! ah! Merci à tous les professeurs à tous les collègues pour tous les exposés que vous avez préparés et je crois tout simplement que le Seigneur conduit les travaux et que nous mettions à profit ce temps que nous nous sommes donné pour cet atelier. J'espère de tout cœur que nous arriverons à la fin de ces quatre jours de travaux à des perspectives qui permettraient vraiment euh! non seulement d'avoir des réponses aux questions qui se posent et que nous nous sommes posées à travers les différents exposés que nous allons partager mais que nous pourrions euh! ouvrir des nouvelles perspectives euh! que nous pourrions ouvrir des nouvelles dynamiques qui donnent vraiment à l'IPSOM, euh! de retrouver euh! l'esprit de retrouver le euh! rêve que nous portons et qui permet effectivement à l'IPSOM de garder son originalité et pourquoi pas comme nous avons toujours rêvé de proposer des démarches aux autres fondateurs euh! même l'Etat, euh! pour que l'enseignement devienne quelque chose que ce que nous vivons maintenant. C'est le vœu que je formule de tout cœur, euh! à l'ouverture de cet atelier. Merci à vous, merci à toutes et merci à tous. //Tous: (applaudissements dans la salle)

The author, in the following, attempts to do a micro-analysis of this extract with an emphasis on language use.[11] The first sentence of Monsieur Jacques displays four different instances of enunciation devices.

---

10 The colloquium gathered African/Cameroonian education specialists (from the Democratic Republic of Congo, IPSOM, and University of Yaoundé), joined by colleagues from Germany (the University of Hamburg, Ruhr University of Bochum).

11 With the term language use, the use of specific tenses, the enunciation system, the deictic markers, metaphors and/or other figures of style are meant. This notion is further discussed in the second section of the theory in chapter 1 below,

(3) The listeners: identifiable in the language use such as "merci à tous les pro-
fesseurs à tous les collègues, pour tous les exposés que vous avez preparé"
(thanks to all the professors, to all the colleagues, For all the reports that you
have prepared);

(2) A connection to a high normative instance of le Seigneur (the Lord);

(1) The speaker "je" (I); and the presence of

(4) an "inclusive" "nous" representing both "vous" and "je" (3 and 1) that is,
you and *I* form an "inclusive we" refers to all the participants in the work-
shop, including Monsieur Jacques.

In short, Monsieur Jacques ("je" in 1) in connection with a high normative
instance "le Seigneur" (2), talks to "tous les professeurs" "vous" (3). The ob-
ject of the speech is not clearly stated since he uses vague referents (a) "pour
tout ce que nous aurons à faire" (what exactly are 3 and 1 are going to do?),
(b) "pour tous les exposés que vous avez prepares" (which reports? on which
topic or theme?). He further refers to "les travaux" (what work?) and "atelier"
(but atelier of what?). Nothing is mentioned about the topic or the theme that
is the object of the "atelier," the "travaux," and the "exposés." What is men-
tioned is rather the schedule "pendant cette journée, à la fin de ces quatre
jours de travaux" (during this day, at the end of these four days of work).
Moreover, as participants of the colloquium, the students of IPSOM are not
explicitly mentioned in this introductive speech of MJ. Could he have as-
sumed that by saying, "pour tout ce que nous aurons à faire pendant cette
journée" (for all that we will do during this day), he also included the stu-
dents in this inclusive "we"? Or could the presence of the students as partici-
pants in the workshop implicitly be meant in the last utterances of MJ:
("Merci à vous, merci à toutes et merci à tous")?

However, one can identify some references to the different "roles" that
Monsieur Jacques assigns or attributes to the different instances by reading
the tenses and corresponding modes he uses.

Reference 1: "Merci à tous les professeurs pour les exposés que vous avez prépa-
rés" ("thanks to all the professors for the communications that you have pre-
pared").

Using the past tense ("avez preparés") in the indicative mode, Monsieur
Jacques recalls the task performed by the professors, which consisted of pre-
paring the different communications in the workshop.

Reference 2: "que le Seigneur conduit les travaux."
(that the Lord conducts the works).

under pragma-linguistic micro-analysis, especially the inference analysis in the
perspective of Kokemohr (2002b, 2019), as discussed in the methodology chapter
7 of this work.

The correct grammatic form of the verb should here be "conduise" because of the presence of the conjunction "que," which, in French, introduces the subjunctive mode: "que le Seigneur 'conduise' les travaux."[12] Thus, the use of this verb in the simple present tense and the indicative mode is incongruent. However, this incongruence is not hazardous; it seems not to be an error due to the spoken language conditions (often fluency overcomes accuracy in oral speech) if one considers further verbs used in the subjunctive mode:

"et que nous mettions à profit";
"que nous pourrions euh! ouvrir des nouvelles perspectives euh! "
"que nous pourrions ouvrir des nouvelles dynamiques."

These prove a good mastery of the subjunctive tense by the speaker. As a high normative instance, "le Seigneur," in whom "je" (I) strongly believe, the use of the simple present tense in the indicative mode is purposeful. Therefore, the statement "je crois tout simplement que le Seigneur conduit, que nous mettions à profit" (I simply believe that the Lord leads so that we make a profit of the time) indicates the "role" that the high normative instance of the Lord plays, which, according to Monsieur Jacques who "simply believes" ("je crois tout simplement"), is the instant, present reality of the workshop. Henceforth, Monsieur Jacques states an "axiom," a "principle," from which further argumentation should start. "Je" (Monsieur Jacques), in his position as a pastor (therefore representative of the Lord) and administrative staff of IPSOM (thus, institutional hierarchy), believes simply that the Lord leads the works. He hopes, dreams, and, consequently, states a wish (which is somehow like an orientation from the chief) that he, the professors, and the (other participants?), could open new perspectives and new dynamics for IPSOM to propose approaches to other educational school founders and the state during the workshop. This seems to be his role, identifiable from the reading of the types of verbs (hope, dream, wish, formulate), the tenses (present), and the modes (indicative and subjunctive) in his speech.

As a pastor, Monsieur Jacques stands for whom who speaks on behalf of the Lord ("le Seigneur")*,* and, as such, his speech is on a high normative base that is not debatable ("le Seigneur conduit les travaux"). Foucault described an implicit structure of a "simple, strong belief" as pastoral power. He (1979, p. 237) underlined that: "In Christianity, the tie with the shepherd is an individual one. It is personal submission to him. His will is done, not because it is consistent with the law, and not just as far as it is consistent with it, but, principally, because it is His will". Therefore, "the Lord conducts the works" is a strong fact on which the workshop relies, according to the speaker "je"; it is, hence, the only reality in the present. One can say that in this workshop's

---

12 In English, expressing a wish, the sentence should read: "I simply believe that the Lord led the works and that we could make profit of the time."

opening speech, "je" constructs his own culture of pastoral power. In this discourse, he establishes a shared social world:

> I (Monsieur Jacques as a pastor and chief of IPSOM in connection to the Lord who presently conducts) and you = we should take this time to open new perspectives.

This might sound like a performative process of a social reality construct, which, according to Bohnsack (2010, p. 101), is a "structure of practice" in Bourdieu's sense (1972 and 1974). It is "habituated practices, based on the incorporated experiential knowledge of the actors which guide their activities" (ibid, Bohnsack, p. 101) and as such forms "implicit or tacit knowledge" (ibid.) shared. What could be the roles of the students in Monsieur Jacques' speech? What could the students benefit from the workshop in which they are implicitly present? How could such implicitness concerning students in academic settings structure and participate in their learning activity and process?

A teacher in a classroom context will commonly say: "Today, we are going to talk about this and that; we are going to see this and that," giving little room to the learners for any choice or suggestion of neither their topics of interest nor their alternative method of work. There is the belief that the process of teaching-learning is a matter of hierarchy, meaning the sociocultural organization system of "elders," "chief," "chieftaincies," like in the Bamiléké tradition and many other peoples' traditions in Cameroon. The learner is passive, and the teacher is active. But how can such sociocultural backgrounds influence the teaching methods and the philosophy of teacher education? The language people use somehow maintains and promotes this sociocultural aspect. In the empiric part of this study, the author further analyzes how the participants' language use displays features of the pyramidal conception of knowledge influenced by the hierarchical organization of the Cameroonian society.

The Cameroon educational system essentially reflects its sociocultural setup, where the power structure is mono-logical and a top-down system. For instance, the family head, ultimately, is the decision-maker and decides what is good or bad for the other family members. With its historical colonial antecedent (Njimoluh, 2010), formal education has also helped reinforce this pattern in the modern Cameroonian context. The teacher knows it all, and the learner memorizes the lesson, which is then reproduced at a given time in an exam sanctioned by grades and certificates.

1.4 The Problem of the Study, Related Research Questions, and the Scope

In all the educational issues mentioned above, very little is said about the individual initiative, and, consequently, no innovation is given any priority. The whole concept of knowledge as a shared commodity that both teachers and students can debate is somehow belittled, and, hence, teacher training appears to be a top-down process of knowledge dispensation, where the trainer conveys what they know. This present study questions the roles of such features of SCBs on the quality of the teacher education in Cameroon, Africa, using a narrative interpretation and a documentary analysis of empiric data from the daily life of actors in ER, IPSOM, UEC (2006-2016). It addresses how features of the sociocultural backgrounds of actors play a certain role in how they interact and construct teaching methodology and philosophy they use in their everyday life activities within the target pedagogical reform projects.

It is assumed that trainees, trainers, and the administration staff come to the project with their sociocultural backgrounds, which can be identified at the levels of their personal history and the institutional backgrounds of the educational system in Cameroon. These features of the SCBs play certain roles and function in the way they interact and construct teaching methodology and philosophy they use in their everyday life activities within the project. These roles and functions shape the institutional and classroom practice realities. The objectives of this study consist of reconstructing the historical backgrounds of ER-IPSOM-UEC to provide a systematic setting for discussion of the pedagogical principles of *interaction*, *sens divers*, and *responsabilité réciproque* as fundamentals of these projects.

Furthermore, it aims at identifying, describing or interpreting features of the SCBs of the different project actors (mainly teachers and learners at ER and UEC) to identify and interpret the roles and functions of these features in shaping everyday life "realities" of the project. However, the empiric part of the study is limited to pedagogical actors in classroom situations in ER and UEC (teachers and students or pupils). In other words, this study does not investigate the SCBs of all the different actors involved in the projects. Actors from German backgrounds are not included in the main sample. Although there is an interview with an actor from a German background, its transcript is rather analyzed as an expert source of historical background information about the development of the projects. It aims to comparatively highlight individual interests and commitment influences throughout this development process.

Reasons for this scope of the study include the lack of necessary time in a doctoral work to open the investigation to all the different intercultural and

international actors involved in the projects. Mainly, it is the interest in concrete pedagogical interaction dynamics that might inform about the influence of the SCBs of the teachers and the learners on the quality of teaching and learning processes regarding the pedagogical reform principles developed at EP, ER, IPSOM, and UEC in cooperation with German scholars. This focus on the direct pedagogical actors (teachers and learners) assumes to deduce the effects of intercultural pedagogical reform experiences on the field's main participants. Therefore, the empiric part of the study treats the problem of the significance of the sociocultural backgrounds for the quality of teacher education from the perspective of classroom interaction and the teachers' autobiographical narrations.

The present work neither investigates these features and roles of the SCBs of a quantitative representative sample from African experiences of the teacher education reform nor uses a similar sample from the Cameroonian context of teacher education. It is limited to a specific experience developed by the EEC in Mbouo-Bandjoun in cooperation with German and Cameroonian scholars and development experts, financed by the German Protestant development services, such as EZE, EED, and DÜ, now merged in Bread for the World. It opens a reconstructive window on the history of the development of this experience, pointing out and analyzing how the SCBs (of intercultural actors) might have played a certain role in the quality of its development process. Furthermore, the study pertains to an empiric micro-analysis of pedagogical discourses in a Pilot Primary School (Ecole Pilote, Ecole de Référence de Mbouo) and college teachers' autobiographical narrations.[13]

1.5 Interest and Significance of the Study

The interest in investigating the significance of the SCBs of some actors involved in the pedagogical reform projects of EEC in Mbouo-Bandjoun has been developed throughout the author's experience as an undergraduate student, a graduate student researcher, a part-time assistant lecturer, and a coordinator of the student services office at IPSOM-UEC. In these different positions within the projects, he acquainted different actors at different levels of action and responsibility.

---

13 Teachers of primary and secondary private schools (especially the EP-ER of EEC Mbouo and a laic private college in Bafoussam).

As an undergraduate student, he was very much engaged in working with the administration[14] of IPSOM-UEC and the scientific follow-up research team[15] led by Kokemohr from the University of Hamburg, Germany. As a graduate student, he assisted Professor Kä Mana in organizing and coordinating the project Forum Hebdomadaire of UEC, which he scientifically followed up and investigated for his master's work. The findings of his master's research proved the existence of a considerable gap between the repetitive discourse about the three reform principles[16] and the everyday academic campus life. The jury of his master's work agreed with him that, although the overall assumption of the pedagogical, philosophical, and practical significance of the reform principles, the infrastructural development, the academic quality of the training, the commitment of international and local partners, students, and administrative staff, the gap between the discourse and the practice remained considerable.

Considering his experience working with the different partners involved in the project IPSOM-UEC, he was eager to investigate further the social and cultural aspects of this gap. Instead of researching the causality of such a gap, he decided to study, at a doctoral level, the relationship between the actors' SCBs and the quality of their practice from a reconstructive qualitative micro-analysis of the everyday practice within the target projects. Foaleng

14 The author was elected as the representative of students (délégué des étudiants) at IPSOM and served as bridge between the administration and the students' academic interests and practical needs as well. Concerning the latter, he created a project of a campus shop to supply students, trainers and cooperation partners with everyday basic needs, such as mineral water, coffee, soft drinks, cool beer, basic furniture and telephone credit. The Dean's assistant of IPSOM, Mme. Dorimaine Mboujiko, assisted the project financially. He also organized cultural activities on the campus in cooperation with the youth of the Mbouo. These activities served to integrate the campus in the small village town of Mbouo, since the campus is a little remote. In this position, he got acquainted with the Mbouo community, the different missionary institutions in the station (college, hospital, training center CPF) and the state authorities of the Bandjoun division.

15 In this position (volunteer work), he logistically and interculturally assisted the intercultural/international team of Professor Kokemohr. He was also active in field research, making interviews, recording colloquia, for workshops sessions and further acted as a discourse facilitator during research workshops with students. The position provided him access to the sociocultural worlds of the Bandjoun, the Bafoussam and Bamoun folks during visits to traditional local authorities, festivals and other cultural events typical of the Bamiléké folk. The position sustained his research curiosity and equipped him with basic qualitative research techniques. As a volunteer facilitator, he was available for the different parties and cultures. Moreover, he could experience most of the intercultural misunderstandings and sometimes open communicational crises in the project IPSOM.

16 These pedagogical reform principles were presented briefly at the beginning of this introductive section and are further discussed in chapters 4 to 6 of this study.

(2005) studied the experience of the reform school *Ecole Pilote* de Mbouo in his doctoral work under a post-colonial perspective of North-South cooperation. His investigation highlighted the sociocultural contexts of Bandjoun. It showed how the colonial experience marked the educational development in that locality.

Instead, this study focuses on intercultural and multicultural international pedagogical reform cooperation. It especially addresses the problem of the significance of the sociocultural backgrounds for the quality of teaching and learning processes from the perspective of classroom interactions and biographical experiences, considering the theoretical framework of *Bildung* as a transformative process. The research interest, thus, lies in *Bildungsprozessen* rather than in postcolonial pedagogical discourse, although some of the issues were used to understand the complex sociocultural context of Cameroon. These personal and academic backgrounds constitute an academic motivation to pursue his doctoral studies and investigate the actors' SCBs, and the quality of teacher education in Africa as a qualitative case study of the EEC pedagogical reform projects Mbouo-Bandjoun, West-Cameroon.

This reflection on quality teacher education can be an interesting topic for a national scholarly discussion on this domain. Most of the statistics and data available in this domain are obtained from state institutions and schools (Rodriguez, 2009; UNESCO, 2010). The private sector of education and training seems to have received little attention, and, therefore, very little empiric data is available to assess the quality of training and practice in this sector. A survey on the roles and functions of some features of the SCBs of students, teachers, and administrative staff in their everyday life activities could, thus, be significant to both educationists and policymakers in Cameroon and elsewhere. A systematic look at how a pedagogical reform project – a private initiative of the Evangelical Church of Cameroon's school system – is socially constructed by its actors could probably help discuss the challenges this sector faces. The study will, thus, contribute to further discussions of quality teacher education in Africa, especially in Cameroon. Its results may also be interesting for scholars and policymakers of teacher education in other countries.

1.6   Organization of the Book

The book is constructed around three parts entailing twelve chapters. The first part comprises six chapters addressing (1) an empiric introduction of the problem of the study, (2) a conceptual, theoretical, and (3) literature reviews to provide a theoretical framework for the understanding of the problem of the significance of actors' SCBs for the quality teacher education in Came-

roon, Africa. The other three chapters of this part provide contextual backgrounds of understanding (4) the pedagogical and didactical reform principles sustaining the cooperative intercultural (5) pedagogical reform projects developed in the EEC missionary station of Mbouo-Bandjoun and (6) their reception by the actors involved in the projects. The second part describes (7) the methodological framework of the study. It constitutes an empiric analysis of the transcripts of (8) a class conference session in class 4, (9) a group discussion with the teachers about the class conference, (10) a lesson in class 6, and (11) two group interviews with teachers of ER and five college teachers trained at ISPOM-UEC and working in private schools in Bafoussam. The (12) general conclusion of the work discusses the interpretative findings of the study, answering the research questions mentioned above and opening perspectives for further research interests on related topics.

Part 1: Contextual and Theoretical Frameworks of the Concepts of Sociocultural Backgrounds and Quality Teacher Education in Cameroon, Africa

2 Understanding the Concepts of Sociocultural Backgrounds (SCBs) and Quality Teacher Education (QTE) from a Theoretical Perspective of *Bildung* as a Transformative Process, according to and beyond Bourdieu's Theory of Habitus and Capital Forms

This chapter develops a conceptual framework for the present study of sociocultural backgrounds (SCBs) and quality teacher education (QTE) in Africa, focusing on the Cameroonian context of private church education. It seeks to construct theoretical backgrounds to understand the concepts of SCBs and QTE. Moreover, the chapter provides (2.1) backgrounds for the multi-cultural Cameroonian context, sustaining socially constructed sense related to these concepts. It further redefines the role of migration in framing a cultural brace and the role of external invasions with respective cultures in shaping the complex multicultural case of the Cameroonian people. The chapter highlights the Bamiléké society as the sociocultural context of this study. This section ends with an attempt to capitalize on the discussion of the sociocultural complexity context of Cameroon, Africa, for a general understanding of the concepts of SCBs and QTE.

Furthermore, the chapter addresses the understanding of SCBs and QTE from (2.2) the theoretical viewpoint of a *Bildungsprozess,* referring to Koller and Kokemohr to apprehend the transformative processes of *Bildung* as perspectives of change according to and beyond Bourdieu's social concepts of *habitus*, economic, social, and cultural capital. Based on Koller and Kokemohr, this study investigates the possibilities of transformation processes in the EEC pedagogical reform projects in Mbouo-Bandjoun.

The chapter terminates with (2.3) a conceptual perspective of understanding of SCBs and QTE, which unites the difference and analogy implications of Bourdieu's theory of habitus and capitals, Koller and Kokemohr's descriptions and empiric research of processes, defining *Bildung* as transfor-

mations (changes) of "fundamental figures of world self-relations." It attempts to synthesize these theoretical understandings, associating them to Bohnsack's methodological terminologies of the frame of orientation and the conjunctive space of experience to understand SCBs and QTE.

2.1 Understanding the Concepts of SCBs and QTE within the Complex Multi-Cultural Context of Cameroon, Africa

2.1.1 The Concept of SCBs in the Philosophy of Education/ Teacher Education in Cameroon, Africa

A discourse on the philosophy of education/teacher education in Africa can introduce the problem of SCBs features of teacher education, meaning that it can provide some moral consideration. In this context, the dominant moral philosophy discourse is communitarianism, where the concept of community is central to African (especially Sub-Saharan African) societies. The importance of community as a group dynamic is constructed around the ultimate moral goal of harmonious social life. Therefore, community and harmony are essential to understanding the concept of the SCBs and their significance for a quality teacher education in Cameroon, Africa.

2.1.1.1 A Philosophy of Communitarianism

As in many Sub-Saharan African countries, Cameroon's philosophy of teacher education is most often discussed in terms of its reliance or reference to western philosophy, especially to teacher training orientations. The reason might be the inherited character of western education in this part of the world. Although many scholars, after the independence of Sub-Saharan African countries, engaged in a national discussion on African philosophy, the so-called Africanists (Metz, 2009), the tendency to refer to the western philosophy of education appears to be dominant, or, as Kokemohr (2018, p. 64) called it "westernized education systems," all the while considering the globalization context of the 21st century (Agbor Eta, E. et al., 2018).

However, many scholars agree that what characterizes the Sub-Saharan African philosophy or moral philosophy is the emphasis on "communal" ends (Metz, 2009, p. 182). The moral philosophy of "a person is a person through other persons" portrays *communitarianism*. Although this moral principle is taken as a foundation for afro-communitarian ethics in the sense of Metz after Tutu, it has already been claimed by Mead (1934) to portray the symbolic

interactionism of human relationships. Mead's statement, "we are what we are because of our relationships to others" (ibid., p. 279), admits this social character of humanness. Besides, the debate on "communitarianism" versus "individualism" seems to be an old discussion that was opposed in the 1900s by Walzer (1983) and Rawls (1971/1999).

The author of this work does not aim to develop further or discuss the essence of this philosophical debate. However, the concept of a communitarian philosophy is crucial when later empirically highlighting the role of the group or the community in a Cameroonian sociocultural context and, therefore, in teacher education. But how did Metz come to such a moral principle of afro-communitarian ethic?

First, the principle: "A person is a person through other persons," portraying community ends, was not Metz's statement, but rather his reconstruction of "afro-communitarianism" based on literature (he mentioned Wiredu, 2004, p. 20) on the African traditional culture (here understood as morals). He named it an afro-communitarian ethic, comparing it to the utilitarian western moral philosophy (Metz, 2013, p. 192). Thus, he recalled some prominent principles that Sub-Saharan theorists construed to highlight the communal relationships portraying identity and solidarity within the afro-communitarian ethics discourse. These include:

- Gbadegesin (1991, p. 65) portrayed community as a social end whereby "every member is expected to consider him/herself an integral part of the whole and play an appropriate role toward achieving the good of all."
- Mokgoro (1998, p. 3) stated: "Harmony is achieved through close and sympathetic social relations within the group."
- Gyekye (2004, p. 16) claimed that "the fundamental meaning of community is sharing of an overall way of life, inspired by the notion of the common good"; and
- Iroegbu (2005, p. 442) thought: "The purpose of our life is community service and community belongingness."

Moreover, Metz encompassed these senses of "community" as a combination of identity, understood as "sharing a way of life" and solidarity, claimed to be "caring for others' quality of life." A combination he assimilated into the "broad sense of friendship or love" (Metz, 2013, p. 196). Might one understand Metz's combination of identity and solidarity as a pragmatic sense of the broad and normative principle: "A person is a person through other persons"? Metz's moral philosophy is more intense elucidation is apparent in what he develops to be an African moral theory (Metz, 2013, p. 194). For him, "a moral theory counts as African insofar as it is informed by beliefs and practices salient among traditional black peoples below the Sahara Desert," which he articulated under the principle that "an act is wrong insofar as it fails to respect communal relationships, those in which we identify with and exhibit solidarity toward others." Metz conceived that "to identify with

each other is, in part, for people to treat themselves as members of the same group, that is, to share a sense of *togetherness* principally by conceiving of themselves as a 'we' and taking pride and shame in the group's behavior" (Metz, 2013, p. 10).

Furthermore, Metz (2013, p. 199) underlined four facets of community from a Sub-Saharan perspective. First, *community* comprises "the idea of people psychologically identifying with one another, by thinking of themselves as a 'we' and taking pride or shame in what the 'we' does." Second, community means: "identifying with others practically, participating in joint activities." Third, it covers the idea of "mutual aid, a relationship in which one helps others, ideally repeatedly over time." Last, *community* encompasses having "positive attitudes towards others' good." In this sense, and according to Biko (2004, p. 46, cited by Metz, 2009, p. 183):

> We regard our living together not as an unfortunate mishap warranting endless competition among us but as a deliberate act of God to make us a community of brothers and sisters jointly involved in the quest for a composite answer to the varied problems of life. Hence, in all we do, we always place Man first; all our action is usually joint community-oriented rather than individualism, which is the hallmark of the capitalist approach.

It appears critical that Biko's theoretically inspired normative claim on the dichotomist view of community-oriented action and individual capitalist approaches seem less empirically grounded. Metz and Biko view this afro-communitarian moral theory of promoting communal relationships in contrast to the western, especially the utilitarian, moral theory based on the principles of respect and utility. According to Metz (2013, p. 194), "the most influential Western moral theories are the principle of respect, that an act is wrong insofar as it degrades a person's autonomy, and the principle of utility, that an act is wrong insofar as it fails to improve people's quality of life."

Finally, regarding the above-mentioned moral principle of communitarianism, Metz (2013, p. 96) cited Desmond Tutu (1999, p. 35) to present or "legitimate" this essence of togetherness in Sub-Saharan African philosophy: "Harmony, friendliness, community are great goods. Social harmony is, for us, the *summum bonum* – the greatest good. Anything that subverts or undermines this sought-after good is to be avoided like the plague." One could understand this strong statement of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize Winner Tutu as his fight against the Apartheid system in South Africa and his role in conciliating the South African peoples for peaceful cohabitation.

Claiming that social harmony is the *summum bonum* of the South African peoples portrays a political, moral, theological, and humanitarian ideal in this context. Tutu phrased the moral principle of communitarianism (or togetherness) as follows: A person is a person because he recognizes others as persons. Acknowledging (recognizing in Tutu's term) the humankind of others has been re/formulated otherwise (Metz, 2013) as "identifying to others,"

thus, assimilating Tutu's claim that a person is a person because he recognizes others as persons to the moral principle of a person is a person through other persons. Within this context of South African peoples, the moral of communitarianism is often and widely pointed out in the Ubuntu philosophy/theology, which Tutu (1999, p. 24) himself defined in these terms: "bringing people together is what I call *Ubuntu*, which means 'I am because we are.' Far too often, people think of themselves as just individuals, separated from one another, whereas you are connected and what you do affects the whole world. When you do well, it spreads out; it is for the whole of humanity".

Many scholars agree that the concepts of person, connectedness, and humanity are central in the Ubuntu philosophy/theology. When investigating what Ubuntu is, Gade (2012, pp. 488-493) described two clusters of the definition of the term in different discourses among the South Africans of African Descent (SAADs). Ubuntu, on the one hand, is "a moral quality of a person" and, on the other hand, "a phenomenon (ethical, philosophical, African humanism) according to which people are interconnected." He also highlighted the inclusion-exclusion nature of ideas on Ubuntu (ibid. pp. 498-500). The inclusion conception of Ubuntu considers it to be "a moral quality" possessed by all persons since all *homo sapiens* are persons; or a "phenomenon according to which persons, understood as *all homo sapiens*, are interconnected" (ibid. p. 498).

The exclusion ideas of Ubuntu*,* on the contrary, confers "moral quality" and "connectedness" only to some *home sapiens* since not all of them are persons*.* In the sense of Gade's reflection*,* the moral quality of a person and the connecting nature of persons somehow exclusively belong to some *homo sapiens*. Gabe interpreted the latter as being "dangerous[17]" and the former as being positive for reconciliation and peacekeeping within the specific context of post-apartheid South Africa. Below, the author attempts to discuss how dangerous this might also be in educational reform and teacher education development, following a mono-logical orientation of linear education.

2.1.1.2 Social Harmony and Orientation of Teacher Education

First, the author wants to refer to the pragmatic criticism mentioned above regarding Metz's ideal of harmony. Although these positive moral principles constitute ideal characteristics of Sub-Saharan African ethics, their normative character could be subject to a pragmatic social, cultural, and pedagogical discussion. These seem to portray an ideal traditional African society as ho-

---

17 The inclusion-exclusion characters of social or communal morals seem dangerous to the point that it could lead to tribalism as the case in Cameroon multicultural peoples (Mbuyinga Elenga, 1989).

mogeneous by considering social harmony as an ideal end. Considering the complexity of present Sub-Saharan African societies (societies in mutation) and Cameroon in particular, it is worth questioning these traditional normative principles in a teacher/education.

The question is: What does it concretely mean that a person is a person through other persons in a Sub-Saharan (especially Cameroon) teacher/education? In other words: How problematic could the combination of identity and solidarity principles aiming at social harmony be? How do they organize power relationships and inclusion-exclusion processes characterizing the educational actors' sociocultural backgrounds? How could this advance or hinder the innovation or quality of an education/teacher education? Metz (2013, p. 200) reflected on work-based education endeavors and how they fit afro-communitarian educational ideals. His argument is that:

> given *characteristic forms* of school-based and work-based learning, the latter is much more likely to promote virtue, conceived in afro-communal terms, than the former. One is likely to be friendlier while on the job than in the classroom.

What he meant by characteristic forms mainly refers to the contexts of the two forms of learning. School-based learning is formal or institutional, professional, written, has standard curricula, is theory-based knowledge, and is oriented toward degrees/certificates for competing in the labor market (ibid. p. 193). Work-based learning, however, is practical and informal, characterized by mutual aid and positive attitudes towards others. As such, "it includes part of what afro-communitarian ethic prizes" more than a classroom does. But how significant is Metz's claim that "one is more likely to be friendlier while on the job than in the classroom" (ibid, see above citation), considering the complexity of an actual workplace (factory, public services) displaying competitiveness and jealousy among the workers and exploitation, marginalization, and precarization of the working class (see Eribon, 2009)?

In Cameroon, and especially within the Bamiléké culture, it is often common to hear people say "on colle ensemble" (we stick together) to portray their community-based culture of a self-world-conception (Kokemohr, 1999b). This cultural context underlines what is referred to as the solidarity of the members of a group or a society. Among other common-sense utterances accounting for solidarity, one might hear within communities is saying goodbye at the end of a conversation. Although they say goodbye, the protagonists often say "on est ensemble" (we are together). It appears difficult to translate the term "on" (French) into "we" or "one" (English), as will be discussed in another part of this work, because of its diffuse and vague character (Kokemohr, 1999b). The indefinite pronoun "on" often occurs in utterances expressing a certain community relationship orientation in everyday communication (ibid.). Rather, it depicts a transcendental concept of togetherness that symbolizes more than the physical identities of members of a

group or a society. It is a *summum bonum*, a homogenous conception of community, which might complement Tutu's idea of social harmony as the "greatest good."

In this view, Tutu's (1999) conclusive statement: "Anything that subverts or undermines this sought-after good is to be avoided like the plague" (p.35), seems to portray the inclusion-exclusion nature of mono-logical statements. Since "they are constructed by excluding the semantic-pragmatic backgrounds to which they are related" (Kokemohr, 2018, p. 57), distinguishing closed systems to open systems of thought. This may portray an exclusion of some members of the group who somehow do not seem to "stick together" within this specific context of the Bamiléké culture and possibly within the general political and social context of Cameroon (today), where public order seems synonymous to social harmony (*summum bonum*).

In Tutu's words, the ideas of subversion and impairment are to be avoided like a "plague." In other words: diversity and contradictory perspectives are not welcome. For, the mono-logical system of knowledge, as Kokemohr (ibid., p. 57) portrayed it, "tends not only to cut off semiotic elements of diversity but [it also tends] to exclude people of deviant behavior." It appears dangerous "because, if it is the dominant discourse of a group or a society, it weakens the dynamic potential of facing unknown challenges" (ibid., p. 72).

The exclusion character of Tutu's idea of social harmony relies on the metaphor of a "plague," taking after a religious image of "malediction," interpreting a catastrophic medical image of a rapidly contaminating disease (today, one might consider the pandemic of Covid-19). If educational goals are mainly summarized (maybe solely) in this pursuit of social harmony in the sense of a monological system of orientation, it might be dangerous because it might lead to the reinforcement of an actual persisting teacher-centered education. The teacher might then conceive themselves or their job as the agent of "anti-subversion," of "anti-undermining" attempts from the learners to use the diversity of their potentials to construct relationships for themselves and the world. So how does this communal philosophy reflect higher education ends in Sub-Saharan Africa?

The orientation of higher education in Africa, as normatively discussed by Metz (2009, pp. 185-187), covers ends of "foster[ing] development," "support[ing] culture," "rectify[ing] injustice," "promot[ing] personhood," and "realiz[ing] the majority's aspirations." Although Metz (2009) tried to describe each, they remain pragmatically abstract. So how do these normative goals meet the university reality in Africa and Cameroon? Fonkoua (2005, p. 111) put his arguments in the following terms:

> Teacher training must no longer be based on the logic of established knowledge, the assimilation of which makes it possible to achieve a type of behavior that induces and instills a given attitude in the learner. The main and new idea is using

the competency-based approach in the design and practice of education and training (own translation).

If this seems to be the philosophical and pedagogical orientation of the Cameroon teacher education, one may then ask to what extent this is specific and relevant to an African or a Cameroonian culture and society. How does Cameroon come to this "main and new idea" of teacher education? Which sociocultural considerations underline these orientations and this main and new idea of a competency-based approach in the design and practice of education and training? In other words: How do these orientations reflect or might reflect the complex SCBs contexts of Cameroon?

2.1.1.3 Complex SCBs Contexts of Cameroon

Like most African countries (especially Sub-Saharan Africa), Cameroon entails complex sociocultural contexts. Although a certain communal sociocultural orientation is generally depicted as a community-oriented life organization, sociocultural diversity, ethnic multiplicity, and subsequent linguistic heterogeneity make it difficult to speak of cultural and social hegemony.[18] As mentioned above by Metz, the problem of communitarianism (as a homogenous feature of the SCBs in Sub-Saharan Africa) appears to be more complex when looked at from an educational angle concerning teacher education. How significant are Cameroon's multi-ethnic and multi-cultural realities for the practice of an appropriate quality education?

In chapter 3, aspects of this question are discussed, namely those concerning harmonization endeavors of the bicultural educational system in Cameroon. This section, therefore, provides a preliminary conceptual discussion of the broad and diffuse concept of the sociocultural background. The problem of multi-culturalism and its impacts on the discourse of a quality teacher education could be an aspect of such a preliminary discussion.

2.1.1.4 Cameroon: A Multi-Ethnic and Multi-Cultural Country, Nation

Cameroon is a country situated in central Africa. It consists of a fascinating mixture of cultures, landscapes, and biodiversity, causing it to earn the appellation "little Africa" (Tanang et al., 2014, p. 2; 2013, p. 13). The sociocultural diversity of Cameroonian societies entails ethnic multiplicity and linguistic heterogeneity. This reality is construed by internal migration due to ethnic

---

18 Here, a social and cultural hegemony in terms of a standardized cultural and social identity or perception, like it is the case in most European, Asian or North American countries, is meant, although the social and cultural realities in each of these countries appear as complex as in African countries.

conflicts and external sociocultural influences of its encounter with Muslim and Christian cultures throughout the history of Cameroon. The internal migration of populations is a frame for an ethnic multiplication and a cultural brace in Cameroon. During slavery and Muslim raids in the 18th and 19th centuries, populations were spread across Africa, being pushed from the North to the southern equatorial parts of the continent. The continental migration movements induced the formation of major ethnic groups comprising the Sudano-Sahelian and the Bantu peoples in Cameroon. The internal migration effect contributed to the multiplication of hundreds of sub-groups, constituted by family division and internal power struggles, making defeated princes or leaders move to another area and form their kingdoms (see also Pradelles de Latour, 1997 who highlighted internal causes of the movement of the Bamiléké Folk overall the Cameroonian territory).

This multiplication effect applies to the ethnic tribal diversification of populations in the northern, the southern, and the western regions of the country, contributing to the linguistic and cultural diversities (see also Tanang et al., 2013, pp. 13-15). For instance, within the grand group Bamileké,[19] there are many ethnic tribal groups, such as the Bandjoun, the Bangwa, the Bangante, the Mbouda, the Bayangam, and the Bafoussam, just to name a few. Therefore, continental migrations and internal movements of populations have contributed to the formation of ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversities in Africa, especially in Cameroon. This makes it difficult to speak of either the Cameroonian "culture," the Cameroonian "society," or the Cameroonian "language" as a homogeneous sociocultural identity. It is preferable to speak of the Cameroonian cultures, Cameroonian societies, Cameroonian languages, and Cameroonian systems. One might generalize that all is plural in Cameroon.

This plurality further applies to Cameroon's historical experiences of encounters with external imperial and religious cultures and socialities. The country has experienced both complex colonial encounters (ibid., pp. 13-15) and religious influences, consisting of three colonial dominations: the German occupation (1884-1919), the French and the English occupations during the mandate of the Societies of Nations (SN) after the First World War (1919-1960-61), and the Muslim invasion of the "Grand"-North in the era of Ousmane dan Fodio (Betché, 2018, pp. 30-33). These were also influenced by two religious and cultural systems, namely Islam (with the Fulbé and Muslim cultures) and Christianity (with western cultures), developing respectively Islamic Coran school and Western (European) modern education systems.

---

19 This is mentioned here because of the sociocultural context of the reform project's goal of this investigation. The same multiplication effect applies to the grand groups in the North, the South, the East, the North-West, the South-West and the coastline of the country.

These multiple colonial and religious experiences have, therefore, influenced educational orientations[20]. The sociocultural/linguistic diversity and its educational correlations have backgrounds for sociocultural-political misunderstandings (leading to current open conflicts) and the national cultural heritage. According to Inglis (1996, p. 17), "multiculturalism is an enrichment for the society as a whole." Tanang et al. (2013, p. 10) claimed that "in Cameroon, languages are unquestionably the most immediate manifestation of cultural diversity understood here as the expression of human creativity and the sum of the peoples' collective experiences" (own translation from the French text). In the perspective of national unity, the constitution of Cameroon of 1996, in its first article, sub (3), states: "The Official languages of the Republic of Cameroon shall be English and French, both languages having the same status. The State shall guarantee the promotion of bilingualism throughout the country. It shall endeavor to protect and promote national languages".

Based on this fundamental law, the President of the Republic set a decree[21] creating the National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism (NCPBM) with the mission of "promoting bilingualism and multiculturalism in Cameroon to maintain peace, consolidation of the country's national unity and strengthening its people's willingness and day to day experience for living together." Even though the state addresses sociocultural and linguistic diversity issues, the political diversity culture remains challenging, considering the current political tensions[22] resulting from antagonistic political interpretations of sociocultural diversity.

Although the Bamiléké is generally spoken of as a sociocultural identity, the reality appears to be more complex because this ethnic depiction is cosmopolitan and displays sociocultural diversities.

2.1.1.5 SCBs to the Bamiléké People and the Problem of its Significance for QTE within the EEC Educational Projects in Mbouo

Foaleng (2005, p. 55) reviewed the name Bamiléké, commonly used as an ethnic depiction. He claimed: "The term was a colonial administrative term, which has emerged as a term for an 'ethnic' identity and has gradually been

---

20 Two systems of education established after the French and British educational systems. These are thoroughly discussed in chapter 3 below.
21 DECREE N° 2017/013 of January 23, to lay down the establishment, organization and functioning of the National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multi-Culturalism.
22 The author refers principally to the current socio-political crisis in the English-speaking regions and to overall sociocultural tensions sustained by the tribalistic political discourse in Cameroon.

adopted for self-identification" (own translation from the German text). According to Foaleng, the term Bamiléké has no "equivalence" in any of the local languages, for instance, the Ghomálá language of Bandjoun. However, its prefix "Ba," meaning "place" in the local languages, is used to also refer to the "inhabitants" of this "place" (ibid.). Therefore, Bamiléké designates different ethnic groups sharing almost the same SCBs, located in the western Cameroonian region, commonly called the Grassfields. Pradelles de Latour (1997) recounted the social and cultural structure of the Bamiléké Kingdom of Bangoua, with a special focus on the everyday life of the villagers, ruled by a chief and his notables, pointing out the religious cult concerning ancestors represented by the skull which is removed from a corps two years after the burial. The book retraces the complex social organization of the Bamiléké societies structured around complex social alliances regulating the social relations of its people.

The institutional organization consists of a chieftaincy system (ibid., pp. 137-86). Describing the chieftaincy institution, Foaleng (2005, p. 62) depicted it "as the most important topos of the social life of the Bamiléké as well as the institution of the Fô, the identity-creating figure, through which for the Bamiléké their village becomes their home" (own translation). The figure of the Fô (the chief) is central in the sociopolitical organization. In this sense, Foaleng argued that "the most important figure in a chefférie is the Fô" (ibid., p. 62). This importance is mostly related to his religious power and role in sociocultural and political life. In this regard, the Fô is spiritually and symbolically connected to "the founder, whose representative he is on earth" (ibid., p. 62). The top-down structure of power (see also Rohle, 1990, chapter B, pp. 31-83) and social relations is organized around the chief and his notables, the secret societies being instances of the gods and the heads of families.

All these instances act and interact to maintain the complex social alliances sustaining the social and institutional order, stability, and life in a kind of "solidarity" relationship system (see also Pradelles de Latour, 1997). As the chief has the final word concerning his people, the head of a family is the chief of his family, and the elders are the wise men responsible for the transmission of the customs. Common customs, hence, exist, a set of "habituated" activities the Bangoua people share and transmit to the younger generation. These consist of unquestioned practices that govern their everyday life, which the chief controls regarding the ancestors. As Pradelles Latour (ibid., p. 11) put it, "not to raise the voice in front of the chief, engaging one's head as a token to telling the truth, and playing with words are everyday enunciation modalities" (own translation from the French text).

Pradelles Latour (1998) also sketched the system of child socialization within the Bamiléké society. According to him, child socialization within this society is predominantly based on the symbolic rituals sustained by the dif-

ferent complex social alliances. These include a birth ritual in symbiosis with nature (animal, trees, etc.), the ancestors, the elders, the relatives, or the good friends after whom a child might be named, or according to the circumstances of its birth or circumstances faced by the mother during pregnancy. Such a socialization structure/process also applies to the Bandjoun folk. Foaleng (2005, p. 71) stressed that: "Beyond the networking through the various social alliances, the sense of life of the individual is based on kinship" (own translation). Therefore, child education is a familial responsibility and involves all the relatives and elders of the neighborhood. It is a community responsibility induced by the social principle of "solidarity" and mutual help/support.

Though most of these community socialization institutions and structures for initiation rites have lost their social significance, they still symbolically and culturally play a certain role in structuring everyday life (ibid., p. 73). This means that the Bamiléké societies are "socioculturally" structured around the chieftaincies, notabilities, community solidarity, and the individual struggle for social recognition and integration in the familial lineage and the whole community. Socialization success triggers social status, recognition, and integration (ibid.). The complex sociocultural alliances sustain political and symbolic power relation struggles, which constitute the frame of orientation for individuals bound to community values of solidarity and mutual aid. It sounds controversial, but this complexity sustains the dynamics of inclusion-exclusion, structuring the Bamiléké societies (Kokemohr, 2007b).

But what could be the educational implication of such inclusion-exclusion dynamics and the related complex social structures and cultural dispositions? How can these sociocultural orientations play a role in international, intercultural pedagogical cooperative endeavors? In other words: How significant are the actors' sociocultural backgrounds for the quality of their pedagogical action, interactions, and discourse? These questions are the focus of this study. They will be investigated theoretically and empirically to highlight the roles of the sociocultural backgrounds in the quality of teacher education in Africa, Cameroon.

Considering the above-sketched and discussed general philosophical, sociological, and cultural contexts of education and teacher education in Africa, the question is what is understood by the concepts of sociocultural backgrounds and a quality teacher education.

2.1.2   Definition of the Concepts of SCBs and QTE

The terms of sociocultural backgrounds and quality teacher education are the main concepts that need to be addressed in this study.

2.1.2.1 Understanding the Concept of SCBs in this Study

The discourse in the above chapters helped to realize how diffuse and open the concept of the SCB is. Therefore, it is not easy to claim a clear or standard definition of this concept. However, the analysis of the morphological and semantic composition of the term sociocultural backgrounds might help understand this concept further. It is composed of the adjectives "socio" (social) and "cultural." According to the COBUILD[23] Advanced English Dictionary (2021), the "adjective social means relating to society or to the way society is organized"; and the "adjective cultural means relating to a particular society and its ideas, customs, and art" (ibid.). The same dictionary depicts the term *background* as "the kind of family you come from and the kind of education you have had. It can also refer to such things as your social and racial origin, your financial status, or the type of work experience that you have". It is noticeable that understanding the term background necessarily includes the qualification of social and cultural or/and their contents.

Therefore, combining "socio" and "cultural" might imply a semantic interrelation of social and cultural adjectives. This means that the quality of being social implies being cultural, just like the concept of society implies that of culture. Hence, the concept of sociocultural backgrounds used in this work is open to both social structures and cultural dispositions, sustaining (backing) the actors' everyday life practices. Thus, educational processes include both socialization and enculturation processes (more about enculturation; see Foaleng, 2005). Considering the complexity of social structures and cultural dispositions in African societies, especially in Cameroon (generally and politically described as "Africa in miniature"), one can understand the difficulty of attempting a clear and concise definition of sociocultural backgrounds.

As a rather diffuse term, the concept of sociocultural backgrounds is generally used as a common-sense concept, which is implicitly understood as such in the everyday discourse for its reference to society and culture. According to Cappai (2010, p. 11): "Culture, it must be said, is more and more like a black box from which, because no one knows what is inside, one can take out all sorts of things that may be useful for justifying one's strategy" (own translation from the German text). In addition, Straub (2010, p. 53) stated: "Culture can be understood as a social, knowledge-based or symbolically mediated practice that includes its objectification and objectivization" (own translation). In all these definitions, society and culture are "inter-semantic," implying a group organization (or structure), knowledge, practice, and mediation.

---

23   See: https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/cultural-background

Therefore, the actors' sociocultural backgrounds are manifested in their everyday practice, interactions, and communication dynamics. In other words, features of sociocultural backgrounds can be reconstructed in the language use (Kokemohr, 2019) and a "symbolical mediated practice," as Straub (ibid.) highlighted. In this sense, sociocultural backgrounds also include educational and economic, political, and locational backgrounds. Except for the physical reference (e.g., background color of a picture), the term *background* can sociologically be used synonymously for the concept of capital, as Bourdieu, according to Karl Max, theorized. Hence, it might depict social, cultural, economic capitals, social space and symbolic power relations structuring social practice. Sociocultural backgrounds imply both a collective and an individual *habitus*, which Bourdieu (1986) depicted as a "structuring structure."

Pedagogically speaking, Hörner (1978, p. 342) highlighted that "the notion of 'culture' means, on the one hand, the development of certain intellectual, psychic, and physical faculties and, on the other hand, all the faculties and knowledge acquired by an individual." In this regard, and according to Schweder (2001, p. 3155; 2015), in the context of globalization "an 'evolutionary' or 'developmental' view of culture has returned to the intellectual scene." Therefore, to further apprehend the concept of sociocultural backgrounds in the educational discourse, especially in discourse about the QTE, the study uses Bourdieu's theory of *Habitus* and *Capitals* in the light of the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process (Koller, 2011; 2017) to allow a theoretical understanding beyond Bourdieu's theory. A pragma-linguistic understanding perspective of Bildungsprozesstheorie empirically supports this latter aim that Kokemohr (2019) stressed in his works in educational intercultural contexts.

2.1.2.2   Understanding the Concept of QTE in this Study

There is no standard definition of the concept of a QTE. However, Momanyi (2019, p. 39) understood the term *quality* as "the provision of the best-standardized services in every aspect of the teaching-learning process." She portrays teacher education as "the process of acquiring the desired knowledge, skills and values related to the teaching profession" (ibid., p. 39). Momanyi deduced from these basic definitions that a "quality teacher education exposes student-teachers to appropriate teaching methodologies, assessment, and evaluation. Instructional materials that are carefully selected according to the topic and objectives of the lesson and their effective use enhance students learning outcomes" (ibid., p. 36).

Like most research on QTE, Momanyi focused on quality indicators, such as the curriculum design and implementation, the teaching methodology, and the psychological knowledge of the learners. Such a prescriptive

understanding of QTE is limited, considering that "quality teaching is too complex and too nuanced to be amenable to measurement" (Wang et al., 2011, p. 332). Though the fact that a "teaching quality is neither a widely agreed upon nor uniformly accepted concept" (ibid., p. 331), the authors agreed that recent literature on the matter in the USA informs about three perspectives on quality teaching "associated with teachers' cognition resources, their performances, and their effect" (ibid., p. 31).

From the cognitive perspective, quality teaching encompasses "the knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, and dispositions teachers bring into the profession" (ibid., p. 332), which support most policies on teacher education programs. From the perspective of the teacher performance, quality teaching relates to the actual teaching practice, the empiric observation of which means "process-products research on teacher effectiveness" (ibid., p. 332). Accordingly, it is assumed that "quality teaching is defined in terms of teaching outcomes" (ibid., p. 332). These perspectives are limited in their focus, lacking attention to other factors, such as the backgrounds of the learners and other educational actors. According to this critique, Wang et al. (2011, p. 332) underlined that: "Culturally responsive teaching was proposed to teach students with different cultural and racial backgrounds or socioeconomic status." In this sense, quality teaching is open to the diversity of the actors' backgrounds and their psychological, cognitive, and professional preparedness. They, thus, agree that the teaching quality might consist of an "adequate consideration of the social and cultural backgrounds of students and other teaching and learning-related activities outside of classrooms" (ibid., p. 335). In this line, Tchombe (2006, p. 73) highlighted that "the emerging challenges for professionalization in developing traditions of teacher preparation should pay particular attention to the scientific knowledge and the implications of the culture."

In addition to the quality teaching issues mentioned above, the present study sees the concept of QTE from the perspective of pedagogical reform principles of diversity of meaning, interaction, and corporate responsibility in the teaching-learning process. These principles are assumed (by the reformers, see Kenmogne & Kokemohr, 1990) to promote creativity through diversity, interactivity, and group solidarity to characterize pedagogical participants in, as well as outside, the classrooms. Since "studies on the effects of teachers' culturally responsive teaching on the academic performance of students with different social, cultural, and racial backgrounds are underdeveloped empirically despite an improved understanding of culturally responsive teaching practices" (Wang et al., 2011, p. 332), this study considers it worth investigating the significance of the participants' SCBs for the improvement of the quality of teaching and learning processes within the context of the target projects and its reform principles, discussed respectively in chapters (5) and (4).

2.1.3 Final Remarks on the Conceptual Framework of the Study

This section highlighted some sociocultural considerations, generally discussed as features of philosophical/moral discourse on education in Sub-Saharan Africa. These comprise sociocultural issues of identity and solidarity, which serve the normative (or moral) ideal of social harmony organizing communal relationships. Typical characteristics of this common or appropriate orientation include the sociocultural values of togetherness, solidarity, social harmony, and the respect of the elders within the hierarchical social organization. It also supported an empiric criticism of these prescriptive principles, which, in real-life situations, characterize the reality of inclusion-exclusion sociocultural and political orientations influencing educational orientations and pedagogical practice. These orientations are understood and lived as social and cultural values sustained by traditions, myths, initiation rites, and arts, structuring the social, educational, political, and economic everyday activities. Considering these general sociocultural values, a child's socialization in Africa, therefore, consists of the transmission, cultivation, and initiation of these values in everyday life.

Subsequently, the chapter discussed how complex the SCBs of educational actors are, especially when these participants are international and intercultural cooperative partners, as is the case within the context of the pedagogical reform projects of EEC in Mbouo-Bandjoun. This induced the problem of the significance of the SCBs of the pedagogical reform projects' participants in their quality of teaching and learning processes and the quality of their sociopolitical and pedagogical interactions.

The study used those preliminary philosophical, sociological, and cultural considerations to understand the concept of SCBs as a combination of the common ways of thinking, behavior, and acting of a group of people. These include ethnic-familial, national-international, city-village, formal-informal, school-street, traditions and custom distinctions and issues in the everyday social life that individuals share (collective sociocultural backgrounds) and individual educational and socialization experiences orienting the behavior, thought and action (individual's sociocultural backgrounds). Considering this, and according to Campbell et al. (1994) cited in Collins Cobuild's Online Dictionary, "individuals tend to interpret their experience in the light of their [socio] cultural background." The section finally thematized the concept of QTE from the perspective of the pedagogical reform principles of diversity, interaction, and reciprocal/corporate responsibility within the contexts of EEC projects developed in Mbouo-Bandjoun, meaning from the perspective of the quality of pedagogical interactions informing on the quality of teaching and learning processes in practical pedagogical situations within the target projects.

So, how can the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process and the sociological theory of practice of Bourdieu help to further understand the concepts of SCBs and QTE? How can this theoretical framework conceptually address the significance of the actors' SCBs for improving the quality of teaching and learning processes and practices in Cameroon, Africa?

2.2 SCBs and the QTE in Cameroon, Africa: An Empiric Research Perspective of the Theory of *Bildung* as a Transformative Process (BTP)

This study is based on the theory of socio-constructivism. The concept of sociology of knowledge in the sense of Berger and Luckmann (2005) is driven by two scientific traditions: the tradition of phenomenology (Husserl, [1913] 1982; Schütz, 1962; Luckmann, 1983) and the hermeneutic tradition of symbolic interactionism (Goffman, 1959; Garfinkel, 1967; Blumer, 1969). The representatives of these theories view the social world as the creation of members of society. As Silverman (2005, p. 101) stated, "social institutions are created and stabilized by the actions of participants." The central idea of constructivism, as viewed by Silverman, is that "how we label phenomena defines their character." This relates to the concept of "definitions of the situation," which encourages social researchers to "look for social phenomena in how meaning gets defined by people in different contexts." This means that social phenomena, such as "death" and "marriage," are defined as "social constructs." According to Schütz (1962, p. 5), they

> [have] a particular meaning and relevance structure of the human beings living, thinking, and acting therein. They have preselected and pre-interpreted this world by a series of common-sense constructs of the reality of daily life. These thought objects determine their behavior, define the goal of their actions and the means available for attaining them – in brief, which help them find their bearings within their natural and sociocultural environment and come to terms with it.

In other words, people construct meaning to the objects of their environment. Therefore, this section of the chapter attempts to provide insight into theories that support this study on the significance of actors' SCBs for the quality of teacher education in Cameroon, Africa. It starts with the main and significant theory for this study: the *Bildungsprozesstheorie*, with a focus on the readings of the contributions of Koller to this domain. On the one hand, it seeks to stress the fundamentals of the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process. On the other hand, it attempts to outline its significance in understanding the concept of the SCBs in teacher education, according to Bourdieu's theory of habitus and capital forms, and to address possibilities of transfor-

mation (change) of the *habitus* in education and pedagogical reform practices. The section further provides an empiric view of the processes of *Bildung* from the perspective of Kokemohr's international and intercultural work in Cameroon and Taiwan. This provides an overview of his theoretical position on Kant, Wittgenstein (on the transcendental and propositional character of knowledge), and Humboldt concerning the importance of language use in the *Bildungsprozesstheorie*. Finally, the section attempts to highlight the discussion on the significance of these theoretical considerations for understanding the concepts of SCBs and QTE of *Bildung* as a transformative process in the teacher education reform in Cameroon.

2.2.1 Understanding SCBs and QTE in Cameroon, Africa from the Perspective of the Theory of BTP

The study attempts to understand the concept or issues of the sociocultural backgrounds of educational actors from the perspective of the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process. For this purpose, the author of this study mainly refers to Koller's works in English (Koller, 2011; 2017) and German (Koller, 2010; 2018). The section highlights some considerations on the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process. It tries to answer the question of how to understand the sociocultural backgrounds as the structure of *Welt- und Selbstverhältnis* (world- and self-relation) in the light of Koller's capitalization of Bourdieu's theory of habitus and capital forms for describing physical, cultural, and practical dispositions orienting our relations to the world and ourselves. Moreover, the section points to Koller's theoretical perspective on *Bildung*, thematizing possibilities of transformation (change) in the self and world relations or world views in terms of *Bildungsprozesse*, according to and beyond Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*. It ends with comparing concepts of SCBs, the self-and world-relations or worldviews, the social, cultural capitals, and *habitus*.

2.2.1.1 Some Considerations on the Concept of Bildung as a Transformative Process

The theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process was developed according to "Humboldt's classical neo-humanist understanding of *Bildung*" (Koller, 2011, p. 375). Humboldt's concept of *Bildung* implied two assumptions as Koller stated: (1) "the true end of man is the highest and most harmonious development of his powers to a complete and consistent whole" (Humboldt, 1854/1996, p. 11, cited by Koller, 2011, p. 376); and this development occurs (2) "only by connecting the 'I' to the world for the most general, liveliest and freest interaction" (Humboldt, 1960-1981, vol. I, p. 235 ff, cited by Koller,

2011, p. 376). These formulations emphasize the ultimate end of humankind and the means to/or toward that end.

In (1), Humboldt considers *Bildung* from its ultimate aims of "harmonious development of [man's] powers to [its] complete and consistent whole." This claim fundamentally speaks of man from the perspective of an individual, a human individual. *Bildung* (education), according to Humboldt's view, therefore, aims at maximizing a child's potential, capacities, talents, and skills: its powers. However, this view should not be confused with understanding *Bildung* from a positivistic and utilitarian perspective – in the sense of today's market-oriented and dominated conception of education and competency-based pedagogy. It rather depicts a philosophical consideration of man (human) and his innate powers.

In (2), the targeted complete and consistent maximization of human powers is influenced by his connection to the world through lively and free interaction. This stresses the significance of the idea of sociality or sociability of human subjects (inter-subjectivity?) for the realization of the processes of *Bildung*. According to Koller, Humboldt's "essential theorems" are significant in his "language-philosophical reflections." As a medium of the "interaction" between the self and the world, language appears to unfold *Bildungsprozesse*. In Koller's words, "language structures man's relation both to objects and to other people, and thus it has a world-exploring and a communicative function at the same time." (ibid., p. 376). Language not only encompasses the possibilities of "expressing already existing ideas" but also of "creating thought." Humboldt called this the "formative organ of thought" consisting of a possible "world view." Koller stressed this function of language as he claimed that "every language represents its way of understanding the world," hence having "a lasting influence on the imagination and feelings of those speaking it." In addition to and above these functions, Koller highlighted the interest of Humboldt in languages in the plural, which depicts the "irreducible difference of interpretations of the world," portraying its restriction of translation and understanding, nevertheless representing, as such, its richness, and perspective of opening "opportunities." (ibid., p. 376)

These philosophical reflections of Humboldt on the importance of language/languages in unfolding the process of *Bildung* are significant foundations for the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process in the works of Koller and other *Bildungsprozess* researchers. In this regard, he submitted that: "For, in so far as language is the essential medium of that productive 'interaction' of I and world, the variety of linguistic world views is of crucial significance for processes of *Bildung.*" (Koller, 2011, p. 376)

Taking on (inspired by) Humboldt's philosophy on *Bildung* and language, the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process builds itself from the unanswered questions arising from it; notably those reflected by Koller as of "what, after all, triggers off *Bildung*" and "how the different languages, the

encounter with which is supposed to result in *Bildung*, are related to each other." (ibid., p. 376) Humboldt's answers to the first question seem to limit the understanding of *Bildung* to the development of human potential and its "complete and consistent whole" through language and in "interaction" with the world. Humboldt's *Bildung* and language philosophy assumes that humans naturally strive to unfold their power. Koller's work rather states that experiences of crises are triggers of the processes of *Bildung*. As far as the second question is concerned, Humboldt overcomes the difference in languages by conceiving the world- and self-relations as occurring in "mutual completion within a harmonic whole." (ibid., p. 376)

In contrast to this conception, theorists of *Bildung* as a transformative process do not address the issue of difference from its harmonizing or harmonic features but rather from a potential conflict of different world views, which might trigger the transformation of the subjects' world- and self-relations, meaning from the perspective of opening new opportunities or chances for the creation of new structures of a man's world- and self-relations. In other words, according to Koller (ibid., p. 376), there is a need for "another theoretical model which is oriented at difference rather than at harmonic completion." Such a need for updating or reframing Humboldt's theoretical model of *Bildung* appears to be the concern of the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process.

To frame another model of the theory of *Bildung*, Koller developed the concept of the transformative process of *Bildung*, the fundamental idea of which "involves understanding Bildung as a process of the transformation of the world- and self-relations which may develop when humans are confronted with certain problems without being provided with the means necessary for solving them" (ibid., p. 377). Koller (2018) further underlined that this reformulation of the concept of *Bildung* was inspired by Kokemohr's attempt to distinguish learning processes from *Bildungsprozesse*. This distinction accounts for the fact that learning processes concern processes of acquisition of information which differ from *Bildungsprozesse*, considered to include "the higher level" of the latter (Koller, 2018, p. 15). For Marotzki (1990, pp.41-43), this character of *Bildung* encompasses a possible change in the way of processing new information. Koller, thus, supported Kokemohr's description of the concept of *Bildung* as consisting of a process of "change of the basic figures of the world- and self-relations of humans, which potentially always happens when people are confronted with new problems, for which the figures of their previous world- and self-relations are no longer sufficient" (ibid., p. 16). By pointing out the transformative character of *Bildungsprozesse*, this theory differs from Humboldt's classical consideration and searches for conditions triggering possible processes of *Bildung* above standardized information learning processes.

This new consideration of the concept of *Bildung*, thus, implies the "experience of a crisis" that accounts for a triggering factor to the process of *Bildung* in the sense of *Bildung* as a transformative process. Such an experience might radically question the previous schemes of the world- and self-relations and, consequently, favor "new figures of the world- and self-relations" (Koller, 2011, p. 377), which appear necessary to solve problems for which the previous schemes happen to be insufficient or ineffective. Thus, Koller (2017, p. 2) redefined *Bildung* "as a process of transformation that transforms fundamental figures of the way subjects relate to themselves and the world when grappling with experiences of crises that challenge their present relations to the world and themselves."

Similar to Humboldt, this theory of *Bildung* puts significance on language to reformulate the concept of *Bildung*. It also acknowledges the Humboldtian concept of "world- and self-relations" describing *Bildungsprozesse*. However, Koller, as one of the prominent thinkers of *Bildung* as a transformative[24] process (Koller, 2017, p. 2 and p. 4), attempted a theoretical description of structures sustaining these world- and self-relations of interacting subjects. Furthermore, he investigated under which conditions processes of *Bildung* occur and how these processes could empirically be researched. From the perspective of Koller and Kokemohr, the author of this work considers theoretical and methodological reflections of the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process significant to his study of the SCBs of teachers and other educational stakeholders within the pedagogical reform projects developed by the Protestant church in Mbouo, in the western region of Cameroon.

---

24 In his works, Koller distinguishes the concept of *Bildung* as a transformative process from the Anglo-Saxon concept of "transformative learning" that Mezirow developed in his work entitled *Transformative Dimensions of Adult Learning,* which was published in 1991. The latter conceived "transformative learning" to consist of four different learning types: learning through meaning schemes, learning new meaning schemes, learning through the transformation of meaning schemes and learning through a perspective transformation. The first two types seem to capture learning in the sense of Marotzki (1990, pp. 41-43), that is the acquisition of (new) information (knowledge). The last two possibly address the issue of transformation in learning process, even though they are mainly concerned with the issue of knowledge. These are comparable to Marotzki's (ibid., pp. 41-43) differentiation of learning and *Bildung*. Furthermore, the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process tackles what is described above as the higher level of learning. In Koller's view, moreover, the concept of *Bildung* as a transformative process, in contrast to "transformative learning", concerns the "whole lifecycle, including childhood and adolescence" (Koller, 2017, pp. 2-4. However, Koller advised not to concentrate these approaches on their terminological differences or on politics of different subjects; "Instead, it should concentrate on the way the transformative process is described" (ibid., p. 2-4). This seems to be the task assigned to the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process.

The present investigation attempts a theoretical description of structures, dispositions, or figures accounting for the world- and self-relations of subjects, some conditions triggering a change of these relations, and empiric approaches to investigate such transformation processes.

Consequently, a close look at and a review of Koller's discussion of Bourdieu's theory for the account of a theoretical description of structures of the world- and self-relations in *Bildung* as a transformative process are attempted in the subsequent chapters. These structures or their dynamics are assumed to frame the conceptual perspective of the SCBs of the participants of the pedagogical reform projects. In his attempt at a theory of transformational processes of *Bildung*, Koller (2011, p. 377) acknowledged and addressed the following three questions:

> (1) With the help of which conceptual concepts and theories is it possible to grasp the world- and self-relations of developing subjects appropriately? (2) How could we define in more detail those problems which trigger off such processes of *Bildung*? (3) How could we grasp more exactly those processes of the transformation of the world- and self-relations, which here are understood to be *Bildung*? What are the essential conditions securing that, given the confrontation with new problems, a transformation happens instead of reestablishing the established world- and self-relations? And how does the development of new figures of the world and self-relations happen?

In the following, Koller's triple interrogation orientation to this work's three main research questions are investigated.

2.2.1.2   SCBs and Structures of "Welt- und Selbstverhältnis:" Koller's Perspective according to Bourdieu's Theory of habitus and capital forms

The main question is: How can the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process and Bourdieu's socialization theory, as sketched out by Koller (2011; 2017; 2018), account for a potential description of a rather common-sense concept of a sociocultural background? In the parallelism mentioned above, Koller's first question identifies and describes structures that "appropriately" organize or are typical prerequisites for our relations to the world and ourselves. This appears crucial for identifying and describing the actors' possible sociocultural backgrounds (or/and their features) within the EEC reform pedagogy projects' *habitus* in Mbouo (ref. research question 1). In the sense of Bildung as a transformative process, Bourdieu's social, cultural, and symbolic capital and the cultural dispositions and social structures sustaining the actors' world- and self-relations in pedagogical situations might contribute to describing the rather common-sense concept of a sociocultural background. Bourdieu's socialization theory highlights three main concepts: *habitus*, capital, and social space. Like Koller, the author of this work considers these

concepts of defining structures of the world- and self-relations in the *Bildungsprozess* theory and the sociocultural background, supporting those relations as viewed in the inquiry. So, why and how can these concepts serve the interests of the theory of *Bildung* and this study of the sociocultural backgrounds within pedagogical reform projects in Cameroon?

The concepts of *habitus* and capital are linked to social space in Bourdieu's social theory. They can reflect a world- and self-relations structure and account for sociocultural backgrounds supporting the actors' everyday practices. Bourdieu (2010, p. 95) stressed this relationship in the following formula: "[(*habitus*) (capital)] + field = practice". Understanding educational practices and, more precisely, pedagogical reform practices might be facilitated by understanding this formula. According to Koller (2017, p. 4), "a theory that seems very promising to this end is Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* since it is equipped with terms to capture the social dimension of individual ways of relating to the world and oneself in a differentiated way." The social and symbolic character of this mediation in the humans' relations to the world and the self are well addressed in Bourdieu's concept of *habitus,* which he described as:

> The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles that generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them. Objectively "regulated" and "regular" without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53).

Koller (2017, p. 24) highlights three features of Bourdieu's description of *habitus*. (1) *Habitus* is objectively adapted to an end, which, however, is not subjectively framed toward this end. In other words, subjects for the aim of its realization do not consciously intend *habitus*. Rather, it is predisposed to structure structures that generate and organize social practices and representations. (2) *Habitus* is objectively regulated and regular (repeatedly practiced in everyday life). It encompasses an unconscious state characterizing a *habitus* realization. (3) *Habitus* is a collective phenomenon portraying the everyday life of a group or society subjects. In this sense, it can consist of a set of implicit presuppositions (see the related work of Ducrot, 1991) shared by the group members for a mutual understanding guiding their practices and behaviors. As such, *habitus* happens without necessarily planning for it to happen, or in Bourdieu's words, "without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor."

The collectiveness of *habitus* constitutes (in some view) what in Documentary Method[25] is called the "conjunctive space of experience" (Bohnsack, 2010; 2017). It is a collectively shared space of experience and of experiencing the world. Bourdieu (1990, pp. 55-56) stressed that "[i]n short, being the product of a particular class of objective regularities, the habitus tends to generate all the 'reasonable,' 'common-sense,' behaviors (and only these) which are possible within the limits of these regularities." He described *habitus* as a second nature consisting of the active presence of our past as well as being the product of that past. It is "spontaneous" and occurs "without consciousness or will" (ibid.). This illustration of *habitus* by Bourdieu displays a relationship between what he named "the objective conditions of existence" and "subjective action." This relationship is, thus, supported by *habitus* as a conjunction, which consists of "structured structuring structures." In other words, *habitus* generates and reproduces, through practical regulations and regularity, structures of the world- and self-relations. Bourdieu highlighted the significance of the generative feature of *habitus* in organizing the dynamic of objective worlds and their subjective practice. Koller (2017., p. 24) insisted the habitus itself can become a structuring structure for individual and collective action, even though objective conditions of existence structure it. *As a system of stable dispositions of thinking and acting, Habitus* structures our relations to the world and ourselves.

According to this hypothesis of Bourdieu, our *habitus* as members of a specific group fundamentally sustain and reproduce our thinking and acting (practice). The concept of *habitus* is like the concept of sociocultural backgrounds. The latter might represent, consist of, or constitute the active presence of social structures and cultural dispositions we, spontaneously and to some extent, unconsciously use in our world self-relations. Our sociocultural backgrounds (our history, as Bourdieu puts it) appear to be the foundation, prerequisites, or capital, which orientate, organize, and sustain our individual and collective ways of thinking, acting, representing the world, and our relations to it and ourselves. Pedagogically speaking, classroom actors are likely to use these backgrounds to interact and, in a certain way, construct the teaching and learning processes. In this regard, this study intends to investigate how significant social structures, such as the family, the school system, chieftaincy, social organization, and cultural dispositions (milieu-specific), like togetherness, eldership, traditions, beliefs, language use, and the system of symbols for communication, might be relevant for the development process of the EEC reform pedagogy projects in Mbouo.

---

25 Ethno-methodological considerations and frameworks of social constructivism are further developed in the methodology chapter of this works with the aim of providing a frame for orientation of how sociocultural backgrounds dispositions and structures, like *habitus* and social space, might be researched.

The concept of capital is central to Bourdieu's social theory (Bourdieu, 1990). He understood the term capital based on the theoretical background of Marx's economic concept consisting of a variety of material and financial resources possessed by a company or an individual, which are transferable (exchangeable) within the framework of the market. As an assembly of resources, directly convertible into money, transferable and exchangeable, it contributes to sustaining social classes and related social inequalities (resources unequally distributed). Koller (2018, p. 29) summarized Bourdieu's definition of the concept of capital as "all forms of accumulated work which individuals and groups can draw on as resources in their actions, but which are highly unequally distributed in society." Furthermore, Bourdieu extended this economic framework of capital to encompass other forms of social exchange. In this view, he distinguished three capital types: economic, cultural, and social capitals.

As far as economic capital (1) is concerned, it implies money and other material valuables that are convertible into money. It provides resources that economically generate profit. According to Koller, this capital underlies all other capital forms (cultural and social). The economic capital is not thematically significant for the author of this work's understanding of the concept of a sociocultural background, which is not a social culture of economy structuring the other fields of social life within the target social and cultural backgrounds of the Bamiléké folk in Bandjoun.[26] The focus is rather on cultural and social capitals because they can constitute features or items which might consistently depict the essence of the concept of sociocultural background.

The second type of capital is cultural (2), which Bourdieu also conceived as accumulated work. It consists of the investment of time and money to acquire immaterial goods, such as knowledge, competencies, skills, capacities, or know-how that are somehow useful. Since it consists of work and investment, cultural capital might be compared to the economic term of human capital, comprising human resources (to some extent synonymous with the workforce) to produce profit (Koller, 2010, p. 141). The difference resides in cultural capital that encompasses both financial and other forms of investments. Koller spoke, in this regard, of the example of time and money that parents might invest in the education of their children.

Consequently, the quality (and quantity) of children's cultural capital from different family backgrounds, thus possessing different cultural, social, and economic capital, might vary accordingly, producing the effect of social inequality. In Koller's terms, despite the formal equality of educational provision, the children's success at school might vary according to their social

---

26 These aspects are discussed in the analysis of the empiric material of the class conference of Monsieur Paul in chapter 8 as well as in the expert group discussion (in chapter 9) about the sociocultural interpretations of the term *arranger* within the Bamiléké society and Cameroonian societies and cultures in general.

backgrounds (or social class in Bourdieu's terms). Bourdieu acknowledged that cultural capital was a research hypothesis explaining "the unequal scholastic achievement of children originating from the different social classes by relating academic success to the distribution of cultural capital between the classes and class fractions" (ibid., 1986[27]).

This starting point of Bourdieu's research on the essence of cultural capital highlights its significance in understanding educational processes. In the perspective of this study, the notion sounds like that of cultural background, and, therefore, Bourdieu's hypothesis in the quote as mentioned earlier might support this study, however, principally as an aspect of cultural backgrounds that the author of this work relates to other cultural issues of traditions, eldership, or chieftaincy, which are discussed in the empiric chapters. Bourdieu's research under this hypothesis leads to the distinction of three forms of cultural capital: the incorporated (embodied), the objectified, and the institutionalized cultural capital (see also Koller, 2010; 2018).

The embodied cultural capital (a) consists of durable dispositions that a person can acquire throughout their socialization and educational processes. These are "linked to the body," as Bourdieu puts it. And they are, therefore, not easily transmissible (unlike economic capital = money). Its acquisition process encompasses the socialization process within the family, on which the economic, cultural, and social capital has an impact. Bourdieu, therefore, admitted that "the transmission of cultural capital is no doubt the best-hidden form of hereditary transmission of capital" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 246). Because of this hidden character, Bourdieu spoke of an "implicit transmission." The factor time in this acquisition process seems to be consequent to families' economic, cultural, and social capital.

Contrary to the embodied capital, the objectified cultural capital (b) can directly (explicitly) be materially transmitted, can directly be converted into money (in economic capital), and is detached from the body. It consists of valuable cultural objects, such as books, paintings, musical instruments, art, or handicrafts, to name a few. Their acquisition is facilitated by economic capital, whereas their symbolic value depends on the amount of embodied cultural capital that a person disposes of.

In this present investigation of the sociocultural backgrounds of educational actors in the EEC pedagogical projects in Mbouo, the author does not emphasize the objectified cultural capital in the sense of Bourdieu. However, the institutionalized (c) form of cultural capital is central to his reflection, for it might significantly inform about the role of educational titles (diplomas) in the professionalization of teacher education. Therefore, institutionalized cultural capital legitimates the embodied cultural capital, but it does not nec-

---

27 See: https://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/fr/bourdieu-forms-capital.htm

essarily depend on it. More importantly, it consists of educational titles in terms of certificates and diplomas, which guarantee the institutional recognition of the accumulated knowledge, competencies, skills, or capacities. Its acquisition implies an investment in time and money. In some conditions, Bourdieu admits to the convertibility of institutionalized cultural capital into economic capital in the job market (see also Koller, 2010, p. 145; 2018, p. 30).

Within the Cameroonian educational systems, institutionalized cultural capital plays a significant role in formal education in terms of social recognition (symbolic power in Bourdieu's terms) and the job market because it is linked to the French centralized education system to the cultural capital acquisition process. Although the internal and external efficacy of a certificate-oriented teaching and learning practice is largely problematic (Kä Mana, 2012a; Fonssi, 2018), the problem of employability of school certificate holders has been permanently raised in Cameroon (ibid.). Politicians, educationists as well as economists broadly agree on the fact that such a system of production of certificate holders leaves out the economic and social development because a significant number of those recipients can either not be integrated into the job market, nor can they generate development responsibility in creating lucrative projects (ibid.). The different Cameroonian governments, from independence until today, have addressed this problem either by orienting schooling towards rural agricultural economy (ruralization reform of education[28]), by professionalizing school curricula, or, more recently and currently, by adopting and implementing a competency-based/-oriented education (MINEDUB et al., 2013).

Concerning the above discussion, teacher education in Cameroon (and surely worldwide) is based, structured[29] , and oriented towards acquiring institutionalized cultural capital. The symbolical value of certificates is a determinant for the professional development of teachers, as could be interpreted in the professional biography of Monsieur Teba in chapter 10 and the expert interview with JBK in chapter 4 of the present work. A certain "culture of diplomas" (Moukoko, 2012) could, thus, be interpreted with the help of Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, which is related to the social capital as a third form of capital. Bourdieu understood social capital (3) as:

> the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the

28 More on this educational reform experience is discussed in chapter 3 of this book.

29 The structural organization of the Cameroon teacher education system is further discussed in chapter 3 of this work.

word. These relationships may exist only in the practical state, in material and symbolic exchanges, which help maintain them (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248).

As an aspect of the social backgrounds of actors, social capital frames socialization processes and provides them with a symbolical power of social recognition or credit, as can be gained from this definition of social capital. This credit is acquired by sharing a group *habitus*, cultural and economic capital, and using a network of relationships. The practical mobilization of such a network of social relations requires time and financial resources like the other two forms of capital. Bourdieu (1990, p. 35) portrayed it like this: "social capital [is] understood as effective possession of a network of kinship (or other) relations capable of being mobilized or at least manifested." This network is constituted through the work of exchanges within the membership of a group, construed on the "basis of solidarity." Bourdieu stressed the multiplication effect of social capital, considering that a person's social capital also increases their economic and cultural capital because they can draw on other social network members' economic and cultural capital. Social capital, thus, appears to be reproduced through "an unceasing effort of sociability, a continuous series of exchanges in which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed," as Bourdieu (1986, p. 250) put it. Therefore, this form of capital could support the present study of the sociocultural backgrounds because sociability, solidarity, and membership characterize communitarian societies[30] in Sub-Saharan Africa (Metz, 2009).

Monsieur Teba's professional biography[31] as a teacher illustrates the symbolic power of social relations for an effective social and professional integration in the job market in Cameroon: "J'avais un oncle bien placé dans un ministère" (I had an uncle well-positioned in a ministry). Having someone well-known and with a good position in the governing structure appears to be an asset for social ascension and professional chances. The danger is that a governing body (political power) misuses this capital to structure its political governance and, consequently, is suspected of favoring social relations to the detriment of merit as an objective base for an equal chance to the social, political, professional and market integration of members of society. Such misuse[32] of social capital contains what Bourdieu (ibid., p. 251) called "the seeds of an embezzlement or misappropriation of the capital."

---

30   Cameroon is claimed to be the "little Africa" because there are more than 200 ethnic groups displaying different cultures and languages that are found in many other Sub-Saharan countries. The landscape, the climate, the economy and the social organization of these groups are similar to most Sub-Saharan African countries.

31   More is discussed in chapter 8 on the analysis of the transcript of the group discussion with Monsieur Teba and Monsieur Paul.

32   The topic/reality of embezzlement is discussed throughout the empiric part of this work (see chapters of part 2). It is often described by the term "corruption". For

The last concept of Bourdieu's socialization theory that is important for understanding educational processes is the notion of social space. According to Koller (2018, p. 31): "Social space is to be understood as a multi-dimensional force field in which each actor or group of actors has a certain position, which – independent of their intentions and self-interpretation – results from the respective distribution of the various types of capital" (own translation). In this description of social space by Bourdieu, it is formed by the distribution of the capital, which, structured by the *habitus* in a group, produces and reproduces a distinction in social classes, which Koller referred to being a unit of actors occupying a similar position in social space (ibid.). A class distinction in this consideration captures "theoretical" classes (rather than real classes of groups with possible power struggle structures) with possible similar political settings and dispositions.

Consequently, for the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process, Bourdieu's concept of social space might help to capture these settings and dispositions accountable for the reinforcement of world- and self-relations, engrained in objective social structures, as well as to enable a certain plurality of these relations. In Koller (2010, pp. 139-48), these are thematized based on Bourdieu's work to depict socialization as a process of "habituation," of an "acquisition of capital," and as a process of "positioning in social space." Koller used the following scheme of Bourdieu's conception of positioning in social space to highlight the latter process.

This figure illustrates Bourdieu's work, which, in Koller's words, consists of the observation that the position of individuals or groups in social space[33] encompasses their symbolic power (social esteem) and their social success as well as their lifestyles (or habits), which include clothing, nutrition, art, music, hobbies, and leisure. Bourdieu described this as a social distinction, a game of distancing oneself from a lower position and projecting oneself to the highest position in the social space. This results in class distribution and distinction, which contributes to deepening the social inequalities social reality of central research interest to Bourdieu and Eribon (2009). Bourdieu emphasized the importance of the relationship of convertibility of the capital types into economic capital. According to him, this latter form of capital is at the "root" of the others, that is, their "root effects" (Koller, 2010, p.148).

---

instance, Monsieur Paul and Monsieur Teba interpret the pupils' use of "nous allons arranger" as encompassing an implicit reality of social, political and economic interaction displaying practices, which somehow account for sustaining "corruption". See chapters 8 and 9.

33 More on the impact of the distribution of capital on the distinction of social classes, see Bourdieu (2010, p. 263 and p. 343).
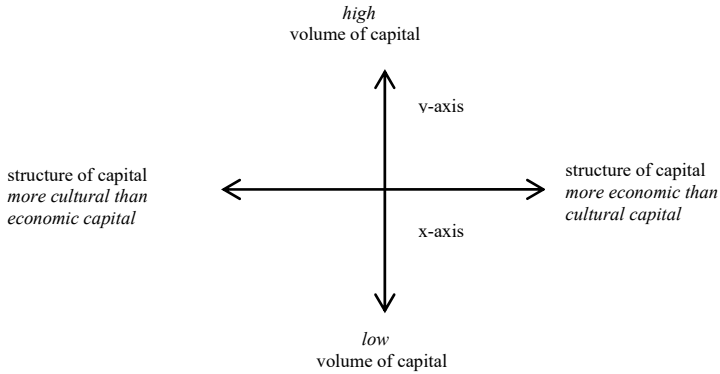
Even though the economic and, to some extent, the objectified cultural capital can directly and immediately be transferable and convertible into the economic form, the social capital necessitates a transformation process through a social legitimacy and investment in time to encompass the economic form. Therefore, Bourdieu (1986, p. 10) claimed: "The universal equivalent, the measure of all equivalences, is nothing other than labor-time." In other words, the conversion process considers both the labor time accumulated for capital acquisition and that invested for its transformation into the other forms.

Concerning the present study, such a convertibility relationship sounds applicable. On the one hand, it is crucial to understand the permanent debate on the relationship between cultural capital and its convertibility in the job market, considering the unemployment problem in Cameroon. Furthermore, the implicit (possibly in negation to the explicit legal) symbolic power of social relations and the SCBs appear, to some extent, to be a determinant for both the internal and the external efficacies of the educational system. Thus, it is uncertain that the possession of good cultural capital, in terms of educational qualifications and the amount of economic capital, could guarantee a successful social and economic integration (Kä Mana, 2010, p. 108). The complexity of Cameroon's multi-social and multi-cultural realities doubled in its struggle for a harmonic political culture of governance, and the generalized context of economic poverty reinforces and complicates the systems of values.

On the other hand, this complex context of Cameroon (and maybe of many Sub-Saharan African countries) poses the dilemma of the process of securing stable/rigid structures and dispositions, socially constructed and

reproduced, and the process of making room for transformation processes in general terms (of *habitus*, symbolic systems of sociocultural political diversity values and poverty conditions). For teacher education reforms, researching this dilemma might mean investigating conditions and possibilities of *Bildungsprozesse* to equip the teachers and learners with a plus value of creative thinking and acting. This context of complexity triggered the author's interest in investigating the possible significance of the sociocultural backgrounds in the teacher education reform projects endeavored by the EEC in Mbouo-Bandjoun. Therefore, some educational effects of the unit of capital (especially the cultural and social forms), the *habitus,* and the social space are analyzed using empirical data from classroom interactions, group discussions, campus real-life situations, and campus forums at ER, IPSOM, and UEC.

According to Koller (2018, pp. 29-33), the different forms of capital could theoretically account for the description of social conditions of transformative *Bildungsprozesse*. Although Bourdieu described these as rigid and stable social, cultural dispositions, and structures structuring (*habitus*) our world- and self-relations, Koller saw possibilities of transformation or change of these figures for the prospected *Bildungsprozess* under some practical conditions.

2.2.1.3 Koller's Perspective beyond Bourdieu: Conditions and Chances for the Transformation of Structures of World- and Self-Relations

The second question of Koller could be related to this research's interest in reconstructing and discussing problems, critical situations, or crises that might have occurred throughout the process of the target reform projects in Mbouo and which might have played a certain role in the process of their construction. These issues are also discussed in part 2 of the present work.

Whether *habitus*, capital, field, or social space can be transformed or not has been widely discussed in educational research (Harker, 1984; Rosenberg, 2006; Mills, 2008; Koller, 2009). While Rosenberg spoke of *Bildung* as a *habitus* transformation, Mills tried to portray both habitus's reproductive and transformative feature*s*. Bourdieu (2010) himself did not consider *habitus* purely from a deterministic point of view; he rather described it as a limiting force structuring individual and collective action. Thus, the generative force of *habitus* tends to restructure the experience of dealing with new problems by subsuming it into the existing structures of social practices, and, by so doing, it contributes to reproducing the existing *habitus*, which, in its turn, reinforces the stability of existing structures and dispositions of social order concerning the field or social space. In this sense, Bourdieu is more concerned with theorizing how these structures and dispositions are construed as

limiting forces for maintaining stability, reproducing social inequalities and social classes than investigating conditions for their transformation.

The latter research interest is the concern of Koller (2009; 2010; 2011; 2017; 2018), who addressed (a perspective of and beyond Bourdieu) on the one hand, (1) the experience of the unfamiliar (crisis) as a trigger of processes of transformation of structures of the world- and self-relations that researchers, such as Husserl, Waldenfels, Oevermann, Buck (to name just a few) thematized. On the other hand, Koller (2018) used the works of Popper, Kuhn, Pierce, Gadamer, Derrida, and Butler to account for (2) processes of the emergence of "the new" as potential *Bildungsprozesse*. These attempts by Koller are summarized as theoretical paths to discuss some conditions and circumstances that might have influenced the processes of pedagogical reform activities in Mbouo and processes of the emergence of new reform ideas within that context.

(a) Triggers of Transformation Processes of *Bildung*

In his English text on *Bildung*, Koller (2017, p. 2) depicted it as "a process of transformation that transforms fundamental figures of the way subjects relate to themselves and the world when grappling with experiences of crises that challenge their present relations to the world and themselves." Based on Bourdieu's socialization theory, Koller portrayed fundamental figures of the world- and self-relations, like a set of durable and transportable dispositions, structured structures functioning as structuring structures (*habitus*), and as a unit of capitals sustaining relations in social space (types of capital and field). According to this conception of *Bildung*, there is a condition that triggers the transformation process of those fundamental figures. Subjects must experience crises challenging their usual ways of world- and self-relations. Relying on Husserl's concept of the horizon of expectations, Koller found significance in subjects dealing either with familiar experiences (confirming the existing horizon) or unfamiliar ones, considered as "negative experiences," constituting a challenge to the existing horizon. This challenging character of a "negative experience" is what Koller depicted as a "crisis," keen to trigger the processes of *Bildung*.

Regarding Buck (1991), Koller (2017, p. 6) stated that "*Bildung* then takes place as a change of horizon, during which a new, extended horizon appears 'behind' the previous, negated one, offering an appropriate frame for understanding the matter." In other words, *Bildung* could be understood as a perspective of opening a new horizon appropriate to both the understanding and handling of an experience of crisis to which the existing usual frames of orientation and resources for the world- and self-relations no longer match or fit. Koller, therefore, used Waldenfels' description of the experience of the unfamiliar to underline the evading, haunting and disturbing character of a

negative experience and stressed that "the unfamiliar is, therefore, something that can only be noticed if it refuses to be part of the prevailing social and cultural order, or rather: if it intrudes into our order by haunting and disturbing us" (ibid., p. 6).

The notion of order appears noteworthy in understanding Waldenfels' concept of the unfamiliar and its triggering feature to *Bildungsprozesse* because the apparition of the foreign negates and evades the former order. In this sense, an experience is described as a crisis only if it escapes the prevailing social, cultural, economic, or political order. Whether there is a change of horizon does not depend on the crisis itself but rather on whether there is a creative response to the apparition of the unfamiliar. Thus, Koller pointed out that it is "the independent activity of the *unfamiliar* that demands a response from the learning subjects" (ibid., p. 6). The expectation of the subjects' reaction to the unfamiliarity of an experience depends, hence, on this unfamiliar character, meaning that because the negating experience does not fit the existing order, it appeals to the subjects' engagement in creating a new order proper to explain or to serve as an appropriate frame of orientation for action. Consequently, Koller considers that "Bildung as a transformative process needs rather be considered an interactive event that responds to a demand emanating from the *unfamiliar*, i.e., somebody/something else" (ibid., p. 6). He highlighted the unfamiliar with Waldenfels as "the *responsive* structure of experience."

In this perspective, it could be important to consider, for instance, how responsive[34] our experience is with the worldwide Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2, also known as the Covid-19 pandemic. In the context of the present study, the focus is on discussing how far the different actors involved in the pedagogical reform projects in Mbouo-Bandjoun engage in creating what Koller referred to as "*new* figures of relating to the world and oneself instead of re-stabilizing the existing ones" (Koller, 2017, p. 7). In other words: How do participants transform figures of their SCBs to respond to the unfamiliar that emerges as a situation or an experience of crisis to which the habitual backgrounds cannot properly react? However, it is not a question of researching the *Bildungsprozesse* of actors. Still, it is rather a supplementary or modification of the question on the meaning of the SCBs, a modification emphasizing that the SCBs (understood as *habitus* or frame of orientations) are not a static given but variable or changeable/transformable. Therefore, the change processes of the SCBs of pedagogical participants constitute a special research interest of this study. In other words, this study is interested in how far the

---

34 The Robert Koch Institute provides further details on German as well as global responses on the coronavirus pandemic in its online publication of June 11, 2020 under the heading "contribution to the COVID-19 response", see: https://www.rki.de/EN/Content/Institute/International/COVID_ZIG_en/COVID_ZIG_node_en.html.

actors' SCBs, understood as figures/categories (also as *habitus* or frame of orientations) of world-self-relations, change. Theoretical descriptions or discussions of processes of the emergence of the new figures of the world- and self-relations are of great interest to Koller's third question concerning the challenges of the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process and of this present research too.

(b) The Emergence of the New and Processes of *Bildung*

To handle the challenge of the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process mentioned above, Koller (2018, chapters 9 and 11) mainly referred to the works of Popper (1935/1989), Kuhn (1976), Peirce (1976), Gadamer (1960/1990), Derrida (1972/1988) and Butler (1998). The authors depicted the phenomenon of the emergence of the "new" respectively as processes of "falsification," "revolutionary development" of science in contrast to the "normal" or cumulative development of scientific thought, "abduction" as a mode of "new rules" generation, a hermeneutic understanding described as a hermeneutic circle, a deconstructive reading, and the iteration process of language use, which encompasses the power of resignification of an existing social order. In this work, the latter concept of Butler is discussed, with the authors' research interest taking after Koller's position on how the resignification process includes the transformative potential of language and, therefore, might contribute to the description of a possible transformative process of *Bildung*.

Koller discussed Butler's concept of resignification from the perspective of providing a theoretical description of the transformative potentials of language. This interest and focus on language dimensions in the formation and maintenance of figures of the world- and self-relations is significant in the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process. Both Koller and Kokemohr emphasized this, referring to Humboldt's works on the significance of language(s) in the formation of world views, as mentioned in the introductive paragraph of this chapter. Butler's works on the power of language in social struggles could, therefore, exemplify the linguistic formation or transformation of "new" meaning throughout the "agency" of subjects using the "iterative structures of power of speech act" (Koller, 2017, p. 8). According to Butler, the process of "iteration" can be understood as a "form of non-identical repetition," which depicts the subjects' struggle for some potential change in their social or political conditions or situations (ibid., p. 8). Koller, after Butler, emphasized that "the power of performative speech acts is based on their repeatability, and that each repetition allows some kind of shift, which changes the speech act and shifts its meaning" (ibid., p. 8).

Though each repetition "establishes the power of discursive norms," it encompasses a moment of non-compliance to the norms. This momentum of

non-compliance to the norms introduces a shift in meaning during the performance of the speech act. In other words, this momentum provides subjects with the opportunity to struggle against the existing dominating social order in the relations of self and world. Koller underlined that Butler conceives this process of linguistic performance as a process of resignification, which consists of a sort of "modifying repetition," including a re-evaluation and re-appropriation of terms socially used in everyday life. Koller recalled, for instance, the re-appropriation of insulting terms by the lesbian and gay movement and the re-evaluation of pejorative terms by groups of young migrants in Germany (ibid., p. 8).

For the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process, Koller (2018, p. 134) capitalized on Butler's concept of resignification to describe it as a possible process of transformation. According to him: "The emergence of new figures of the world- and self-relations would thus take place in linguistic (or other sign-shaped) practices, which re-enact and at the same time transform existing figures." (ibid., p. 134) Therefore, the resignification performance of the speech act could be considered a typical example of such linguistic practices that could favor the emergence of a "new" meaning of a prevailing social order or "new figures" of the world- and self-relations of the subjects in interaction. According to Koller's understanding, the "new" does not consist of the emergence of a pure "other," a "totally unknown" meaning/figure that has never existed before. More than that, it rather consists of "a repetition of what already exists, which puts the repeated into a different context and thus shifts its meaning" (ibid.).

From the perspective of Koller, it might be interesting to investigate how the emergence of possible improvements in teaching and learning practices in a context characterized by relatively stable and stabilizing SCBs conditions could occur through a language mediation of subjects in their everyday pedagogical interactions. Within a multi-lingual and multi-cultural context like Cameroon, the speech act performance and other socially and culturally constructed signs of mediation (communication) might help understand the pedagogical performance and the teacher/learner struggle to overcome SCBs dispositions. It appears to be advisable to investigate how actors within such complex contexts struggle to understand positive knowledge (in terms of standard school subjects) and deeper structures and dispositions of thinking and interacting in the pedagogical process of the re/construction of knowledge.

Generally, school and teacher education reforms in Cameroon, and possibly in many other Sub-Saharan African countries, are often portrayed as reduplications or copies of reforms that have been proven to be "effective" in other social and cultural contexts (Atangana, 1996). Processes of adoption, adaptation, re-adoption, and contextualization are often confused with processes of emergence of the "new" in terms of an improvement (or reform) of

educational and pedagogical practices. However, different from Butler's concept of resignification, which goes beyond the emergence of another order, non-existent before, the latter educational and pedagogical reform practices often encompass this dimension of a "pure" other in terms of a reform foreign to contextual problems and contextual sociocultural, educational backgrounds (Foaleng, 2008a). Most educational discussions emphasize how a given reform was adopted, adapted, and contextualized rather than developed from contextual social, cultural, economic, and political challenges during social, cultural, economic, and political transitions.

This present study of the case of EEC pedagogical reform projects in Mbouo-Bandjoun investigates such linguistic structures, which might inform about how these endeavors (generally described as innovations) emerged, developed, or were socially or pedagogically constructed (a social-constructivist framework). In other words, the intention is to reconstruct experiences of processes of transformation (in the sense of *Bildungsprozesse*) from empiric material collected in the field of the target reform projects. Concretely, the participants' narratives are reconstructed to analyze and qualitatively interpret some linguistic items, metaphors, or forms of language use, which could depict or inform about personal (or biographical), collective frames of orientation in the practical life (i.e., how participants relate to each other in the process of the target reforms).

For instance, chapter 10 provides biographical experiences of some primary school and college teachers in their process of "becoming a teacher." The micro-analysis of the language use reconstructs experiences of adaptation, portraying an individual (collective in terms of a conjunctive space of experience) struggle to trace a path within the complex social, cultural, economic, and political context of the teaching profession in Cameroon. Furthermore, the investigation consists of identifying cases displaying possible transformation processes (or change) in the perspective of *Bildung* or cases possibly considerable, at least as potentials of *Bildungsprozesse*, which could go beyond the adaptation processes.

In this regard, the section below provides theoretical backgrounds for such an empiric analysis of the language use from the perspective of the *Bildungsprozesstheorie*. It is an attempt to review Kokemohr's empiric works, emphasizing the significance of language use in describing momentums, potentials, and experiences of *Bildungsprozesse*.

2.2.2 Kokemohr's Empiric Perspective of the Study of Change Processes of Bildung in Intercultural Pedagogical Situations

One of the aspects of the discussion on the concept of processes of *Bildung*, concerning Koller's concept of *Bildung* and Kokemohr's understanding of it, is the notion of transformation[35] (Koller, 2016, p. 149, referring to Kokemohr, 2014, p. 20). While Koller used the term transformation to designate the process of *Bildung*, Kokemohr's terminology on that account rather evolved from the concept of *Transformation* to include that of *Veränderung* (change, sometimes also referred to as mutation[36] in the intercultural context of pedagogical reform projects in Mbouo-Bandjoun). As one of the founders of the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process, Kokemohr (1989, p. 332), in his early works, referred to Weniger's conception of *Bildung* to portray it as "einen Prozess der Strukturtransformation, in dem die grundlegenden Kategorien des Welt- und Selbstverhaltens sich wandeln"[37] (A process of the transformation of structures, in which the basic categories of world- and self-behavior change, own translation).

The terms *Transformation* and *sich wandeln* (to change) are used in this early definition of *Bildungsprozess*. However, the term *Transformation* refers to a structural process encompassing the change (*Wandlung*) of the world's fundamental figures- and the subjects' self-relations. While the first is referred to as a structural transformative process in the sense of Weniger, which concerns the social world, the latter depicts a communicative practice consisting of a critical engagement characterizing pedagogical/didactic teaching and

35 Koller defines his preference for the concept of "transformation" in his works rather than that of "change": „Rainer Kokemohr (2014, p. 20) verzichtet in seinen jüngeren Arbeiten auf den Transformationsbegriff, weil dieser nahelege, die fragliche Veränderung als ‚logisch rekonstruierbaren Prozess' aufzufassen. Da mir dies nicht als zwingend erscheint, behalte ich den Terminus bei. Als Transformation ist dabei jede Veränderung der *Form* eines Verhältnisses zu verstehen, die nicht nur logisch, sondern z. B. auch rhetorisch bestimmt werden kann."

36 Within the framework of his intercultural pedagogical research experience in Cameroon, Kokemohr used the term "mutation", developed within an intercultural cooperative pedagogical discourse during reprocesses which led to the creation of a pilot school, a teacher-training institute and a private evangelical university in Mbouo-Bandjoun. This term, implicitly used to include both political necessities of educational transformation and change (or improvement) of pedagogical interactions and behaviors, has been the core concept behind the creation of the *Institut de Pédagogie pour Societés en Mutation* (IPSOM).

37 The reason for quoting the original definition of *Bildung* in the German language intends to highlight this originality since the paragraph attempts to undertake a terminological evolution in Kokemohr's works.

learning processes. Kokemohr's early description of a *Bildungsprozess*, thus, distinguishes an upper-level process consisting of a transformation at the overall level (the social world as a unit) and the lower level comprising processes of change occurring during the upper level, and which, through communication struggles, contribute to shifting the subjects' fundamental figures of world-self-relations.

It is, therefore, possible to consider the upper level of a *Bildungsprozess* as a theoretical framework of transformational processes of *Bildung* (Koller, 2018) and the lower level as the concrete practical educational, pedagogical, or exemplary didactic everyday engagement of subjects implying change processes of their fundamental figures of the world- and self-relations (Kokemohr, 2007). The latter concerns transformation processes at the micro-level, which is at the level of changes, shifts, and mutations or evolutions and how subjects relate to each other, themselves, and the world. This might also concern the empiric level, which can be researched through an in-depth micro-analysis of language use in interactive pedagogical situations.

To sketch out the (1) philosophical and linguistic framework of this empiric level of change processes of *Bildung*, Kokemohr (2018; 2019; 2021) underlined the significance of Kant, Wittgenstein, and Humboldt's (among others) philosophical works on language to understand educational processes. His (2) empiric studies within intercultural cooperative educational research and Cameroon teacher formation constitute a significant background for the present book.

2.2.2.1 Significance of the Language Use to Understand World-Self-Relations: A Temptative Review of Kokemohr's Theoretical Position

In the above chapter on the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process, the attempt was made to discuss Koller's understanding of structures/figures of the world- and self-relations using Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of *habitus*, capitals, and social space. However, Kokemohr (2021) addressed the question of what constitutes "Welt-Selbstverhältnisse" (world- self-relations)[38] from a more language-theoretical perspective, the hypothesis of which consists of considering these figures as *Zeichenverhältnisse* (relations of signs*).

---

38 Kokemohr rather used the terminology *Welt-Selbstverhältnisse* instead of *Welt-und Selbstverhältnisse* in his recent works (2017, 2019, 2021) to highlight a shift of meaning encompassed in the absence of the conjunction "und" (and). The reason for this shift could lie in the fact that Kokemohr considered every relation to the world at the same time as a relation to the self; that is the subject can relate to him/herself only by relating to the world. Therefore, referring to Kokemohr, the author of this work uses the term "world-self-relations" when discussing the significance of his theoretical and empiric works in the present study.

For Kokemohr, "With the linguistic turn of philosophy, I follow the insight of enlightened rhetoric that all being is a being in sign, according to which signs, by their relations of difference, mean something in the field of signifiers by referring to something that is itself a sign" (ibid. p. 1, own translation). In other words, our world views consist of relations of signs; that is, we relate to each other, the world, and ourselves using signs.

This concept of *Bildungsprozess* is developed under theoretical considerations of Humboldt's language philosophy, Kant's critique of pure reason, and Wittgenstein's philosophy of a *Sprachspiel* (language game). From this linguistic perspective of understanding, the present paragraph aims to theoretically describe (from Kokemohr's view) Bildungsprozesse as linguistic processes of world views and the structural description of the world- and self-relations (as above-described by Koller). Furthermore, it intends to address how Kokemohr's empiric analysis of language use could be significant in identifying, describing, and analyzing features of the actors' SCBs, above-understood as sociocultural frames of orientation world-self-relations of subjects.

The distinction[39] between learning processes and *Bildungsprozesse* appears fundamental in Kokemohr's theoretical pedagogical reflections for the significance of the language use in understanding processes of *Bildung* as processes of change of fundamental figures of the world- self-relations of subjects. Based on Wittgenstein's philosophy of language, he attempts to make an epistemological distinction between learning and *Bildung* in the context of didactic actions (Kokemohr, 2019, p. 41). In this regard, Kokemohr claimed that "ein Lernprozess Sprachgebrauch und Welt-Selbstverhältnisse eines etablierten Welt-Selbstverhältnisses erweitert, während ein Bildungsprozess die Grundfigur eines Sprachgebrauchs und Welt-Selbstverhältnisses verändert" (a learning process broadens[40] the lan-

---

39 This distinction has also been significant in theoretical attempts of redefining or reformulating the concept of *Bildung*, and especially in the concept of *Bildung* as a transformative process.

40 It is worth mentioning that the author's attempt of translations appears limited in the sense that the German notion of "erweitern" is polysemic in usage. It might be understood, depending on contexts of use, as meaning to extend, to expand, to increase, to widen, to enlarge, to enhance, to upgrade, to broaden etc. The author prefers using the term to broaden because he thinks it might appropriately depict the context of knowledge acquisition processes. Furthermore, the original German term "erweitern" (to broaden), portraying processes of learning, is explicitly used (in Kokemohr's definition) in relation to the concurrent term "verändern" (to change) rather depicting processes of *Bildung*. Therefore, in the development of his argumentation, he couples the German original terms to his English translation choices to highlight interpretative limitations of his translation of the central terminologies of Kokemohr's conception of *Bildungsprozesse*: *erweitern* (to broaden) and *verändern* (to change).

guage use and the world-self-relations of an established world-self-relation; meanwhile, a process of *Bildung* changes the fundamental figure of the language use and world-self-relations) (own translation). The following table is used to capture essential features portraying the respective processes as reformulated by Kokemohr above.

Table 1: The distinction between learning processes and processes of Bildung

Lernprozess (learning process) …	Bildungsprozess (process of Bildung) …
"Sprachgebrauch und Welt-Selbstverhältnisse eines etablierten Welt-Selbstverhältnisses erweitert, 'broadens', the language use and the world-self-relations of an established world-self-relation."	"Die Grundfigur eines Sprachgebrauchs und Welt-Selbstverhältnisses verändert, 'Changes,' the fundamental figure of language use and world-self-relations."

(Source: Author)

The difference between learning processes and *Bildungsprozesse* appears to rely on the distinctive processual features implied by the verbs "erweitern" (to broaden) and "verändern" (to change). In this sense, a learning process would end up (1) "erweiternd" (broadening) the learners' language use and their relations to the world, others, and themselves. Pedagogically and didactically speaking, learning processes can be referred to as knowledge acquisition processes, implying the idea of a new knowledge accumulation. Since "school-learned knowledge"[41] (Bähr et al., 2019, p. 25) has been standardized in the form of curricula, Kokemohr (2018, p. 56) described it as a unit of a "mono-logical system of statements" ("mono-logical appearance of linear education"[42]), which "are true in that they are clear, consistent, and free of contradiction" (ibid., p. 57). In other words, "they are free of contradiction only within their frame of reference" (ibid., p. 57); within another frame of reference, they might be meaningless.[43] Therefore, mono-logically oriented learning and teaching processes risk cutting off the contextual, cultural, and social difference character of knowledge interpretation and practice, limiting

---

41 This is a term close in meaning to that of school-learning processes, the original German term of which is *schulische Lernprozesse*. The author of this work understands school-learned knowledge as knowledge acquired in a school context.

42 Kokemohr considered the term mono-logical in a metaphorical sense in relation to educational activities, which he referred to as consisting of "routines guided by the everyday belief that educational activities (are to) follow a clear and consistent framework of rules" (ibid.). This belief is limited, since he highlighted that "in the strong sense of the word, educational activities cannot be called logical" (ibid.)

43 Kokemohr (ibid.) used for instance, the statement of "the Earth moves around the sun", the meaning of which is limited only to the heliocentric system of a Copernican western world view. This is not true within the frame of a geocentric reference or within that of a galactic system. The "truth" of a statement, thus, depends on the different world views or the different contexts of use or cultures.

it to a dominant frame of interpretation.[44] Mono-logical education "tends not only to cut off semiotic elements of diversity and exclude people of deviant behavior but also because if it is the dominant discourse of a group or a society, it weakens the dynamic potential of facing unknown challenges" (ibid., p. 72).

Contrary to learning processes of true knowledge acquisition, processes of *Bildung* could be described as those which (2) *verändern* (change) the dominant frame of reference to include semiotic elements of diversity, as discussed by Kokemohr (ibid.). Also, in Koller's (2017, p. 15) terms, it consists of processes that might lead to the *Veränderung* (change) of a "framework within which the processing of the information takes place." This means that the processes of *Bildung*, as Kokemohr and Koller understood them, encompass open systems of learning, which consider "diversity" in the pedagogical/didactical discourse/interaction as an asset of creativity.[45]

Kokemohr's *Bildungsprozesstheorie* works to address the significance of pragma-linguistic considerations. He reframed the earlier distinction in a linguistic dichotomy between a mono-logical discourse organization (he described it as a ubiquitous inference process) and that of diversity. The latter consists of "a more natural discourse [that] explores new horizons of interpretation and analysis beyond the confines of conventional thought" (Kokemohr, 2018, p. 73) while dealing with challenging problems in the established world-self-relationship. These include the potential and power of the language use (in the larger sense) in triggering change processes of *Bildung* and in displaying a diversity of meaning present in the diversity of the language use.

Kokemohr called such a pedagogical/didactic discourse "singular inference,"[46] a discourse that portrays *Bildungsprozesse* "as a process of crossing the 'conventional' limits of interpretation" (Kokemohr, 2021, p. 1, own translation). It is assumed in this regard that "every natural language has the po-

---

44 Pedagogical and didactic implications of the mono-logical appearance of school knowledge are discussed in the introduction of this work, which deals with the principle of unique meanings.

45 This point also is widely developed and discussed in chapter 4 of this work in the chapter on the principle of the diversity of meaning sustaining pedagogical reform projects in EEC Mbouo-Bandjoun.

46 More about Kokemohr's distinction between ubiquitous and singular inferences is developed in chapter 4 distinguishing a linear education from open systems of education, and especially in the methodology chapter stressing the use of the inference analysis to interpret empiric material of everyday life situations within the EEC pedagogical reform projects in Mbouo-Bandjoun. In the present chapter, these linguistic aspects are addressed considering Kokemohr's philosophical and linguistic reflections on Kant, Wittgenstein, and Humboldt on the language use in educational discourses or the discourse on *Bildung* (in the sense of *Bildungsprozesstheorie*).

tential of a singular inference" (Kokemohr, 2018, p. 73). Therefore, language has the potential for a diversity of meaning and structure. While the first is related to the anthropological, pragma-linguistic contexts of language use (in the sense of Wittgenstein), the latter concerns the grammar of a language. In this latter sense (Kokemohr, 2019, p. 48 regarding Hauser et al., 2002) admitted that "Chomsky sees grammatical recursion as a condition of the possibility of generating infinitely many sentences and as a source of human intelligence and creativity." Chomsky systematically addressed grammar's generative and transformative potential representing the universal grammar constitutive of every natural human language. In the words of Kokemohr (2019, p. 48), "Grammatical recursion means that something given in another form is inserted into something stated as present." That is because "by extending or modifying elements of the same type, an infinite set of statements can be generated from a finite set of elements" (ibid., p.48). This linguistic paradigm describes the syntagmatic feature of the language, that is, the syntactic structure of language entailing the transformative potential of grammar. It is a paradigm that stresses that language is individualistic.

However, recursion is grammatical, but it can also be cognitive and situative. According to Kokemohr, Everett's anthropolinguistic study of the Piraha has shown that language use can also be based on the context of the narration (ibid., pp. 47-50). From the perspective of pragma linguistics or anthropological pragmatics, it is argued that "language, thinking, and communication develop according to the experiences and problems to which people feel compelled to respond within the framework of their cultural ways of life" (Kokemohr, 2019, pp. 46-47). Kokemohr considered such a cultural contextually bound indexing essential for the constitution of meaning (ibid., p. 4). He asserted that, concerning narrative theories, the emergence of meaning is immanent to the sentence structure and arises from the impact of statements on the preceding ones, an effect highly linked to cultural contexts of language use. It is a view of pragma-linguistics and anthropological pragmatics, discussing recursion as a means of modifying and changing statements in the process of language use or communication, a theoretical discussion from the perspective of Wittgenstein's "pragmatic philosophy of the language game."

According to Xanthos Nicolas' interpretation of Wittgenstein's language philosophy: "The language games can be understood as the shared conceptual parameters that make it possible to identify and produce signs and establish relations of signification and representation" (Xanthos Nicolas, 2006, p. 1). In Kokemohr's words, this consists of the pragmatics of language use compassing "an interaction of thinking, language, culture and communicative action in the production and reception of meaning" (Kokemohr, 2019, p. 50, own translation), which is also present in the pedagogical and didactic discourse.

2.2.2.2 Language Use and the Pedagogical/Didactic Discourse: Bildungsvorhalt and Bildungsprozess

Kokemohr's reflection on language use in the perspective of Wittgenstein concerns a theoretical and an empiric understanding/distinction of concepts of "truth" and "certainty/uncertainty" within the pedagogical/didactic discourse. The starting point is the coherence theory on the base of which a formal education (school) is framed as "true knowledge," constituting plausible and logical statements that are free from contradiction. He stated that:

> Systems of statements are presupposition-rich constructions determined by traditions, perspectives, and interests, which follow a basic figure and are communicated by a more-or-less large group of people. Traditions, perspectives, interests, and basic figures easily elude attention if statements are unquestionably accepted as true because they are considered certain in established world-self-relations and are not exposed to doubt (Kokemohr, 2019, p. 43, own translation).

This understanding clarifies the conditions for truth (*Wahrheit*) from the perspective of the coherence theory. Because of the existence of "established world-self-relations" guaranteeing the non-contradictory character of truth, true knowledge escapes doubt. In other words, "a sentence is true only if it is verifiable to compliance with its system of statements" (own translation). Contrary to truth, certainty does not follow the same objective verification logic. According to Kokemohr on Wittgenstein, "the certainty of a system of statements entails the trust in common-sense-sentences" (ibid., p. 53). Hence, certainty (*Gewissheit*) gains its meaning from the incorporation of sentences or phrases in the everyday interaction through the practical process, a "backing" of the system of statements (ibid.). Common-sense sentences are, therefore, "subjectively" certain within a language game sustained by sentences such as, "it has always been this way," "our ancestors have always done this," "here, it has always been like this," "on va faire comment" etc., typical of everyday conversations in Cameroonian social life contexts. Such sentences or phrases can depict the sociocultural backgrounds that support the subjects' world-self-relationship.

Kokemohr further refers to Wittgenstein's popular claim that "A meaning of a word is a way of using it. For it is what we learn when the word is first incorporated into our language" (Wittgenstein, 1970, Aph.61, cited by Kokemohr, 2019, p. 44). It is a claim that the meaning of a word is related to the pragmatic context of its use, concomitantly implying language, grammar, culture, and social exchange. For Kokemohr, Wittgenstein's claim opened an epistemological and *Bildungsprozesstheorie* problem, considering that:

> If the meaning of a word is a way of its usage, the truth of statements can only be expressed in language, i.e., in linguistic signs. However, if these are incorporated into the history of life, statements of truth are bound to the signs incorporated in

language games and life forms about their incorporated moment of meaning (ibid., p. 44, own translation).

It is a submission that language constitutes a system of signs (including images, sounds, and gestures) necessary for communication, thinking, and mental processing. Consequently, for Kokemohr, "[a]ll communication occurs in signs." It is only in signs that one "can think about supposedly pre-linguistic something, that is not given in signs" (ibid. p. 44). The figure below illustrates the relationship between words, a system of statements, and common-sense sentences in pedagogical/didactic language use.

The following model sketched consists of three levels portraying the relationship of words, a system of statements, and common-sense sentences in teaching history in schools. The upper level is composed of words used in systems of statements as words. They can also constitute linguistic signs in general (comprising pictures, sounds, symbols, graphics, gestures, mimics, etc.) that our communication system includes. The middle level consists of a system of statements sustaining, for example, an understanding that history results from actions of stronger personalities. Subsequently, statements include: "Napoleon was a successful campaign politician during the French revolution. Pictures show him as an imperial majesty. Bold visions and decisions imprinted his politic. He was a genial strategist. Even though he was defeated, he sustainably influenced the modern world" (ibid., p. 53, own translation and arrangement of the statements in the following model).

The lower level represents the level of "Gewissheit" (certainty) sustained by common sense sentences, such as: "The world needs strong men!"; "The way it was, the way it will always be!" While the coherence of the upper level is sustained by a constructed "objective" system of statements using explicit arguments, facts, actions, events, and their concrete effects for a world-self-relationship, the lower level gains its coherent appearance from a rather "subjective" system of statements, contextually taken for granted in everyday life. This practical character of common-sense sentences "backs" the subjects' world-self-revelations. If the subjects interact within these orientation frames, they stabilize their "world," they feel secure, and they tend to reproduce these frames to orient themselves to new challenges of practical life.

Figure 3: Relationship between words, a system of statements and common-sense-statements, e.g., history
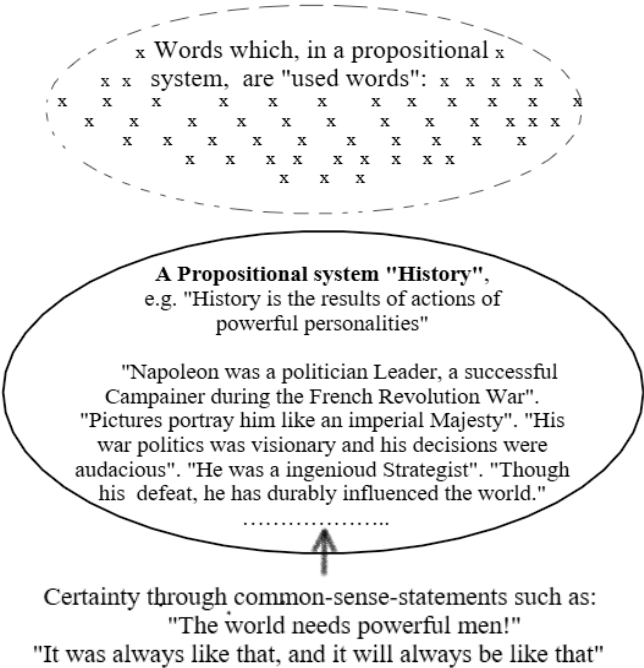
(Source: author's illustration and translation of Kokemohr, 2019, p. 53)

Therefore, a monological pedagogic/didactic discourse reproduces the established statements sustaining our knowledge system. In this logic, and concerning Bourdieu's *habitus* concept, the school introduces learners into the adults' world, stabilized by a unit of social structures and cultural dispositions (*Gewissheitsaussagesystem* – a kind of certainty-practiced system of statements) orienting the practical social life. School subjects, thus, constitute a unit of proven knowledge (*Wahrheitsaussagesystem* – a kind of truth-construed system of statements), representing a dominant frame of orientation for a world-self-relationship. In the perspective of this work, both levels can depict the sociocultural backgrounds of orientation for the world-self-relationship. According to this model of relationship, teaching-learning processes "apparently" follow coherence-oriented knowledge dispensation in a ubiquitous mode, as Kokemohr (2018) described it, cutting off "false" and

"uncertain" statements that do not fit the dominant frame of reference.[47] However, he stated that:

> According to this interpretation, we live in a system of certainties that can partially be brought to epistemological clarity, but not as a whole used for communicative exchange across cultural differences, including teaching-learning processes. This means that we can never be sure that we are moving in the same system of certainties. (Kokemohr, 2019, p. 45)

Uncertainty (*Ungewissheit*) might occur as a disturbance of coherence (*Kohärenzstörung*) between such a model of relationship. The system of coherent statements or common-sense sentences can no longer be used as a frame of reference for "backing" world-self-relations. In terms of the *Bildungstheorie*, it refers to an experience of crisis challenging and triggering the transformation of the established system, "backing" the world-self-relationship. This represents a momentum of *Bildungsvorhalt*, which could didactically be described as a potential "sign" or hint of language use that might open the process of *Bildung* and, thereby, change fundamental figures of the world-self-relationship. For, "[i]n reality, however, *Bildungsprozesse* happen in linguistic (and other) sign systems, in which the flexibility of human thinking, perception, and feeling in very different situations, tasks and challenges becomes real" (Kokemohr, 2019, p. 57).

Kokemohr provided an answer to the question of what *Bildungsvorhalt* is. He stated: "It is the moment of pausing in the perception of a promising sign, be it a sound, a picture, a word, a gesture, which, since it cannot be interpreted immediately, is foreign to us" (2017, p. 192, own translation). As such, it represents a promising sign for the *Bildungsprozess*. It gains its promising character from a disruptive, disturbing occurrence of uncertainty (*Ungewissheit*) in a coherence-based system of statements. In this sense, *Bildungsvorhalt* can consist of a triggering momentum to the process of *Bildung*.

Didactic interest in uncertainty (*Ungewissheit*) as a moment of irritation in teaching-learning processes is theoretically and empirically reflected in Bähr et al. (2019, p. 4) from the perspective of *Bildung* as a transformative process theory. They submitted that: "Dealing with discipline subjects in the classroom – may not always, but more often – must go beyond the simple acquisition of certainties and should consider moments of enduring or dealing with irritation." Kokemohr's contribution to the discussion of that interest emphasizes the significant relationship between *Wahrheit* (truth), *Gewissheit* (certainty), and *Ungewissheit* (uncertainty) in a classroom context. He saw access to these through language use. For, "as a pragmalinguistic sign network of communicative thought and action, language is a prominent topic in the *Bildungsprozesstheorie*" (Kokemohr, 2019, p. 64, own translation). He

---

47 Structures and pedagogical/didactic implications of such an "apparently linear education" (ibid.) have been discussed in chapters 2, 4, and 5.

considered the concept of *Bildungsvorhalt* significant to describe "irritating" moments in the teaching and learning processes.

If *Ungewissheit* (uncertainty) is a moment of "disturbance" in the process of teaching and learning, *Bildungsvorhalt* can be understood as a "momentum," where such a disturbance comes into being, a momentum where a teacher steps back to notice, observe and to decide about it. For instance, such a moment might correspond to an unexpected "odd" behavior of a learning vis-à-vis of a "notion," a concept, an instruction, or a statement during a lesson. It seems unexpected because it is unfamiliar with the ongoing didactic discourse or activity or the "collective" classroom *habitus*. It can also be introduced by a critical or a profound oppositional statement to the established didactic system of statements backing the logic of true knowledge in a "Wahrheitsaussagesystem" or of a collective common-sense understanding in the sense of a "Gewissheitsaussagesystem."

Regarding Kokemohr, at the level of discourse, such a moment corresponds, for instance, with the introduction of a questioning/critical thought, like: "Has Napoleon conquered half of Europa?" (ibid., p. 64, own translation) in a coherently sustained statement like: "Napoleon has conquered half of Europa" (ibid., p. 64, own translation). The introduction of the adjective "really" in the statement fundamentally questions the statement: "Napoleon has conquered half of Europa" (ibid., p. 64). Further examples of "irritating momentums" in lesson processes of different school subjects can be found in Bähr et al. (2019, sections 2 and 3, pp. 177-397). In his notes for the Wittenberger Gespräch 2018, Kokemohr highlighted some examples of the language use, portraying momentums of a *Bildungsvorhalt*. He underlined that: "Suggestive signs of a *Bildung* process can include signs, such as irritating words, surprising metaphors or metonymies, syntactic sentence breaks, prosodic gestures or others" (p. 2, own translation). So, how does how a teacher didactically handles such "disturbing moments" in a lesson depict either a "mono-logical" discourse development or a productive discourse potentially opening a *Bildungsprozess*? The chart below portrays two distinctive didactic classroom orientations.

In the first case, it is a discourse of exclusion of "odd" statements from the dominant *Aussagesystem* (propositional system) in the mode, for instance, of "it is false," "you are wrong," and in extreme cases, the punishment of "deviant" behavior. A teacher could also decide to ignore a "disturbing question," remark, or behavior. In the empiric section of this book, the author analyzes how didactic strategies and techniques could be used to sustain a "harmonious" discourse to maintain the ubiquitous flow of a lesson. In her biographical interview, a teacher (Mme Tina[48] or FT) portrays some disturb-

---

48   Cf. chapter 11, empiric analysis of biographical trajectories of becoming teachers in private schools in Cameroon.

ing learners as "les pères." She ignored their disturbing and provocative questions or remarks to conserve her authority. Such decisions of teachers sustain a mono-logical discourse in teaching-learning processes.

Figure 4: A coherence-based system of statements and an uncertainty-based system of statements triggering the emergence of a "new" fundamental figure of the world-self-relationship
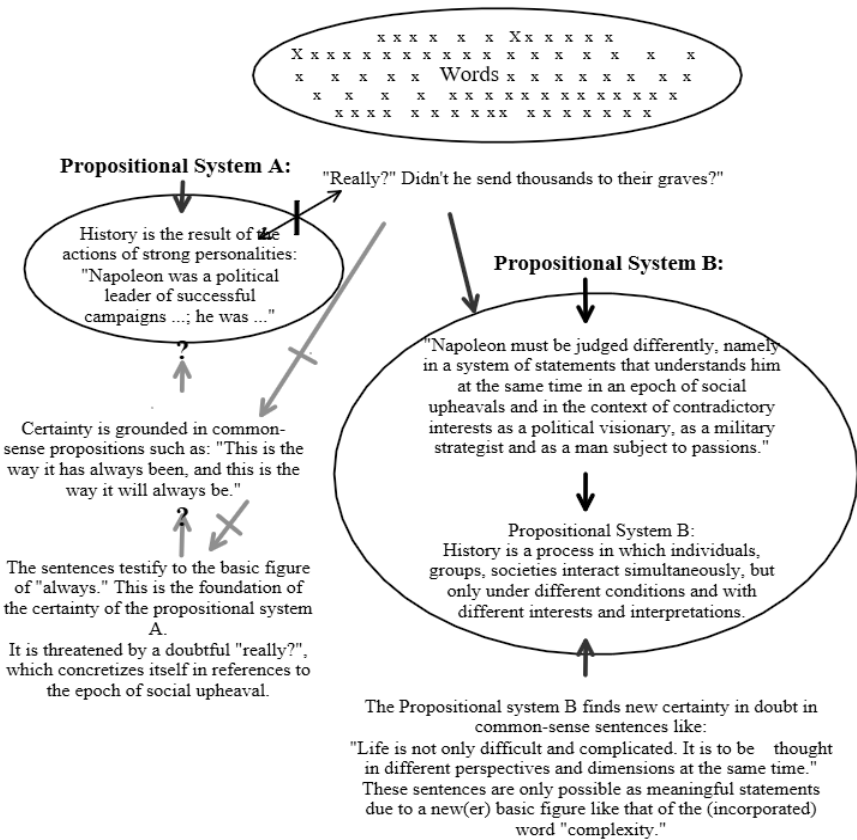
(Source: author's illustration and translation of Kokemohr, 2019, p. 64)

In the second case: "It is precisely at this point that a didactic approach sets in, which, regarding the teaching practice, seeks to understand disturbing uncertainty as a productive moment in a communicative, educational process" (Kokemohr, 2019, own translation). Bähr et al. (2019) discussed in the introduction of their book, how being pedagogically and didactically friendly to "irritation" in the classroom might open a *Bildungsprozess*.

Table 2: A theoretical perspective of the concept of *Bildung* as a transformation process according to and beyond Bourdieu's theory of habitus and capital forms

Koller (2017, p. 2): "*Bildung* as a (3) process of transformation that transforms (1) fundamental figures of the way subjects relate to themselves and the world when (2) grappling with experiences of crises that challenge their present relations to the world and themselves."		Kokemohr (2019, p. 41): "*Bildungsprozess verändert die Grundfigur eines Sprachgebrauchs und Welt-Selbstverhältnisses.*"	
Bourdieu's theory of habitus and capital forms	(1) Structures or figures of the world- and self-relations *Habitus*, capitals, and social space/field as stable structures and dispositions of the agents' world- and self-relations (1) Sociocultural backgrounds as a frame of orientation to the agents' world- and self-relations in pedagogical interactions*?*	(1) Fundamental categories of world-self-relations Language-use: coherence-oriented-system of statements (*Wahrheitsaussagesystem*) and common-sense-system of statements (*Gewissheitsaussagesystem*) backing the agents' world-self-relations (in the mode of ubiquitous inference) (1) Sociocultural backgrounds	Wittgenstein's philosophy of language use games
Waldenfels' work on experience	(2) Triggers of the transformation of the world- and self-relations. Experience of crisis: an experience of the unfamiliar (foreign) as a trigger of processes of the emergence of new figures of the world- and self-relations. (2) How could the context of rapid societal transitions trigger the transformation processes of the sociocultural backgrounds sustaining the agents' world- and self-relations in pedagogical interactions?	(2) Triggers of change of the language-use and world-self-relations. Experience of uncertainty disturbing the *Wahrheitsaussagesystem* and *Gewissheitsaussagesystem* opening a *Bildungsvorhalt* as a promising sign for changing an established world-self-relationship.	Kokemohr's concept of *Bildungsvorhalt*
Butler's concept of resignification	(3) Structures and conditions of potential transformation processes of fundamental figures of the world- and self-relations. Resignification is a transformation process of meaning, the transformative potential of language (speech act performance). (3) Intercultural language use struggles as spaces of a potential transformative *Bildungprozess*?	(3) Potential processes of change in language use and fundamental figures of a world-self-relationship.	Kant's language philosophy (transcendental schemes). Humboldt's language philosophy

(Source: Author)

They stress how "Combe and Gebhard thus sketch out concrete didactic spaces for action that outline how irritation-friendly teaching settings could be designed" (ibid., p. 27, own translation). Handled as interesting moments in the lesson process, uncertainty momentums of *Bildungsvorhalt* could constitute chances for *Bildungsprozesse*. Kokemohr, thus, portrayed *Bildungs-*

vorhalt und *Bildungsprozess* as effects of a singular inference in the classroom discourse and interaction oriented toward the construction of "a different system of statements and a different fundamental figure of world-selfrelationship." (ibid.) These theoretical backgrounds of *Bildung* as a transformative process are summarized in the following table.

The table provides a conceptual overview of the understanding of the theory of *Bildungsprozesse,* according to Koller and Kokemohr. The present study uses the theoretical development of Koller as a base to depict (according to Bourdieu's socialization theory) the concept of SCBs as consisting of "fundamental figures of the world- and self-relations," which (beyond Bourdieu) can be transformed when faced with a crisis these figures are no longer responsive. Kokemohr's pragma-linguistic understanding of "fundamental figures of world-self-relations" sustains the empiric research of the participants' SCBs and momentums of their change inducing quality teaching and learning processes (the pedagogical reform principles of *sens divers*, *interaction*, *responsabilité réciproque*). Table 3 below presents more details on the conceptual relationship of understanding constituting the theoretical framework of this study.

2.3   SCBs as World-Self-Relations, *Habitus*, Frame of Orientation, Social and Cultural Capitals and the Conjunctive Space of Experience?

The question is: How do the different theoretical considerations above-discussed help understand the sociocultural background concept? What is the conceptual relationship between the SCBs and fundamental figures of world-self-relations addressed by the *Bildungsprozesstheorie* (Koller and Kokemohr)? What is the relationship between the sociocultural backgrounds and *habitus* and social and cultural capitals (Bourdieu)? What do Bohnsack's concepts of the frame of orientation and conjunctive space of experience add to the conceptualization of the term SCBs? How do these conceptual relationships influence the understanding of the concept of quality teacher education (QTE)? All these questions are worth answering to understand the concepts of SCBs and QTE addressed in this study.

Nevertheless, they could be subsumed in the conceptual interest of understanding SCBs as an individual or collective phenomena. In other words: Do we talk of collective SCBs or different individual SCBs? From which of the two perspectives does this study address the concept of SCBs? Even though these questions sound relevant for understanding conceptual dilem-

mas in this study, their profound complexity appeals to a scoped enterprise of a conceptual reformulation from the theoretical discussion above.

The author, thus, starts with the general assumption that education ultimately concerns persons, hence, individuals. Since it is a social enterprise, its processes encompass both the participants' biographical and social processes. Hence, the concept of the SCBs must be addressed as depicting the individuals' different and collective backgrounds. To sketch this conceptual hypothesis of understanding, the author appeals to Kokemohr's claim that: "It is impossible to understand a biography without referring to society and its culture. And it is impossible to understand a biography without referring to the individual processes of treating social experiences" (Kokemohr, 2002b, p. 3).

Adapting this claim to the present research, it is worth supporting that the concept of the SCBs refers to the actors' individual or personal experiences and the orientation of their interpersonal, that is, their collective or conjunctive (in the sense of Bohnsack), mode or modes of interaction to construct their social world(s). Like the problem of educational biographical research raised by Kokemohr (ibid., pp. 2-3), understanding the concept of the SCBs in the (teacher) educational research entails considering both individual educational and social processes. Better said and regarding Kokemohr, "we can always ask for the relationship between an individual and a social process." The author of this work does not depict the SCBs as an individual and a collective (social) process but rather deduces, from the above-developed theoretical considerations, a depiction of SCBs as those structures (individual and collective) which sustain both the individual educational processes and their intersubjective social processes of relationship. The following figure of Kokemohr (ibid., p. 3) highlights this point.

Figure 5: Interrelationship between individual and social processes in educational research

childhood – youth – start of a job – foundation of family

The biographical process

the individual process

the social process

war – peace – conservative government – students' rebellion

1940   1955   1965   1968 ……
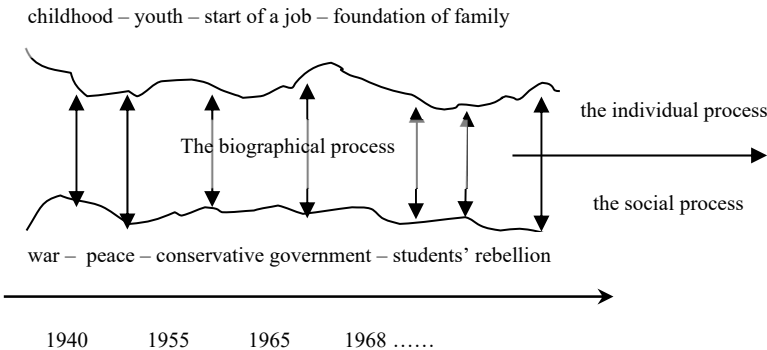
(Source: author's illustration after Kokemohr, 2002b, p. 3)

The author's point is that, like the interrelation of both individual and social processes in a biographical process described in this scheme by Kokemohr, the present research on the SCBs and the quality of teacher education concerns the interrelation between individual and collective Sociocultural backgrounds that structure the participants' pedagogical interactions. Correlatively, as biographical transformation processes occur at individual and social levels, the participants' SCBs could evolve, change, or be transformed. The author underlines this as the relationship between the participants' *Bildungsprozesse* and the transformation (change) processes of their SCBs, constituting fundamental figures of their world-self-relations. It is a relationship portraying the transformative character of SCBs, according to Koller and Kokemohr, going, thus, beyond the rather static reproductive character of *habitus* as viewed by Bourdieu. In Kokemohr's words: "in educational biographical research, we try to find out not only how people answer to social change, but also to understand how they elaborate fundamental categories that allow them to cope with new problems rising within the social world" (Kokemohr, 2002b, p. 3).

However, the transformation or change in question here is not an obvious automatic phenomenon. Highlighting factors of established figures of world-self-relations that trigger change, Kokemohr explained that:

> An educational process is initiated by an experience that cannot be interpreted within a given truth regime. It starts with a sign that promises to change the certainty figure founding the truth regime and thus making the problematic experience interpretable. It can sediment itself in a changed world-self-relationship or fail (Koekmohr, 2018, p. 2, own translation).

Picking up the discussion on the terminological analogies, the present enterprise conceptually scoped understanding of SCBs for the study. Considering the theoretical backgrounds called upon for this study, the concept of the SCBs implies a complex understanding, as represented in the table below.

The study understands the concept of the SCBs as a unit of individual and collective figures or categories backing world-self-relations. Humans relate to the world, others, and themselves using their individual and collective *habitus* and their social, cultural, and symbolic capitals within the social space sustained by a symbolic power relationship. These organize the social world and sustain its harmony or order. Even though Bourdieu described them as established structuring structures and symbolic dispositions, they transform and change when they can no longer be used as frames of orientation to the world-self-relations in the perspective of *Bildung* as a transformative process.

Table 3: Theoretical frame of understanding of the concepts of SCBs and QTE in this study

Sociocultural backgrounds	Levels	Bourdieu	Bohnsack	Fundamental figures (categories) of the world- self-relations	Koller / Crisis, irritation, and the unfamiliar as triggers of transformative processes of Bildung	Kokemohr		Principles of interaction and reciprocal, corporate responsibility of a teaching-learning process
	Individual	*Habitus*	Frame of orientation (*habitus*)			Language use or linguistic signs as indices of a dominant frame of reference	Ubiquitous inference, *sens unique*	
		Social, cultural, symbolic capitals						
	Collective	*Habitus*	Conjunctive frame of orientation (group *habitus*)			Language use or linguistic signs as indices of irritation momentums, *Bildungsvorhalt*	Singular inference, *sens divers* (diversity of meaning)	
		Symbolic capital, social space	Homologous space of experience					
		Power relations						
	Transmission and reproduction				Transformation, Change processes of *Bildung*			
Quality teacher education (quality improvement in teaching-learning processes)								

(Source: Author)

On the one hand, and considering the framework of the Documentary Method, Bohnsack used the terms frame of orientation (*Orientierungsrahmen*) and conjunctive space of experience (*konjunktiver Erfahrungsraum*) to depict an individual and a group *habitus* as a *modus operandi* of social practice. Therefore, the present study takes after Bohnsack to investigate how participants explicitly (orientation schemata) and implicitly (orientation framework) use their sociocultural backgrounds to relate to each other, their world, and themselves in their narrative discourses. The Documentary Method is called upon to identify and describe features of the SCBs, hence, understood as a frame of orientation and a conjunctive space of participants' experience.

On the other hand, the study appeals to the Inference Analysis of language use in the perspective of Kokemohr to investigate *ubiquitous processes* of world-selfrelations understood in the sense of Bohnsack as a homologous/conjunctive frame of orientation and *singular processes* or processes of change of fundamental figures of world-selfrelations (see also Kokemohr, 2001 on the Inference Analysis). Both concepts depict a *sens unique* process somehow corresponding with the transmission dynamics (reproduction of established standard knowledge in terms of curricula) and a *sens divers* pro-

cess (paying attention to irritating momentums during lessons and other pedagogical situations and contexts).

While the quality teacher education might be understood, according to Bourdieu, as an improvement of didactic and pedagogical teaching-learning techniques, approaches, performance, and behavior, the perspective of a *Bildungsprozesstheorie* might rather depict QTE as teaching and learning processes that encompass a possible transformation of the established *habitus*, and, therefore, the participants' SCBs. In the latter sense, quality teaching-learning entails interactive and creative dynamics in pedagogical situations based on the principle of reciprocal/corporate responsibility. In other words, QTE entails the capacity and performance of critique by pedagogical actors making room for innovation, the emergence of competitive frames of orientation, and a possible transformation or change of world-self-relations. It is a teaching-learning process that develops the learners' critical thinking and capacities to deal with the challenges of the rapidly changing worlds creatively.

To sum this chapter up, the theoretical endeavor of a redefinition of *Bildung,* inspired by Humboldt's *Bildungsphilosophie,* has triggered the interest in theoretically (1) describing structures of the world- and self-relations, (2) discussing conditions or triggers of possible transformation processes of figures of these relations and (3) researching empiric potentials, momentums and possible sketches for/of *Bildungsprozessen*. These three theoretical challenges were thematized using Bourdieu's social theory (*habitus*, capitals, and social space or field), Waldenfels' concept of the "experience of the unfamiliar," described as a crisis that might trigger *Bildungsprozesse* and Butler's concept of resignification as a transformation potential of language. These three theoretical interests and developments are capitalized parallelly to describe the concept of SCBs in the teacher education, the triggers of change or transformation of the SCBs for the improvement (reform) of teaching and learning processes, and the power or potential of the language for the transformation of processes of *Bildung*.

In the perspective of *Bildung* as a transformative process, the concept of the SCBs might be understood as the backgrounds sustaining fundamental structures or figures of the subjects' relations to themselves, others, and the world. It might comprise the *habitus*, capital forms, and the social space, which structure the everyday practices (or pedagogical practices in the context of this study) and contribute to maintaining the established social order and habituated cultural practices. It might also include individual and collective social structures and cultural ways of thinking and acting in pedagogical situations.

Even though the actors' SCBs tend to constitute a secure background of reference for everyday thinking and acting, there are momentums where these are limited or inefficient to appropriately handle the challenges in societies

facing multiple transitions, like those in Cameroon, Africa. Such multiple transitions generating a multitude of crises could either engage agents in adapting to the transitions (this could be the case with educational reform transitions) or trigger processes of change or transformation of prevailing social and cultural practice orientations and dispositions. The following chapter discusses Cameroon's teacher education system and practice, retracing its qualitative development within the complex and challenging peoples' SCBs in Cameroon, which generally apply to most formal African educational contexts.

3 General Trends in Education, Teacher Education Reforms in Cameroon

Like most African countries, Cameroon has made education a priority, particularly as the government allocates a significant budget (Nkoutchou, 2018) for all ministries in charge of education. In 2019, it was 15,84 % of the budget[49] for the six ministries handling education in Cameroon (ibid., p. 9-10). Apart from internal crisis due to different political struggles before and after the independence, the country has witnessed a long fortunate period of peace and stability since its independence in 1960. The Bakassi conflict[50] with the neighboring country Nigeria in the 1990s was peacefully resolved through the mediation of the UN from 2002 to 2008 (Baye, 2010). The context of peace and stability provided opportunities to develop educational structures.

However, since 2014, with the Boko Haram terror attacks in the far north region (Betché, 2016) and 2016, the anglophone crisis in the North-West and the South-West English-speaking regions of Cameroon, the development of education has been challenged. Many schools were burnt down; students were kidnapped; some teachers and school staff were attacked, causing many to flee from the conflict area to Nigeria or to join relatives or friends in the francophone regions. Although this study does not investigate this issue, it is worth mentioning because this work covers the period within the context of the surrounding crisis in Cameroon originating from the background of sociocultural, political, and educational differences.

This chapter is aimed at describing some (3.2) general and current reform issues in the (3.1) Cameroonian educational systems and those informing about (2.3) its teacher education systems. From a historical perspective, it intends to reconstruct the development (structural and institutional) of the different educational sub-systems to answer how these might stand for effective educational reforms. The private sector of education and its teacher training component is revisited here. Moreover, this chapter provides a critical overview of these systems and reform attempts to highlight shortcomings to

---

49 See: https://www.journalducameroun.com/en/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Report-on-Cameroon-2019-Budget_final3.pdf

50 The resolution of the Bakassi conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria was mediated by the International Court of Justice (ICJ), leading to the Green Tree Agreement in 2002, which was secured by Cameroon later in 2006, and was totally resolved with "the Treaty of Calabar between Cameroon and Nigeria on August 14, 2008 that marked the complete withdrawal of the Nigerian administration and police as stipulated by the Green Tree Agreement" Baye, 2010). See: https://www.accord.org.za/ajcr-issues/%EF%BF%BCimplications-of-the-bakassi-conflict-resolution-for-cameroon/ .

scope the present investigation of the sociocultural backgrounds of the immediate actors of the teaching-learning processes.

3.1 An Overview of the Educational Systems in Cameroon

Research on Cameroon teacher education and its quality in real-life pedagogical situations involves an interest in the educational system. A literature review of the development of formal education in Cameroon is presented to provide an overview of this interest. As Fonkeng (2007) reviewed, the history of education in Cameroon consists of its evolution and its structural and institutional development practice.

3.1.1 Backgrounds History of the Education in Cameron

Before the arrival of the European civilization and the colonization of Africa and Cameroon, particularly indigenous education was the prevailing system (Fonkeng, 2007, pp. 15-16). This system consisted of transmitting cultural and societal values from adults to children to preserve the tradition of a given society (Mapto Kengne, 1998-2013). Education in the pre-colonial period was grounded on and taught through oral traditions. The curriculum could not be fully documented. Education was practical, with life itself being the classroom. Kanu (2003, p. 207) asserted that it emanated from an understanding of the physical, social and spiritual environment and was meant to address the needs of the whole person, which had, as its objective, helping an individual to adapt to their society and to be able to serve the self and the whole community. In the words of Rodney (1982, p. 239), "the most crucial aspects of pre-colonial African education were its relevance to Africans."

Nevertheless, African education was oriented towards preserving the tribe's cultural heritage, the family, and the clan. This was achieved using stories, legends, folktales, and proverbs. The history of Cameroon supports the concept that it all began with the curiosity of the Portuguese explorers, whose primary goal, at the time, was to explore the world. The Cameroon francophone educational sub-system was introduced during the colonial French ruling SDN mandate when they took over the implemented German educational system after the First World War. It was practiced in French Cameroon, covering almost 80 % of the territory.

The French colonial education in Cameroon was designed to get some local indigenous instructors trained as interpreters and, as such, to serve as communication facilitators within the local traditional ruling class or to serve the purpose of an indigenous evangelization (SPEC, 1992). As the colonial

French practiced a centralized administration, its educational system in Cameroon was also centralized in its form, its objectives, its contents as well as in its teaching methods, giving a central position to the teacher as *maître* (master) of the teaching and learning processes (Kä Mana, 2009). Under British rule, Baptist, Catholic, and Presbyterian missionaries implemented schools and trained teachers (Fonkeng, 2007). Grammar schools, commercial institutions, and technical colleges were the most popular institutions for secondary education, situated in Buea, Mamfe, Limbe, and Bamenda (ibid.).

Colonialism altered Cameroon's education since it was introduced in the European style, an investment in human capital. Africans were educated using European languages, literature, history, and geography. They also introduced religions. According to Kano (2006), these religions helped keep the people from revolting against injustices they had experienced since they preached forgiveness, submissiveness, and patience. As afore-mentioned, colonial education was less aimed at life in Africa because it separated students from the needs of their immediate community (IPAM, 1978, p. 17). It remained foreign since its curricula promoted British and French interests in Cameroon and did not promote life in the African context. These educational systems have remained as the colonial heritage. However, its early reforms were channeled into a more contextualized curriculum.

3.1.2   The Present Structure of the Educational Systems in Cameroon

The law N°98/004 of April 14, 1998, defined Cameroon's general education orientation and established its general objectives and formal system. The current Cameroonian educational system is organized into two coexisting sub-systems of anglophone and francophone education. The Anglo-Saxon sub-system of education was practiced before independence in a territory known as Southern British Cameroon. In 1961, this portion of Cameroon joined French Cameroon forming the two-state federation, with each entity maintaining its educational system (Bikoi, 2008). It is important to note that this territory represents the two English-speaking regions of Cameroon: The North-West and the South-West regions. This system consists of the following levels of education: nursery, primary school, secondary school, and higher education. Primary education in Cameroon is placed under the Ministry of Basic Education (PASEC, 2016), which postponed the entry age to six years in its recent academic reform and reduced the number of classes in this system from seven to six. At the end of this level, pupils write two exams: the First School Leaving Certificate (FSLC) and the common entrance in the secondary school.

Secondary education in this system is accessible to English-speaking pupils who pass the entrance exam, irrespective of their backgrounds. It consists of a lower level (forms one to five) and an upper level (lower sixth and upper sixth). The entry age is generally between eleven and twelve, with a length of study of five years for the lower level and two years for the upper level. In class four, students are expected to choose between joining the arts or the sciences for specialization, given the upcoming national exams of the General Certificate of Education at Ordinary Level (GCE/OL) and the Advanced Level (GCE/AL), organized all over the territory by the GCE Examination Board.

After the independence in 1960, the state pursued the French colonial educational system in both its form and contents to stabilize the inherited institutions. The objectives were reoriented towards training the workers needed for administrative and economic tasks for the young state. The law of 1998 reoriented the inherited educational system. The current structure of the francophone educational sub-system is organized in cycles, each comprising internal levels: the pre-primary education (two years), the primary education (six years), the secondary education (seven years)[51], and the higher education (bachelor, master, doctorate, BMD system).

3.1.3 Private Education in Cameroon

Forty years before the colonial annexation of Cameroon by the Germans in 1884, a formal education (western education) had already existed in the country and was solely an Anglo-Saxon-oriented education undertaken by the London Baptist Missionary Society. In 1844, Joseph Merrick opened the first school in Bimbia (Fonkeng, 2007, p. 23), followed by another one opened in 1845 in Douala, founded by Alfred Saker. The missionary schools in this period had been part of evangelization instruments. Thus, their objectives, curriculum, and teaching methods reflected this mission of evangelization. Fonkeng (ibid., p. 27), paraphrasing Vernon Jackson (1968, p. 5), recalled that "these early schools were rudimentarily organized on Western lines with a limited curriculum comprising reading, writing, arithmetic and bible study." During this period, English was used as "the exclusive medium of instruction" (Fonkeng, 2007, p. 27).

Under the German governance of Cameroon (1884-1916), education was mainly a missionaries' affair, as these had already established school institutions 40 years prior. The German government, thus, attributed the educational task to these missionaries and preferred regulating and financing these activities directly rather than having them institutionalized (ibid., p. 38). During

---

51 Law N°98/004 of April 14, 1998, on the orientation of education in Cameroon, in its articles 16 (1) and (2).

the German governance of Cameroon, the Mission of Basel took over the Baptist mission, and the German language became the medium of instruction imposed in all schools, bringing a fundamental change in educational orientation from a British-oriented to a German-oriented education. Until 1906, 90 % of the schools in Cameroon were private missionary institutions (ibid., p. 34). It was only in 1888 that the first German public school was opened in Douala (ibid., p. 35.).

Furthermore, during Cameroon's English and French mandates, the predominance of private schools over public education was still observable. Taking over the German governance, these colonial masters reoriented the education in Cameroon, framing it around the English system (in Southern Cameroon) and the French system (in East Cameroon). In contrast to the former system, where private individuals and missionary bodies owned most schools, they promoted a public education while cooperating with missionary bodies.

Cameroon's private education is still predominantly a missionary affair, although some private individuals own many educational institutions. The law of 1998 on the orientation of education in Cameroon stipulated those private promoters of educational services assist the state in providing education. Hence, the government framed the private education sectors with the law N°004/022 of July 22, 2004.

> Section 12 (1): Proprietors shall be grouped into 4 (four) organizations, each of which shall be endowed with legal status and placed under the supervision of the Minister in charge of national education or the Minister of technical education vocational training. These organizations shall be: – the organization of proprietors of private Catholic schools or training establishments; – the organization of proprietors of private Protestant schools or training establishments; – the organization of proprietors of private Islamic schools or training establishments; – the organization of proprietors of private lay schools or training establishments.

> Section 13 (1): A structure for consultation and promotion of partnership between the State and private education, known as the National Private Education Board[52], is established.

Cameroon's private education sectors are twofold: confessional and lay schools. According to Fonkeng (2007), Protestant private education was the first missionary education provider in Cameroon, with its history reflecting the pre-colonial occupation period in the 1840s. Today, it is one of the essential educational partners of the state in both sub-systems of education. Cameroon Protestant educational institutions are regrouped under OEPP: Organisa-

---

52 The establishment of the National Private Education Board was concretized by the Presidential Decree No. 90/1461 of November 9, 1990, laying down the terms of the creation, opening, operation and financing of private schools and training in Cameroon and was placed under the Minister of National Education.

tion de l'Enseignement Privé Protestant (Organization of Protestant Private Education). It comprises Protestant schools and training institutions that belong to Protestant churches, constituting the Council of Protestant Churches of Cameroon, known in French as CEPCA.[53]

The Catholic education in Cameroon dated to 1890 when the Pollotins Missionary came to the coastal territory of Douala. The first Catholic school was opened in Marienberg in 1891 (SPEC[54], 1992, p. 32). Like the Protestant missions, the Catholic education was then aimed at evangelizing and cooperating with the colonial power to establish imperial goals of "civilization." Today, this education sector is under Catholic private schools or training establishments (Organisation de l'Enseignement Privé Catholique: OEPC). It is one of Cameroon's most prominent and successful educational institutions, which many current political and academic figures attended (ibid., pp. 579-613). Catholic educational institutions are found all over the national territory and cover all the sub-systems, levels, and orientations. They also include many theological schools.

Contrary to Protestant and Catholic education, the history of the Arabic educational system in Cameroon had very little to do with western civilization. It was a concurrent force to the western imperial powers and missionaries (Fonkeng, 2007, p. 21) because it originated in the contact of Cameroon (northern Cameroon) with the Middle East's Islamic and Muslim civilization back in the 18th century (Betché, 2016). Hence, an Islamic education was linked tightly to the religion and the Arabic language of the Koran. Koranic schools are owned by Koran masters who were/are also religious community leaders (Betché, 2016). The early Arabic schools in northern Cameroon reflected this reality and contributed to a Western education (ibid.). The influence of western education was visible in the northern regions of the country during the colonial era and after independence. This led to promoting bicultural education, mixing Islamic and formal western education. Franco-Arabic primary schools were created in the 1990s next to the public and missionary schools (Fonkeng, 2007). Today, these schools are run by the Organization of Arabic Private Education (Organization de l'Enseignement Privé Islamic OEPI). Today, Islamic schools are less developed than missionary schools and individually owned schools in Cameroon.

Furthermore, individuals or private laic corporations own many schools in Cameroon. The history of a laic private education in Cameroon goes back to the French/English colonial period in 1945 (Ngonga, 2010, p. 86). Presently, non-confessional private schools include community schools, schools

---

53 CEPCA: Conseil des Eglises Protestantes du Cameroun, founded in 2005 on the base of the Federation of Protestant Churches and Missions in Cameroon (1969) and the Evangelical Federation of Cameroon and West Africa (1943). See: https://oikoumene.org/en/member-churches/africa/cameroon/cepc.

54 SPEC: Secrétariat Permanent de l'Enseignement Catholique.

belonging to individual proprietors and parents, created in isolated villages where there are no state schools yet (ibid.). Non-confessional educational institutions cover all the sub-systems of all levels (from pre-primary to higher education). The rapid growth of the population, especially in urban areas, has made the educational demand rise. With the laws of 2004 and 2008 regulating the creation and promotion of private education in Cameroon, many individuals have taken the opportunity to invest in the education business sector. This context seems to allow the proliferation of some clandestine schools hindering the private sector of education (ibid.). Many non-authorized private schools are yearly closed by the state due to the bad quality of the infrastructure, hygiene conditions, and governance.

3.2 Some Reforms of the Education Systems in Cameroon

Reforms in Cameroon's education systems were mainly institutional and structural (Tchombe, 1999; 2001). They aimed to improve the state's educational policy and evolve educational systems and curricula. Besides, Cameroonian education has witnessed pedagogical reforms to improve the quality of teaching and learning processes.

3.2.1 Some Structural and Institutional Reforms of Education

Before and immediately after the independence of Cameroon, most of the educational institutions were held and developed by missionaries and individual proprietors. The very young Federal Republic of Cameroon (1961-1972) then defined and controlled a national educational system (nationalization). There was also the problem of redefining the educational policies and curricula to meet the national needs, mainly based on the rural agricultural economy (ruralization), and putting together the two educational cultures inherited from the British and the French (harmonization) having inspired bilingual reforms.

3.2.1.1 Nationalization and Ruralization Reforms of Education in Cameroon

As far as the nationalization reform is concerned, Fonkeng (2007, p. 100) recalled that the decree of 1962 "recognized the newly created Ministry of National Education," which, three years later (1965), became the Ministry of National Education, Youth, and Culture. The state took over the responsibility for defining educational policies, providing educational services in coop-

eration with private stakeholders and of, constructing public schools, designing both its curricula, strategies, and teaching qualification, and guaranteeing financial provisions with the help of its international partners and missionaries (ibid., p. 103). As Fonkeng (ibid., p. 108) put it, "at the national level, the principal objective, in terms of educational planning, centered on the improvement of primary school enrolment rates with a view to qualitative change." Based on this historical background, a nationalization reform of the education system seems not to be the nationalization of educational institutions (or schools) but rather the state taking total control of the education system in the country regarding the development of policies, strategies, programs, curricula, follow up and evaluation (exams, certification).

The nationalization of education, in this sense, is, therefore, what is manifested in the Cameroon Education Orientation Law of 1998 in Article 2: "(1) Education is a high national priority. (2) The State provides it. (3) Private partners contribute to the provision of education." Today, the educational debate on the national level is about school provision, school access, and attendance rates. It has evolved from teaching the national culture of Cameroon (Hotou et al., 2016) to providing quality education to the learners so that they can effectively develop competencies (Mballa Ze, 2015) and creativity (Fonssi, 2018), sustaining a quality teacher education.

As far as the ruralization reform is concerned, it was urged by the state's will to adapt the school system and programs to the contextual problem of the agriculturally dominated country and the economy. Hence, the educational policy of ruralization in federal Cameroon "implied the adaptation of education to the realities" (Fonkeng, 2007, p. 109) of such an essentially agricultural country. The curricular reform in this endeavor promoted subjects, such as "arts, crafts, agricultural activities" (ibid., p. 109), that the existing curricula, after independence, did not include. The ruralization reform of education addressed the reform of policies, programs, and curricula of teacher education, follow-up programs, the school administration, and the production of didactic material. It could be described as a holistic reform that concerned many aspects of education.

3.2.1.2 Harmonization Reforms

Harmonization has been an issue of divergence among researchers who addressed it (Banfegha Ngalim, 2014, pp. 335-36). Common reasons advanced by these authors are the country's bicultural nature, the curricula, a misconception of the term, educational politics, and separate examination boards (the GCE Board and the Baccalaureate Office). The colonial legacy is a major factor in the country's bicultural nature. According to Tchombe (1999),

Cameroon is a bilingual country where both cultures[55] should co-exist. The cultural aspect is felt in every domain, including education. Thus, each culture seeks to preserve its integrity and the colonial legacy jealously.

Moreover, the curricula of both sub-systems could be a hindrance to harmonization. The contents of the subjects differ, making the harmonization of syllabi difficult. A misconception about the term could also constitute an obstacle to harmonization efforts. For Fonkeng (2007, p. 299), harmonization is conceived as assimilation, which implies adopting one of the cultures and neglecting the other. This seems to hinder the harmonization process and might explain that both sub-systems still hold on to their culture.

The politics of education in Cameroon provide a harmonization process, which is theoretical since it claims that both sub-systems should have the same curricula, syllabi, and schemes. This objective has not been achieved, except for the number of years in basic and secondary education, which have the same features but are still different in curricula. Finally, separate examination boards[56] constitute a drawback to harmonization. The Ministry of Secondary Education centrally organizes examinations. The GCE Board and the Baccalaureate Office oversee the respective exam sessions. The state's vision is not reflected in its teaching content (Tchombe, 1999, p. 61). Despite its bicultural nature, the main policy now is unity and integration and striving for the same goals, which asserts the need for more contextualized teaching and learning contents and methods.

3.2.2 Reforms on Bilingualism

Cameroon's Constitution of January 18, 1996, amending the Constitution of June 2, 1972, stated in Article 1 (3) that: "The official languages of the Republic of Cameroon shall be English and French, both languages having the same status. The State shall guarantee the promotion of bilingualism throughout the country. It shall endeavor to protect and promote national

---

55 The constitution of Cameroon states in its preamble that: "Proud of our linguistic and cultural diversity, an enriching feature of our national identity, but profoundly aware of the imperative need to further consolidate our unity, solemnly declare that we constitute one and the same Nation, bound by the same destiny, and assert our firm, determination to build the Cameroonian Fatherland on the basis of the ideals of fraternity, justice and progress." In Part 1 Article 1, it is stated that (3): "The official languages of the, Republic of Cameroon shall be English and French, both languages having the same status. The State shall guarantee the promotion of bilingualism throughout the country. It shall endeavour to protect and promote national languages."

56 The GCE Board for the English sub-system and the Office du Baccalaureat du Cameroun (OBC) for the French sub-system.

languages." This constitutional provision portraying the bilingual character of the Republic of Cameroon is given form and content by presidential and ministerial decrees designing the educational system of Cameroon and a national commission for the promotion of bilingualism and multiculturalism. As an educational reform, Bilingualism has mainly concerned two institutional measures: the Government Bilingual High Schools (GBHS) and a Special Bilingual Education Program (SBEP). Article 3 of the law N°98/004 of April 4, 1998, on the orientation of education in Cameroon, defined the state's objective of promoting national unity and integrity through bilingualism in schools. It stipulated that: "The State dedicates bilingualism at all the educational levels as a factor of national unity and integration."

For this purpose, and according to Fonkeng (2007, p. 104), the state created the first Government Bilingual Secondary Grammar School in 1963 in anglophone Cameroon (the English-speaking regions). Before this, there were no government high schools in these regions. These were either properties of private promoters or missionaries and monitored directly from London, reflecting the British educational system in its structure, curricula, and certifications (ibid.).

In the current system, the government's bilingual secondary grammar schools (Ekane, 1992) are known as Government Bilingual High Schools (GBHS) and can be found all over the national territory. They encompass the two educational sub-systems (francophone and anglophone), coexisting on the same campus. GBHS comprises two sections: the anglophone section developing the English curricula and certification and the francophone section promoting the French curricula and certification. These two sections use English and French as mediums of instruction in the respective sub-systems. A proviseur heads the bilingual schools (principal) and a *censeur* (vice-principal) for the pedagogical administration of the respective sections. The criticism of the system of GBHS or *lycées bilingues* concerns the fact that they differ in their curricula, certification, and academic culture (Ekane, 1992; Kouega, 2018). To contain this criticism, the government created special bilingual education programs in 2008, harmonizing the curricula and fostering more intensity in the mastery of both languages.

The second instrument of bilingualism in Cameroon's education system is the Special Bilingual Education Program (SBEP). The circular letter N°28/08/MINESEC/IGE of December 2, 2008, organized the implementation of the SBEP in secondary schools in Cameroon. This letter outlines its overall framework of implementing bilingualism in secondary public general, technical, and teacher training institutions in its introductory paragraph. The program includes, thus, the teaching of intensive English in the francophone schools and intensive French in the anglophone zones. This reform, falling into the harmonization endeavor of the two sub-systems, is aimed "at producing perfectly bilingual students who master English and French irrespective

of their original education subsystem," with the main objective of providing them with greater opportunities of using the other official language contributing *ipso facto*[57] (thereby) to its mastery (ibid.).

The program comprises three compulsory modules of intensive English/French (module 1), cross-curricular immersion (module 2), and co-curricular activities (module 3). While module 1 is a "language class module for the learning of English by Francophone and French by Anglophones" (ibid.), which is different from learning core English or core French, module 2 "consists of the teaching-learning of non-linguistic subjects either in English or in French according to the subsystem" (ibid.). Meanwhile, module 3 consists of extra-curricular activities in the other official language. These include a bilingual day, excursions, choirs, debates, and club activities in English (for francophone students) and French (for anglophone students).

The SBEP started its experimental implementation phase (in the 2008/2009 school year) in some selected schools having sufficient structures and human resources, such as the availability of students admitted to the program through a test submitted by the Inspectorate of Pedagogy in charge of the promotion of bilingualism and the availability of teachers. This inspectorate supervising the program is also responsible for teaching intensive English to francophones and intensive French to anglophones. It, thus, designs syllabi for this module and strategies for teaching and evaluation criteria. This inspectorate supervises teachers handling these subjects. The Inspectorate of Pedagogy in charge of Letters, Arts, and Literature (LAL) handles core English and French subjects.

In 2013, the Minister of Secondary Education, Louis Bapes Bapes, signed a circular letter, taking the SBEP a step forward by opening its exper-

---

57 This is the exact expression used in the French version, which, in the English version, could be read as "thereby". Since the author does not know the order of translation or concept of the circular letter, he assumes that the implication of the meaning might be controversial. *The controversial issue of meaning could be due to the translation from one language into the other (or construction of sense in one or another language); for the same Latin phrase could have been borrowed by the two languages just like in many other western languages. A subsequent discussion could be raised (in relation to questioning the sociocultural backgrounds of actors in educational reforms) on how the conception could have been culturally/socially constructed according to the use of one or another language from the colonial political background. A possible interpretation related to this background might address the question if the two concepts do not reflect the two different administrative cultures: direct rule (political centralism in the French-inherited administration) and indirect rule (pragmatic inclusion of the local administration taken after the British administration). In one or the other context, the used phrases (ipso facto vs. thereby) might portray a form of automaticity of the administrative provision and a consequence-relational character that is expected to be evaluated in the process.*

imental second cycle's component. The ministerial circular letter N°18/13/MINESEC/IGE/IP-BIL of June 19, 2013, thus, defined admission measures for the second cycle of students from bilingual classes of pilot schools involved in the SBEP. It provided that "SBEP is an entity that should be maintained at all the levels till the end of the second cycle except for sciences students."

Table 4: Comparative structures of reforms for the promotion of bilingualism in educational systems in Cameroon (1963-2019)

Sub-systems	First cycle				Second cycle		
The reform: Government Bilingual High Schools implemented all over the national territory (1963-2019)							
Anglophone sub-system (GBHS)	Form I	Form II	Form III	Form IV	Form V	Lower sixth arts, sciences	Upper sixth arts, sciences
					GCE/O		GCE. A
Francophone sub-system (Lycée Bilingue)	6e class	5e class	4e class	3e class	2nde A B, C, D, E, F	1ère A, B, C, D, E, F	Tle A, B, C, D, E, F
				BEPC		Probatoire A, B, C, D, E, F	Bacc A, B, C, D, E, F
The reform: Special Bilingual Education Programme in experimentation in selected pilot schools (2008-2019)							
Anglophone sub-system (SBEP)	Bilingual Form I	Bilingual Form II	Bilingual Form III	Bilingual Form IV	Bilingual Form V	Lower sixth arts bilingual	Upper sixth arts bilingual
					Bilingual GCE/O		Bilingual GCE. A
Francophone sub-system (PEBS[58])	6e bilingue	5e bilingue	4e bilingue	3e bilingue	2nde "A" bilingue	1ère "A" bilingue	Tle "A" bilingue
				BEPC bilingue		Probatoire A bilingue	Bacc. A bilingue

(Source: Author)

Certificates at the end of SBEP's first cycle are the BEPC *bilingue* (*Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle*) in the 3e *bilingue* class for francophone students and the bilingual GCE/OL in the bilingual form 5 class for anglophone ones, respectively at the 4th and 5th year of schooling. At the end of the second cycle, francophone students write the *Probatoire "A" bilingue* (in *premiere* "A" *bilingue* class) and the *baccaleauréat* "A" *bilingue* (in *Terminale* "A"

---

58 PEBS: *Programme d'Education Bilingue Spécial* is the French version of the special bilingual education program. The documentation for the program is published in both English and French.

bilingue class) exams, while the anglophone students would write the bilingual GCE/AL (in the bilingual upper sixth class). There are no science options in the SBEP; arts and literature are the sole bilingual options for bilingual students.

On the other hand, there is a discrepancy problem in the structures ("4-3", "5-2" and "1-2", "1-1"). This discrepancy hinders the equivalence of certificate forms and the consistency of syllabi in SBEP and PEBS. As far as the equivalence problem is concerned, in the GBHS and the classic schools, the BEPC is equivalent to the GCE/OL level, equivalent to the *probatoire*. The *Baccalauréat* is equivalent to the GCE/AL. This is also the case within the SBEP and the PEBS with a bilingual GCE. OL, equaling the BEPC *bilingue* and the *Probatoire bilingue*, the bilingual GCE. AL is equivalent to the *Baccalauréat bilingue*. Meanwhile, the BEPC or BEPC *bilingue* is not equivalent to the *Probatoire* or the *Probatoire bilingue*. This equivalence structure of the educational certificates of both sub-systems is reproduced in public service recognition in terms of admission requirements in some national training institutions (teaching, medical personnel, police, gendarmerie, military, public work, agriculture, and forestry). It does not concern the internal equivalence within the subsystems. That is, there is no transferability of certificates from one to another. For instance, a holder of a BEPC cannot be transferred to the lower six class in the anglophone schools, nor can someone with the GCE "O" Level be admitted to the *terminal* class in francophone schools. The equivalence is rather applicable when writing an entrance exam for public service schools.

Over the years, after the adoption of a unitary system in Cameroon, there has been a progressive drift towards a preference for the English sub-system of education by a good number of parents from a French-speaking background who gave many reasons to justify the choice of enrolling their children in schools with an Anglo-Saxon orientation. Among these reasons is the desire to learn a second language for international integration. Furthermore, parents praise this system for its boarding schools, which, according to them, make the child obedient and focused on their studies. Other parents adopt the system because they have very busy schedules and cannot follow their children's progress. Therefore, a boarding school is ideal to ensure an expected academic achievement. Many francophone parents enroll their children in this system because of its few competitive exams compared to the francophone subsystem, with the *probatoire* exams hindering their entrance into the *Baccalaureate* class (terminal class).

3.2.3 Educational Reform and the Current Anglophone Crisis

As developed in the above sections, Cameroon's educational system's bicultural character has been challenging harmonization endeavors. Cultural differences have often hindered the political attempt to unite both sub-systems (Kouega 2018, p. 3), sustaining a system inherited from the British and the French administrations. Harmonization reforms introduced by the Federal Republic (1961-1972) and the United Republic (1972-1982) failed because of the use of the two official languages as languages of instruction in the anglophone sub-system (especially the posting of French-speaking teachers in anglophone technical schools (Kouega 2018, p. 4). In 1993, there was another attempt to harmonize the two educational sub-systems. This also failed because of the bicultural aspect of Cameroon, leading to demonstrations from the English-speaking population. The anglophones interpreted the harmonization of educational reforms to assimilate the hegemonic French-education culture. This made the government create an independent general board for the anglophone sub-system of education, named GCE (Kouega, 2018, p. 4).

The above-discussed educational problems could be considered sources of Cameroon's current "anglophone crisis" (Kouega 2018, p. 5). The International Crisis Group (ICG, 2017, pp. 9-10) reported that, on November 21, 2016, the anglophone teachers' trade unions, following the anglophone lawyers' movement of October 2016, started a peaceful strike in Bamenda against the hegemony of francophones in the two English-speaking regions. The movement was followed by the students' strike at the University of Buea on November 28, 2016, brutally reprimanded by the police. The academic year 2016/2017 has been effective due to frequent manifestations and the closing of schools. Some political groups took over the movement by putting forward the independence of an anglophone Cameroon as their goal; others claimed a return to the federal form of the state as in 1961 (ICG, 2017, p. 18). The military transformation of this crisis led to the burning of schools, the kidnapping and killing of students and school staff in 2018 and 2020, and almost three years of the ineffectiveness of schools in many localities of the two regions.

3.2.4 Sociocultural Backgrounds Implications

This historic background is brought forward to understand the limitations of educational reforms in Cameroon, which essentially endorse the cultural backgrounds of different, and often opposing, educational sub-systems inherited from British and French cultures. The subsequent social backgrounds imply a simplistic division of society into anglophones and francophones, regardless of the rich multi-cultural backgrounds of the populations of Came-

roon.[59] Tanang et al. (2012; 2013) mentioned the existence of 248 languages in comparison to Breton et al. (1991), who recognized 280 languages, and Leclerc (2011) counted 286 languages. SIL[60] Cameroon counted 283 languages in Cameroon, 180 of which were promoted and developed by this organization.

Considering this simplistic but dominant interpretation, Cameroon's educational system and social identities seem to be bound to these two western cultures and social organizations. Thus, the country is bilingual (English and French as the official languages), endorsing the consequent bicultural education systems (Anglo-Saxon and French educational systems).[61] In this regard, very little of the national cultures and the educational practices characterize its education system and sociopolitical organization. Aware of these challenges, the Cameroon government has recently designed two instruments to promote national cultures and languages: the National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multi-Culturalism (NCPBM), created by the presidential decree in 2017 as an instrument to conciliate cultural differences due to the Anglophone crisis, and the program of teaching national cultures and languages in schools (Hotou et al., 2016). The above portrait of the Cameroon educational system and its reform challenges is also characteristic of its teacher education systems.

3.3   The Teacher Education Systems in Cameroon

According to Fonkeng (ibid.), the formal training of teachers in Cameroon is relatively new because it dates to the 1970s. Nevertheless, teacher education has evolved through the pre-colonial (missionary-period) and the colonial periods responding to the needs of the respective eras. Teacher education in Cameroon is eminent at every level of education because there are enough teacher training schools from the pre-primary level and the secondary level of the general, technical (vocational) and teacher education, which are owned by either the government or private individuals and religious denominations. Most of these schools were created in the 19th century and responded to the population's needs. Today, in the 21st century, with the evolution in technolo-

---

59 Many sources claim that Cameroon comprises over 250 ethnic groups, speaking more than 280 corresponding languages (Ethnologue, 21st edition). See: www.cameroon.sil.org/about.
60 SIL: *Société Internationale de Linguistique*
61 This is stated by the Cameroon main law (constitution) of 1996 and its law of 1998 on the orientation of education that also recognise the multi-cultural and multi-lingual specificities of the country to be promoted.

gy and the world moving towards globalization, education is bound to match these challenges to achieve national and international educational goals. The quality of teacher education appears to be one of the pathways to this achievement (UNESCO, 2014, pp. 12-13).

The teacher education in Cameroon (Mapto Kengne, 1998-2013) could also be retraced in the history of education in the country (Fonkeng, 2007). Although the early educational systems (western education), developed by missionaries and imperial powers, put very little emphasis on teacher education, there were some orientations for teacher development. Fonkeng (2007) stressed that teachers of the very first schools in Cameroon were either missionaries or their staff who came from Jamaica, England (e.g., Joseph Merrick came to Bimbia in 1843) and Germany (e.g., Theodore Christaller came to German Cameroon in 1887). These missionary teachers were either professional teachers or volunteers without an initial teacher education background. As they faced local calamities (sickness, for example), they had to train local teachers to take over the teaching tasks. Some selected Cameroonians were either sent overseas for training or were given in-service training, directly and *sur-place,* by the missionaries (Fonkeng, 2007). But what does the teacher education system in Cameroon look like today? How did the reform projects develop? How did/does this development reflect the participants' sociocultural backgrounds? How did/does this address the quality of teaching-learning practices within the projects?

The sections below investigate the development of teacher education in both public and private institutions in Cameroon. Moreover, this paragraph consists of a reflection on current teacher education reforms in the country, with a special focus on private endeavors in the domain, highlighting and discussing especially the problem of power relations and inclusion-exclusion clusters from the perspective of the actors' sociocultural backgrounds.

3.3.1   Public Teacher Education in Cameroon

The public teacher education in Cameroon had a significant focus in the 1960s, just after independence. The young state was interested in and urged developing educational facilities and reforms to meet the socio-economic context of a rurally dominated economy. Teacher training had gained significant interest in the first educational reforms of ruralization (Fonkeng, 2007). So, how have policies and the philosophy of teacher education evolved in Cameroon? What does the institutional framework of a teacher education look like today? How far are teacher education reforms reflected in Cameroon's local realities and needs? The teacher education institutions in Cameroon encompass teacher-training colleges for primary education and high-

teacher training colleges for secondary education. These are also called "normal colleges."

3.3.1.1 Teacher Training Colleges for the Primary Education

After independence within the framework of the ruralization reform, teacher training colleges for primary education were principally developed by the government to provide primary schools with qualified workers (UNESCO, 1972). The state, in 1967, in francophone Cameroon opened the *Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs à Vocation Rurale* (ENIR), transformed later in 1969 in the *Institut de Pédagogie Appliquée à Vocation Rurale* (IPAR), the Rural Institute for Applied Pedagogy, as translated by Fonkeng (2007). In 1974, the government created its first teacher-training institution in anglophone Cameroon in Buea. The UNESCO (1972) reported on the IPAR reform that there were nine state teacher-training colleges in francophone Cameroon, *Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs Adjoints* (ENIA) and *Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs* (ENI), designed to equip primary schools with the teaching, administration, and pedagogical inspection staffs for the implementation of the ruralization reform of education under the technical coordination of the IPAR (UNESCO, 1972, p. 58).

The IPAR had four objectives: reforming primary education, making the pedagogical auxiliaries affordable for teachers and learners, in-service teacher training, and training primary school teachers and pedagogical animators (ibid., p. 3). Until 1975, ten governments ENI/ENIA planned to cover the national territory. The IPAR project provided a special condition for training teachers with CEPE in two years within the transitional system of ENIA of Maroua and Ngaoundéré. Reasons for this special provision in the project are not stated in the UNESCO's report of 1972 on the project IPAR. However, one might understand this from the low schooling average in these parts of the country at the time, an observation that still seems true today, according to the statistics from the Ministry of Education (MINEDUB, 2017).

Teacher training institutions had resolved the lack of qualified teachers for rurally oriented education. IPAR institutions trained four categories of teachers. The first category concerned titular teachers recruited with a BEPC diploma and trained for three years in ENI/IPAR, ending with a *Brevet Supérieur de Capacité* (B.S.C) certificate. The second category comprised assistant teachers recruited with BEPC who spent only one year at ENIAs to get the *Certificat d'Aptitude Pédagogique Elémentaire* (CAPE). The third category consisted of general education teachers who entered the ENIAs with a CEPE certificate and had to spend two years on a CAFMEG or DMEG[62]

---

62 These two acronyms are used in the UNESCO report on the IPAR reform without specification on what they stand for as acronyms.

certificate (UNESCO, 1972, p. 36). Finally, auxiliary teachers for the general education were recruited with a CEPE certificate and were given a one-year training in ENIAs. In addition to these categories of teachers, the IPAR also trained school directors, primary education inspectors, and school administrative staff in the mode of recycling (in-service training). Teachers of IPAR institutions were trained conjunctly at IPAR and the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* (ENS), Yaoundé (UNESCO, 1972).

The project IPAR had the merit of rethinking globally the educational system of Cameroon to adapt it to the contextual situation and conditions of the 1960s. It addressed policy, curriculum, didactic material, teacher education, teaching-learning inspection, and school management challenges of a rurally oriented education. The project attempted to consider the country's sociocultural and economic realities to rethink its educational system after independence, emphasizing the teacher education supporting the reform. Unfortunately, this effort in teacher education development was suddenly stopped by the economic crisis that jolted the country in 1985 (Fonkeng, 2007, p. 131, p. 145). The government's efforts in the teacher qualification during the fifth five-year development plan (1981-1986) were pursued in the sixth plan (1986-1991). This last development plan went through a drastic economic crisis, which forced the state to turn to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and, thus, accept the loan conditions imposed by this organization. The structural adjustment program replaced the five-year development plan by the IMF. Hence, educational projects, especially teacher training, were adjusted and limited to the strict minimum services. Many teacher-training colleges had to limit their recruitment, and most of them were closed. A decade of economic crisis (1985-1996) hindered teacher education development in Cameroon.

However, missionary educational boards undertook some initiatives of teacher education reforms. This was the case in the Permanent Secretariat of Catholic Education (SPEC, 1992) with its teacher training college in Tatum.[63] In 1996, the government reopened the teacher training colleges closed during the economic crisis of 1985 (UNESCO, 2010, p. 20) and created many to cover the national territory (Tchamabe, 2015). Cameroon's two teacher training colleges currently reflect education's general and technical forms. These include the general education teacher training schools: *Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs de l'Enseignement Général* (ENIEG) and the technical education teacher training institutions: *Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs de l'Enseignement Technique* (ENIET).

Public ENIEGs were implemented in each of the 58 administrative divisions of the country (Tchamabe, 2015, p. 176). They replaced the former

---

63 This was further developed chapter 3 in the paragraphs on private teacher education reforms.

ENI/ENIAs in training nursery and primary school teachers for both anglophone and francophone sub-systems of education. According to UNESCO (2010, p. 21), there were 62 public ENIEGs during the academic year of 2006-2007 in Cameroon. Candidates write a national common entrance exam according to their level and the chosen option. Entry requirements have evolved from CEPE (or FSLC) plus three years of teaching experience (Fonkeng, 2007, p. 123) as parents-teachers[64] to BEPC (or GCE. OL), *Probatoire* certificate, and *Baccalaureate* (or GCE. AL). The duration of training is respectively 3-2-1 years. The final certificate is the *Certificat d'Aptitude Pédagogique d'Instituteur de l'Enseignement Maternel et Primaire* (CAPIEMP).

Technical teacher-training colleges (MINESEC, 2017) train teachers in vocational training schools called Rural Artisan and Home Economics Section (*Section Artisanale Rurale et Section Ménagère*: SAR/SM) to get a basic professional education. Entry requirements into ENIET are CAP-CAPI[65] (or technical GCE O/L), *Probatoire Technique*, and *Baccalaureat Technique* (or Technical GCE A/L). The duration is respectively 3-2-1-years. Upon completion, students are awarded the grade I certificate of a teacher education, known as the *Certificat d'Aptitude Pédagogique d'Instituteur de l'Enseignement Technique* (CAPIET). The problem with posting is the same as discussed in the section on the ENIEG above. There are very few technical teacher training colleges (ENIET) in Cameroon (Tchamabe, 2015, p. 175) compared to the 62 ENIEGs mentioned in the UNESCO report. The programs of ENIEG-ENIET provide both theoretical knowledge acquisition and a professional acquaintance with a classroom experience (Tchamabe, 2015, p. 169). The repartition of the curriculum of these programs reflects the different levels and the duration of the training.

Theoretical curriculum elements comprise knowledge of general pedagogy, general didactics, the psychology of childhood, psycho-pedagogy, evaluation, and knowledge of French and English languages, plus a few national languages in some cases (Mapto Kengne, 1998-2013; MINESEC,

---

64 The term "parents-teachers" is used (first informally, but then became popular in the official discourse of the teacher identity) in Cameroon to designate a category of teachers who are recruited and paid by the Pupils Parents' Association (APE: *Association des Parents d'Elèves*). These teachers include trained teachers from ENIEG who had not yet been recruited by the state, or teachers with no professional training who were recruited because of the schooling or the academic backgrounds (CEPE, BEPC, *Probatoire* and *Baccalauréat* certificates with the corresponding English certificates above-mentioned). The APE has evolved to become the Pupils' Parents and Teachers Association (APEE: *Association des Parents d'Elèves et des Enseignants*).

65 CAP: *Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnell* ; CAPI: *Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle Industrielle*.

2014). Moreover, subjects in the program of primary schools, such as mathematics, biology, history and geography, moral-civics, and hygiene, are also part of the curriculum in teacher training colleges. These entail almost 70 % of the training program and are distributed into BEPC-GCE. OL 1, 2, 3 (a three-year program), *Probatoire* 1 and 2 (a two-year program), and finally, the *Baccalaureate*-GCE AL 1 (one-year program).

The professionalization program or practical training in ENIEG-ENIET is done in three phases of internships in different application primary schools and SAR-SMs or some *College d'Enseignement Technique et Industriel* (CETI). There are observation or impregnation internships in the recent texts of ENIEG (MINESEC, 2014, p. 8), then a tutored internship and a practical internship with the full responsibility of teaching in a classroom (Tchamabe, 2015, pp. 171-173). All three internships have corresponding objectives, contents, actors, and duration. The observation internship aims to get acquainted with the real-life pedagogical situation under a professional teacher. Trainees observe classes, participate in pedagogical corners and write a report submitted to ENIEG-ENIET's trainers for evaluation. The tutored internship is designed to progressively train future teachers in the lesson preparation supervised by peers or a professional practicing teacher. It lasts for two weeks, and trainees must write an internship report.

Finally, the practical responsibility internship is characterized by the trainees giving full professional responsibility for classes. Under a professional application teacher's supervision, they prepare, present, and evaluate lessons. They undertake all the classroom activities as a "practicing teacher." This third type of internship is evaluated by a team of professionals nominated by the Ministry of Basic Education, comprising application teachers, ENIEG-ENIET teachers, pedagogical inspectors, and supervisors. During the practical examinations, the trainee prepares and presents a lesson in their class under the supervision of the evaluating team. The practical exam and the final report comprise 30 % of the terminal certification evaluation.

The teaching approach is largely teacher-centered, whereby the trainer teaches the lessons in a frontal manner of the traditional pedagogy (Kä Mana, 2012a). The trainees copy most of the time. They are submitted to a recitative evaluation and expected to show a mastery of the knowledge dispensed by the trainers (Mapto Kengne, 1998-2013). Very little room is given to the trainees to search and develop their knowledge construction capacities. As future teachers, they are expected to prepare and dispense lessons. Thus, the knowledge selection, the arrangement, and the transposition of specific lessons are the core professional skills of teachers (MINESEC, 2014). However, this is taught mechanically in didactics (Kokemohr, 2018). This means that trainers give their students ready-made lesson preparation formats that they memorize and use in class. With such a frontal training approach, most of the trainees reduplicate their trainers' didactic clues or techniques in their lessons

and, as such, cultivate a certain routine that hinders the quality of their teaching processes and, thus, the quality of the pupils' learning processes as well (Kalafunja Mlang'a O-saki, 2005, p. 120). The philosophy of teacher education in such a context fundamentally addresses how to teach. Trainers are, thus, only expected to show their trainees effective teaching clues or techniques for their future profession (Fonkoua, 2005, p. 110). It is a mechanical training approach like an engine mechanic who is expected to repair engines efficiently.

However, pupils are human beings whose development is processual and not mechanical (Kokemohr, 2018). Solely equipping trainees with teaching techniques, clues or hints is not enough in a changing society like Cameroon (Moukoko, 2012). Teacher education might promote the trainees' individual and collective creativity for quality education. This would help them effectively transform/change problematic pedagogical situations (UNESCO, 2005, p. 9) that would trigger the learners' creativity and awake and develop their learning styles (Nkemleke, 2015) and their potentialities to understand and transform their real-life conditions (Kokemohr, 2018, pp. 95-114).

In addition to the initial training of teachers in these colleges, the Ministry of Basic Education initiated a reform of pedagogical supervision of practicing teachers in a reference framework for the pedagogical supervision system (MINEDUB, 2012). In the avant-propos of this document, the Minister, Youssouf Adjidja Alim, underlined the significance of the reinforcement of the capacities of pedagogical supervisors. She insisted that: "In concrete terms, this involves setting a pedagogical supervision strategy to supplement, update, modify and adapt existing guidelines and practices according to the new requirements of the time and tomorrow" (MINEDUB, 2012, p. 2).

Some of the limitations of the ENIEG-ENIET programs include the duration of the professional training, especially for the *Baccalaureate* profile, which, according to Tchamabe (2015, p. 173), is insufficient for the professional quality of the trainees. The follow-up and supervision of this practical training phase are also challenging for the field actors who sometimes lack appropriate professional supervision training. Within the IPAR project, "teachers in public institutions were considered civil servants with their rights and duties specified and safeguarded by general statutes of the civil service" (Fonkeng, 2007, p. 106). However, those trained in ENIEGs were first *contractuels* before being recruited (*contractualisés*) as public servants, either using the state or special funds, such as the PPTE funds, the C2D[66] funds, or the World Bank funds (Tchamabe, 2015, p. 175). These means and funds help integrate a limited number of the ENIEG-ENIET's recipients yearly. The rest of the trainees either work as parents-teachers or change their pro-

---

66 PPTE: *Pays Pauvre Très Endetté*. C2D: *Contrat de Désendettement et de Développement* (French program).

fession and do something else to earn a living. This situation is still holding back the motivation to become a professional teacher.

3.3.1.2 Teacher Training Institutions for Secondary Schools

Secondary school teachers are trained in Higher Teacher Training Colleges (HTTC), *Ecole Normale Supérieure* (ENS). There are two types of teacher education for secondary schools: teacher training for general secondary education (ENS-HTTC) and teacher training for technical secondary education (HTTTC). The first ENS-HTTC was created in 1961, one year before creating the Federal University of Cameroon in Yaoundé.[67] According to the Decree N°88/1328 of September 28, 1998, ENS-HTTC has the missions of:

- Training teachers for general secondary education, teachers of normal education, and school orientation counselors.
- Promoting research in general and pedagogical research.
- In-service training (refreshment courses) and perfection of teaching staff, including teachers nominated to the functions of pedagogical inspectors.

These missions were enriched in the case of the ENS-HTTC Maroua, created in 2008 by the presidential Decree N°2008/282 of August 9, 2008, to include online- and network training forms of the educational staff, the promotion of academic and national bilingualism and the promotion of civics and intercultural education. Cameroon counts four ENS-HTTCs: ENS Yaoundé 1, ENS Bamenda, ENS Maroua, and ENS Bertoua. They are located in the Universities of Yaoundé I, Bamenda, Maroua and Nagoundéré.

The ENS-HTTC trains three types of teachers: general secondary school teachers, teacher trainers of primary education professionals and school, academic and professional guidance counselors. They comprise four sections (ibid.): (1) the section of student-teachers of general secondary education, preparing future teachers for general secondary schools. Final certificates comprise the general secondary school teacher's diploma first grade (*Diplome de Professeur de l'Enseignement Secondaire Général* DIPES 1) for the first cycle and the grade II diploma (DIPES 2) for the second cycle; (2) the section of student-teachers of a normal education preparing future teacher trainers in ENIEG. Students, at the end of the training, receive the normal education teacher's first grade (*Diplome de Professeur de l'Enseignement Normal* DIPEN 1) for the first cycle and the 2nd grade (DIPEN 2) for the second cycle; (3) the section of school, academic and professional guidance student-counselors who train psycho-pedagogical professionals who will be posted in secondary, university and other vocational schools. There is only

---

67 See the presidential Decree N°61/186 of September 30, 1961 on the creation of *Ecole Normale Supérieure* of Yaoundé; and the presidential Decree N°62/DF/289 of July 26, 1962 on the creation of the Federal University of Cameroon.

one cycle for this section ending with the guidance counselor diploma (*Diplome de Conseiller d'Orientation* DIPCO); (4) the section of internships, in-service training, and pedagogical research.

Admission to the ENS-HTTC happens in two ways: through a competitive entrance exam (written and oral sessions) and on the title for candidates from private education organizations or foreign candidates. Admission requirements in the first section mentioned above include candidates with a *Baccalaureate* Certificate or GCE AL for the first cycle and those possessing a DIPES 1 plus a Bachelor or an academic Bachelor for the second cycle. As far as the second section is concerned (teacher or normal education), students are admitted to the first cycle either with a *Baccalaureate*, a GCE A.L, a CAPI-CAPIEMP or a teacher's grade 1 having at least three years of teaching experience in this regard. The second cycle of the teacher/normal education takes students with a DIPEN 1, a DIPES 1 plus a Bachelor, or students with an academic Bachelor. Entrance into the section of guidance counseling is subject to the acquisition of a Bachelor (ibid.).

In addition to the professional teaching diplomas that candidates at the ENS-HTTC receive, the new organizational texts of these schools, e.g., texts of the University of Maroua, also provide a licence (Bachelor), a master and doctoral studies with the respective professional and academic diplomas. This model of the ENS-HTTC Maroua might trigger reforms in the other teacher training institutions of Cameroon.

At the end of their training at ENS-HTTC, student-teachers are directly integrated into the public service and handed over to the ministries in charge of education. Training programs are fixed by the decision of the Ministry of Higher Education for each of the 13 or 15 departments of the ENS-HTTC, depending on their size. The teaching staff comprises full professors (*professeurs des universités*), assistant professors (*maîtres de conférences*), lecturers (*chargés des cours*) and assistant lecturers (*assistants*). In some ENS-HTTC, this also includes research assistants (*attachés de recherche*). Teachers are recruited among university lecturers, regardless of their academic and pedagogical background. This constitutes one of the criticisms that teacher education scholars point out more often (UNESCO, 2005; Tchamabe, 2015).

As far as the ENSET-HTTC is concerned, it comprises two divisions composed of eleven departments (UNESCO, 2010, p. 22). The division of management techniques encompasses four departments (administrative techniques, family and social economy, sciences of education, and economic techniques of management). Besides, the division of industrial techniques has seven departments (basic scientific courses, textile and clothing industry, mechanic-, forestry-, electric-, civil- and informatics engineering). Entrance to ENSET-HTTTC is competitive with a technical *Baccalaureate* and GCE AL for the first cycle for the *diplôme de professeur d'enseignement* technique first grade (DIPET-I) and the technical Bachelor (three-year training pro-

gram). Candidates with a DIPET1 or equivalent certificates write the competitive entrance exam in the second cycle of the DIPET II and the Master of Technology or the Master of Research (ibid.). The ENSET-HTTTC system provides professional diplomas and academic certificates (Bachelor and Master). Trainees are integrated into the public service in ENS/HTTC and ENSET-HTTTC.

Considering the above reconstruction and discussion of the organization and practice of public teacher education in Cameroon, it is worth further investigating its private sector. This might display both comparative typical features and problems of reform or open other perspectives of the teacher development.

3.3.2 The Private Teacher Education in Cameroon

As discussed in the chapters above, formal education in Cameroon originated from a private engagement of missionary organizations and afterward from private individuals. Hence, teacher education also fits this historic background. The private teacher education in Cameroon went through a progressive development, which is continued beside the public teacher education provisions. This paragraph attempts to reconstruct this development from the perspective of documentary analysis. It is limited to some missionary teacher training programs within the Catholic and the Protestant education framework, even though many lay private teacher education institutions, especially at the ENIEG-HTTC level, exist. This focus on the confessional teacher education programs follows the author's interest in investigating the sociocultural backgrounds of some actors involved in the pedagogical reform projects carried out within the Evangelical Church of Cameroon (EEC) in Mbouo-Bandjoun.

3.3.2.1 The Development of the Catholic Private Teacher Education

This present discussion of the Catholic teacher education development is construed around the readings of some teacher development issues displayed in the publication of the *Permanent Secretariat of Catholic Education* in 1992 (SPEC, 1992). The book retraces the history of this missionary education organization over 100 years (1890-1990). Therefore, an attempt to analyze a teacher education issue uses SPEC officials' speeches and reports. SPEC (1992, p. 146) considered "initial and in-service teacher training as fundamental requirements" for the good quality of its educational system. In this regard, the Catholic educational organizations had developed – right

from the era of the Pallotins Fathers (SPEC, ibid., pp. 31-32)[68] – teacher-training institutions across the country. These institutions were/are created for initial teacher education and in-service training or refreshment courses for teachers of their schools.

In 1944, "as schools increased, there was the problem of getting teachers." Bishop Rogan initiated a pre-teacher training College in Baseng (ibid.). This center was then transferred to Njinikom, Bamboui, and until 1973, to Tatum in the northwest region. As of 1945, a teacher training institute for girls was also opened at Soppo and transferred later to Mutenguene. During that period, other teacher education institutions include Bojongo and Nchang-Manyu, to name just a few (SPEC, 1992, p. 368).

Unfortunately, after Cameroon's independence, financial constraints led to their reduction in number. While an initial teacher education was developed in West Cameroon (anglophone Cameroon), there were no training colleges in East Cameroon (francophone Cameroon). Teachers from this country were either sent to Tatum for training or were trained on the job by secretariats of education in each diocese (SPEC, 1992, p. 480). The SPEC was active in providing teachers, pedagogical animators, and school administration staff with regular in-service training, oriented or sustained by the values of the International Organization of Catholic Education, namely interiority, creativity, respect for others, and solidarity. These values sound more like Catholic educational orientation or a program that had to be implemented.

Moreover, a reform of Catholic education, especially the teacher education, concerned the introduction and development of the teaching and learning of national languages in the 1980s, experienced in some pilot schools in Douala, Yaoundé, Nkongsamba, and Kumbo. This project, described by Father Jérome Owono Mimboe (then Bishop of Obala) as "an innovation and an asset to cultural development," was stopped due to financial and political drawbacks in 1987 (ibid., p. 482).

Although the drastic economic crisis of this period in Cameroon, Catholic teacher education was of priority for the SPEC. At the end of his report, Father Jérome Owono Mimboe addressed the critical financial situation of the Catholic education organization, which, according to him, "was going to die of suffocation if nothing is done" to save it (SPEC, 1992, p. 483). In 1987, this critical financial situation led the SPEC and the Catholic mission to reflect on the fundamental question of how to guarantee the future of Catholic education in the period of economic downturn. (Father Pierre Lucien Betene, ibid., pp. 485-486). He noticed that "there is no development of peoples without an education which considers their cultural identities and vital

68   The Pallotins Fathers are Catholic missionaries who arrived in coastal Douala in October 24-25, 1890 and settled in Marienberg in December 8, 1890. They established the very first Catholic school in this locality in 1891.

needs"; that "an educational organization isn't intelligible unless its reference to political, economic, social and cultural forces of the world around it." Considering these preconditions of education, the Catholic mission engaged its educational system in an ambitious reform with the general orientation that:

> schools provide young people with an education that enables them to achieve their full potential as best they can be and serve their community; but also, as an organized structure, they cannot remain indifferent to the living conditions of their environment. On the contrary, they are called upon to be an agent of progress and development (SPEC, 1992, p. 489).

Within this difficult context, and motivated by the philosophy of education mentioned above, the SPEC defined concrete measures in 1989 to tackle its education system's challenges. The reform was primarily structured around the objectives of teacher education development. It aimed to transform the Tatum teacher training college into a Catholic national and bilingual teacher college, open in-service teacher training centers, and organize pedagogical training sessions in provinces and dioceses. The reform also included the project: Training for mental management (*projet de formation à la gestion mentale*), which concerned teachers and school administration staff of its education organization all over the country. It empowered teachers and school managers to put the learners in the center of their education by cultivating their confidence to handle their mental capacities during and after learning. The project also aimed at making the learners free principal agents responsible for their future and for their communities to provide them with tools for analysis, reflection, and synthesis that would make them gain a critical look at their educational environment (SPEC, 1992, p. 491).

The pedagogical approaches of this reform consisted of a learner-centered pedagogy. The learners should play the principal role in the educational activity. Therefore, learning processes should develop the students' psychological and spiritual real-life realities and the sociocultural economy of their surroundings. It also encompassed a pedagogy of action, considering that the learners learn to transfer the knowledge, the competencies, and the values they acquire at school into their everyday life.

The last pedagogical principle adopted was that of the pedagogy of the group, which, in contrast to individualism, promoted teamwork, preparing the learners to be engaged in the service of their communities (ibid., p. 492). The implementation approach consisted of the O-R-A Method aimed at helping learners through school subjects to *observe* the reality, *reflect* and analyze the observed reality, and *act* to transform and improve the target reality (ibid.). But how can these principles reflect the pedagogical reform ideas of the UEC? This question is tackled in chapter 4 of this work.

Pedagogical research was also a priority of the SPEC, especially within the Group of Pedagogic Reflection (G.R.P) created on December 5, 1989. Its

task consisted of organiz[ing] research seminars on education and the insertion of school in the real-life" (Art. 9 of the statutes of the Catholic education). It had the mandate "to observe and analyze what is happening in and around [its] schools, and to develop and present relevant proposals to decision-makers (political and religious) in our country." Willing to set the contribution of the Catholic education to the progress of the society, G.R.P's research led to the elaboration of the Catholic national education project responding to two principal preoccupations of the time: "the relationship between the school, education, and life" and "the references to Christian values" (ibid., p. 493).

It is worth mentioning that the Catholic education organization, in contrast to the state, had made educational and pedagogical reforms priorities despite the critical situations of this period. They rather took it on as a challenge. In this view, the reform of the teacher education, as well as pedagogical approaches during this critical period in Cameroon, were made priorities for a global and specific reflection and research redesigning education concerning real-life conditions, sociocultural values to be promoted, and a new vision of the world to be reinvented (SPEC, 1992). But how far are these initiatives reflect the current Catholic education across the country? Especially in the current context of a generalized sociopolitical and economic crisis? This question is not addressed in this work due to the scope of this study. In the same period (the 1980s), Protestant education organizations undertook teacher education reform projects to improve the quality of their educational system.

3.3.2.2 The Development of the Protestant Private Teacher Education

The Organisation of the Protestant Private Education (OEPP), as discussed above, is among the prominent private education providers besides the government and the Catholic education organization. The global context of the economic crisis of 1985 and the sociopolitical context of the great mutations in the 1990s had also challenged this mission, especially its teacher education system. This triggered many educational and pedagogical reform projects, either in protestant education secretaries of anglophone Cameroon (the Cameroon Baptist Church, the Presbyterian Church of Cameroon) or those of francophone Cameroon (Evangelic, Baptist, Lutheran, and Adventist churches). It is globally observable in most of the schools of the OEPP that many teachers exercise without or with a very little professional qualification. Like the SPEC within Catholic education, the OEPP has paid and still pays special attention to the development of teacher education in protestant churches. In 2001, the OEPP secretaries gathered in Yaoundé for the first forum on education under the motto "Christian education, gage of social and spiritual trans-

formation in Cameroon" (OEPP, 2002). Reports from the different secretaries retraced educational reforms towards this objective.

As far as the anglophone Protestant education is concerned, the education secretaries of the CBC and PCC developed an In-Service Teacher Training Program (ISTP) based on "active pedagogy" (OEPP, 2002, p. 13). Pedagogical reform endeavors in the francophone Protestant education consisted of three projects: (1) the project Réseau École et Développement (RED in 1985), (2) the project Comité d'Etudes et de Rénovation Pédagogique (CERP in 1994)[69] and 3) the project Dynamisation Fonctionnelle de la Pédagogie par la Pondération des Objectifs Pédagogiques et des Stratégies de Formation (DYFOP/POSF in 1995). Since the project CERP is discussed further in chapters 4 and 5 of this work, only the projects RED and DYFOP are reviewed in the paragraphs below.

The project RED. Some protestant educational institutions in Cameroon, Benin, and the Democratic Republic of Congo engaged in the project RED. It consisted of a theoretical reflection on opening African educational systems to practical necessities, exigencies of employment, and the market's expectations (Kä Mana, 2012a, p. 62). It developed within the neoliberal discourse of the integration of Africa into the global market (ibid., p. 63). Thus, the project RED aimed at promoting a "school for employment" rather than a "school for sustainable human development" in the sense that it considers "the willingness to change life in terms of ways of thinking, sensitivity to fundamental human values and deep spiritual quests" (ibid., p.63). Funded by the German protestant development organization EZE/EED,[70] known today as Bread for the World, the project RED played a vital role in financing educational reform projects, renovating protestant schools, and constructing modern school infrastructures in Cameroon and some partner protestant churches in the countries as mentioned earlier (Tchombe, 1999-2001).

Although the project RED failed in opening a significant theoretical discussion on quality education (especially teacher education) and providing sounding pedagogical practice innovations in protestant education, it provided financial facilities (considering the context of the financial crisis in the 1980s in Cameroon) for the development (later in the 1990s) of innovative pedagogical programs in educational institutions of the OEPP (OEPP, 2002, p. 9). It also took advantage of the political wind of "democracy" of this

---

69 The project CERP is developed in detail and empirically analyzed in chapter 5.
70 "In 1962, the Protestant Church in Germany (EKD) founded the Protestant Association for Cooperation in Development" https://www.brot-fuer-die-welt.de/en/ bread-for-the-world/about-us/history/ Evangelische Zentralstelle für Entwicklungshilfe e.V. (EZE). The Evangelische Entwicklungsdienst e.V. (EED), known in English as the Protestant Development Service, was founded in 2000 to take over missions of the EZE and related church organizations. See: https://archiv. ekd.de/1688-3601.html.

period, characterized by a social demand for more freedom, multiparty and liberal initiatives (Biya, 1987-2018). While the Eglise Presbitérienne du Cameroun (EPC) adopted Freinet's school reform ideas of "institutional pedagogy," "personalized," and "communal pedagogy" (OEPP, 2002, p. 10); the Eglise Evangélique Luthérienne du Cameroun (EELC) introduced a "global approach" of teaching-learning with the philosophical aim of "liberating education" including RED's program of environmental school integration (ibid., p. 14).

The project DYFOP/POSF. It was an initiative of Michel Moukouri Edeme, then secretary of education of the CEBEC, in cooperation with the EZE-EED in 1995 (OEPP, 2002, p. 111; Kä Mana, 2012a, pp. 60-61; Fonssi, 2018, pp. 38-39). The project aimed to train teachers to internalize the school programs, objectives, and notions (Kä Mana, 2002a, p. 71). According to Fonssi (2018, p. 38), DYFOP/POSF's global objectives included proposing a better education provision and improving schools' financial and administrative management skills as well as the school staff of protestant education institutions. It is intended to provide knowledge of professional norms of teaching, improve the working conditions of the CEBEC educational actors and evaluate methodological shortcomings of the system as well as realize tools for interprofessional collaboration, designing formulas for the data bank, designing ad hoc formulas for control and stimulation of educational sectors and improving the access condition of the learners to the school know-how (ibid., pp. 38-39). The program led to the realization of didactic logograms and notional pedagogical cycles.

For Moukoko Priso (2005, cited by Kä Mana, 2012a, p. 72), this consisted of a "synoptic table of the various concepts to which the entire body of knowledge contained in a given curriculum can be reduced/summarized by definition in extension" (own translation). The experimentation process happened in the Evangelical College of New-Bell in Douala in some selected classes of 6es, 4es, 2ndes, and Tles in eight subjects from 2004-2005 (Fonssi, 2018, p. 39). The national and international evaluation of the DYFOP project proved successful (Fonssi, 2018; Kä Mana, 2012a). Unfortunately, this promising project was stopped due to a lack of money (Kä Mana, 2012a, p. 77), even though many elaborated instruments were finalized (Fonssi, 2018, p. 40).

3.3.2.3   Challenges of the QTE in the Current Contexts of the Socio-Political Crisis

The strike of the anglophone teachers' unions in 2016 had gained the population's support and had given room to political complaints concerning the total independence of the anglophone sub-system of education (ICG, 2017). The harmonization reforms undertaken by the state were critically interpreted as

the domination of the latter by the francophone sub-system. Affectation (posting) of French-speaking teachers in the English-speaking regions was interpreted by the latter as hindering the quality of their educational system. Linguistic specificities were thematized to justify the jealousy of each culture wanting to maintain its system without the influence of the other (Banfegha Ngalim, 2014). So, how can such a conflictual and crisis-dominated context of teacher education induce reform challenges in the domain? This question is to be considered in the context of the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process (Koller, 2011; 2018), which considers a crisis to be a triggering condition for transformation/change in educational processes (processes of *Bildung*). The Sociocultural, political, and economic backgrounds that led to this situation are complex. Research interest in SCBs and foundations of the different sub-systems of teacher education might open doors to a pedagogical reflection on the specific case of Cameroon.

Linguistic, social, and cultural differences are also characteristics of the different regions displaying ethnic diversity (Tanang et al., 2012; 2013) and sociocultural specificities to be reflected in the quality of a teacher education that considers the actors' sociocultural backgrounds in such a multi-cultural country. So, is there a third way (an in-between perspective), for instance, a new deep structure or even a conceptual understanding? How difficult it is to find and develop such a third perspective is shown in the example of the story of "Avec mon père, il semblait, nous avions passé un contrat" that Kokemohr (2019) investigated. In post-colonial discussions, the idea of a third way as a path out of the rigid dichotomist confrontation dominating the orientation of black-white interpretations of North-South relationships is developed by Homi Bhabha through what he calls a "third space." The overall question is: How do the above-reconstructed systems of education and teacher training portray problems of power relations and inclusion-exclusion clusters of the actors of teaching-learning processes?

3.3.3 About the Relationship Between the State and the Private Education Systems

In Cameroon, like in many other African countries, formal education and teacher education are the responsibilities of the state. However, private proprietors and religious organizations assist the state in providing formal education. These comprise the OEPP, OEPC, OEPI, and OEPL, owning many private schools all over the national territory. The Decree of 2004 organized its activities under the Ministry of Basic Education (MINEDUB), the Ministry of Secondary Education (MINESEC), and the Ministry of Youth and Civic Education (MINJEC). At the university level, private higher institutes were regulated by the Decree N°2001/832/PM of September 19, 2001, Arti-

cle 4 (4), organizing their activities under the Ministry of Higher Education (MINESUP).

All private education institutions had to abide by the state law on education and be authorized and accredited by the state. However, some private initiatives exist in important urban areas, such as Douala, Yaoundé, and Bafoussam, which are not legally authorized. The state closes many such schools that do not abide by the legal and infrastructural regulations each year. Overall, private education institutions have neither independent curricula nor independent certification systems. They all work according to state regulations and national curricula and abide by the state certification system.

However, private education schools have more room for developing special programs (research programs, reforms projects, student follow-up courses, priorities recruitment of students), in-service teacher-training programs, didactic material development, special courses (e.g., religion courses, ethics, professional courses) and cooperation projects. Through this freedom of innovation, the private schools build their quality reputation in teaching, learning, and governance since they depend on this quality difference for the enrolment of students. Furthermore, private education systems have more influence on their teaching staff and have the facility of a follow-up of teaching and learning processes that state schools do not have. Since teachers are paid according to their performance and hard work, private school teachers appear more open to reform programs, in-service training seminars, and individual teaching innovations. On the other hand, their colleagues in government schools, who, as public servants, do not have any financial pressure, are unwilling to do additional work for the quality improvement of their activities. The EEC and the Catholic education boards have effectively and efficiently used this freedom for reform endeavors and quality exigencies concerning their staff, the parents, and the learners.

To sum up this chapter, it is worth mentioning that the above reconstruction of both public and private teacher education systems helped to present some major orientations, structures, programs, projects, and practices in Cameroon. Though the author did not aim to present a detailed and representative picture of those systems, the above endeavor painted a general orientation of the education and the teacher education development from an institutional, structural and more political orientation regarding its practical conditions on the terrain.[71] However, it appears somehow idealistic, reproducing and sustaining power relations through a strategic mode of inclusion-exclusion clusters of contextual sociocultural backgrounds.

The different pedagogical reform projects developed in Mbouo constitute an endeavor of quality improvement at the micro-level of teaching and learn-

---

71 Cameroon is often and ironically portrayed as one of the African countries having good legal, institutional texts that are up-to-date with international policies.

ing processes. They evolved from teaching-learning field problems of teachers, learners, and field research investigating related problems involving families and sociocultural environments of the school. They are independent enterprises of the Evangelical Church of Cameroon in cooperation with German and other African scholars regarding quality challenges in Africa, especially in Cameroon. Reforms are the sole initiatives of the state and consist mostly of a policy improvement, and as far as teaching and learning approaches are concerned, they follow a top-down orientation of reforms. This is true for the objective-based pedagogy (PPO) as well as for the new approach of pedagogy (NAP) and the more recent and current competence-based pedagogy (APC). Like the experiences of reform by the state, teacher education reform projects within this cooperative framework of private education suffered and are suffering from sociocultural drawbacks hindering concrete quality improvement in schools. These consist mainly of power struggles, economic and political interests. However, there is more freedom for innovation in the private sector than in the public state education/teacher education sector.

The next questions are: How did the experiences of reform of teaching-learning practices in Mbouo-Bandjoun develop? How significant could the actors' individual and collective SCBs be throughout the development of these projects?

4 Reconstructing and Discussing Pedagogical Reform Ideas Sustaining the EEC Educational Projects in Mbouo

EEC projects in Mbouo are discussed in chapter 5 of this work. This chapter deals with the main pedagogical reform ideas developed before and within those projects. There are three pedagogical reform ideas (named principles within the projects): (4.2) *sens divers* (diversity of meanings), (4.3) *interaction* (interaction), and (4.4) *responsabilité réciproque* (reciprocal/corporate responsibility). Section (4.1) provides the background of the development of these principles. The chapter aims to reconstruct these ideas from the projects' archives, empiric studies about the projects, and personal observation as a former student and employee of IPSOM-UEC.

It attempts to answer how the pedagogical reform ideas came into being. Further questions are: What are those projects and their meaning in this context? How and why did these reform ideas develop within the projects? What are the critical issues of these ideas in the context of the target projects and within the general pedagogical and didactic reform framework? This chapter answers these questions concomitantly.

4.1 Backgrounds to the Pedagogical Reform Principles of IPSOM-UEC

Concrete pedagogical reforms (classroom interaction) were introduced in Cameroon around the 1980s. They included the objective-oriented pedagogy (PPO: *pédagogie par objectifs*), the project-based pedagogy (PPP: *pédagogie de projects*), the new approach of pedagogy (NAP: *nouvelle approche pédagogique*) and, more recently, the competency-based pedagogy (APC: *approche par les competences*). The problem in all the above teaching-learning approaches lies in their top-down introduction from educational politics to classrooms with little prior teacher-training programs (Nsamenang & Tchombe, 2012). The reforms are neither inspired nor based on the results of contextual field research.

Therefore, more is expected from teachers versed in old teaching habits with little experience concerning the new approach they ought to implement in their classroom (Mbala Ze et al., 2015). The Evangelical Church of Cameroon (EEC) and the Baptist Churches Union in Cameroon (UEBC) started to develop in-service teacher training programs to restructure teaching-learning

methods in their schools within the framework of CPF around 1975 (Kenmogne, 2007; 2009). Again, transformative ideas and actions mainly concerned the curricula, teaching time load, and the basic pedagogical and didactic training of teachers working in primary schools of these churches. Structured in-depth pedagogical research to observe and understand classroom interactions and behavior started in 1986 in cooperation with scholars from the faculty of education of the University of Hamburg in Germany (Kenmogne, 2007; 2009; 2012; Kokemohr, 2002a; 2014). Results from these field research projects comprise three pedagogical principles: *le Principe des sens divers* (the principle of diversity of meanings), *le Principe d'interaction* (principle of interaction), and *le Principe de la responsabilité réciproque* (principle of reciprocal or corporate responsibility).

According to Kokemohr (2002a), these principles do not prioritize stress technical "models" (or receipts) for a didactic application. They rather appeal to a philosophical and pedagogical attitude (Kokemohr, 2002a) towards classroom interaction dynamics for greater creativity of the learners to construct their world and worldview, all the while taking advantage of diverse contexts of interpretation in the process of learning to solve pedagogical and didactic problems thematized from the school curricula. However, the risk of taking them as pedagogical/didactic norms or receipts (as implied by the term principle) in a post-colonial educational context is high, especially within the francophone Cameroon framework of education, where the tendency to "copy and paste" teaching and learning models is still the norm (Fonssi, 2018; Hassana, 2013; Kokemohr, 2002a).

Distinguishing learning and self-formation processes (Kokemohr, 1989; 2002a; 2018) seems to be the base for research from which reform principles, as developed within the context of EEC school reform in Mbouo, emerged. Kokemohr (1998, p. 1) referred to Piaget, who explained to what extent human development is a process of auto-formation, meaning a process through which the child (as much as the adult) builds the world and the relationship between the world and themselves. He claimed that "auto-formation is the process of the mental construction of the world and the I (self) in all the dimensions that constitute the world and the I (self) in their entirety" (ibid., p. 1, own translation). Most often, a closed education system does not fully promote the natural need of learners to build their world by themselves. This represents a monological approach to teaching and learning, mainly based on "established knowledge and the strict standards of the adult world" (ibid., p. 1). For instance, the case of memory-based pedagogy seems to be more concerned with the learning process (as a process of learning information) than the process of self-formation (as a transformative process in the perspective of *Bildungsprozess* according to Kokemohr and Koller).

Field research within the EEC school and social contexts between 1986 and 1990 has shown a predominance of the former in pedagogical situations

(Kokemohr & Kenmogne, 1993), depicting a monological education also referred to as the logic of a *sens unique*. Investigations in CPF, CERP[72], and later in IPSOM and UEC acknowledged this dominant orientation of a *sens unique* to pedagogical practices in Cameroon (Eboussi, 2010; Kokemohr, 1999a, 2018; Foaleng, 2005; Kä Mana, 2012a; Moukoko, 2012; Fonssi, 2018). Kokemohr (1998, p. 1) submits that: "The important pedagogical argument is that the obligation of young people to have constituted knowledge risks destroying their skills to seek interpretations and solutions to given experiences and problems." The experiences of EP-ER, IPSOM and UEC helped to push to a more open system of teaching and learning, promoting auto-formation in addition to learning information process. Kokemohr claim that "auto-formation is the process by which human beings use their multiple instincts to build their world, their relationship to the world and themselves" (ibid., p. 2). These projects were sustained by the pedagogical reform principles mentioned earlier.

The difference between the learning process and the auto-formation process, as Kokemohr & Kenmogne (1990) see it, relies on the difference in the orientation of the interpretation. On the one hand, the process of learning addresses a piece of understood information (or to be understood) within a context of interpretation, which, in most cases, refers to the classical, standardized existing body of knowledge constituting the curriculum in schools. "An interpretation context is always dominated by a fundamental category" (ibid., p. 1, own translation). In a transmissive teaching and learning approach, this fundamental category represents a "normative" interpretation orientation, provided in the curriculum and transmitted by teachers to learners. Learners are bound to this orientation that teachers are expected to convey in a "questions and answers" interaction dynamic, which, subsequently, only accepts one interpretation context of information as the right (correct) one. Any other interpretation is rejected, excluded, avoided, or simply described as "false" (Kokemohr, 2018). In the context of the pedagogical reform projects in Mbouo, such an orientation reflects the *Principe du sens unique,* which, dominantly, characterizes pedagogical settings in Cameroon and elsewhere (Kokemohr & Kenmogne, 1993; Moukoko 2012; Fonssi 2018).

---

72 CPF: *Centre Polyvalent de Formation* (a multi-purpose training center); CERP: *Comité d'Etudes et de Réflection Pédagogique* (a research commitee for pedagogical reflection).

4.2 Principle of the Diversity of Meaning vs. the Principle of Unique Meaning (*Sens Divers* vs. *Sens Unique*)

The English term *principle* is equivalent to *princeps* in Latin, which means the first, the best, and the most respected. Thus, one can speak of a first posed and non-deductible proposition. In this sense, we can substitute the term *principle* with the premise. The philosophical explanation of the term *principle* is a set of fundamental truths on which all reasoning is based (Kokemohr, 1999a). The thinkers, Pascal and Montesquieu, specified this definition when they respectively affirmed: "When a law has received sufficient confirmation from experience, it can be established as a principle"; and "I have laid down principles, and I have seen particular cases comply with them" (cited by Hassana, 2013, p. 4-5). All these attempts to explain or define a *principle* are based on a scientific understanding of the word. However, the orientation of this meaning goes beyond the philosophical and scientific understanding to integrate a pedagogical and educational understanding (see also Kokemohr, 2014, p. 72-73). As Hassana (2013, p.4-8) summarising Kokemohr pointed out, the term principle

> risks being a bit of a rip-off. In the beginning, when I discovered the logic of the phenomenon (it was among others from a continuing education course and a lesson from a strong teacher called Sebastian in Baleveng), I talked about dispositives that orient people, human beings in a certain direction. This notion is very close to the notion of *dispositive* in the sense of Michel Foucault. But when we started talking about dispositives, I used a more precise notion and talked about ubiquitous and singular inferences that name cognitive processes. It was necessary to find a word that seemed more acceptable and less loaded with scientific weight. Hence the use of the word *principle* above all the metaphorical simplification of the *sens unique* [replacing the ubiquitous inference] and its opposite, namely, the *sens divers* [replacing the singular inference]". (own translation)

For pragmatic reasons of mutual intercultural understanding, Kokemohr and his Cameroonian educational collaborators chose to use "principle" instead of "dispositive." The notion of principle appears more usual in everyday language praxis. Kokemohr (2014, p. 72-73) argued these reasons regarding the notional simplification. So, how was the principle of a *sens unique* (unique meaning) understood in EP-ER and later in IPSOM-UEC?

4.2.1 Principle of Unique Meaning (Sens Unique)

The phrase *sens unique* in French encompasses two meanings. On the one hand, it is generally, within EP-ER and IPSOM-UEC, synonymous with the term *pensée unique* (unique thought) as a dominant way of thinking. It might

depict what Kokemohr (1998, p. 2) called "a dominant category of frame of interpretation." On the other hand, *sens unique* might portray the meaning of a unique path (as in *la voie unique*). This view includes the idea of orientation and perspective. For instance, this is the case for the road circulation code, the signal of *voie à sens unique*, commonly known as *sens interdit* in the Cameroonian public circulation context. This common-sense interpretation of the meaning of the signal *voie à sens unique* seems to be based on the presupposition of sanctions if a driver goes the wrong way. This depicts a paradoxical interpretation of the meaning of *sens unique,* describing it as *sens interdit* (a forbidden road). The practical sense relies on the consequences of taking such a road the wrong way. It could, thus, portray a binary logic behind the "norm" interpreted as an "interdiction" (here, the traffic regulation code) and its consequence (sanction). The implicit consequence (sanction) behind the *sense unique* traffic relation code determines the driving practice and the circulation control practice (by the police). Therefore, *sens unique* appears to be translated into *sens interdit,* depicting its normative character and, hence, the prohibition of any "opposite" sense of usage.

Both ways of understanding the term *sens unique* (thought orientation or path orientation) might inform its pedagogical conceptualization within the context of the reform projects in Mbouo. According to the objective-based pedagogy, the pedagogical objective characterizes *la pensée unique* orientation of the teaching-learning process, and the didactic objective encompasses the "interdiction" of contradictory interaction dynamics in dealing with the pedagogical objective. What is put forward is the emphasis on "knowledge" to be learned as "an object," principally through memorizing or process-controlled by the teacher's instructions, evaluations, and judgment (correct vs. false), ultimately sanctioned by grades and sometimes followed by the teacher's appreciation (good vs. bad).

The overall pedagogical orientation of the Cameroonian education system seems to depict a single meaning, which is the meaning attached to it by the teacher in a classroom situation dealing with a pedagogical problem. This orientation is referred to in the pedagogical jargon as frontal pedagogy, which, in this context, is generally negatively viewed as an authoritative *sens unique* in pedagogical practice. However, and to some extent, frontal pedagogy could also be beneficial for some learners. It implies, for instance, the thematic development of specific knowledge. It might also provide learners with prerequisites for a further understanding of the lesson. At the university level, lectures appear to match this teaching mode in lectures, workshops, and the students' work.

Several other terms for frontal pedagogy exist. Some authors talk about traditional pedagogy (Kä Mana, 2012b). In both terminologies, the reality remains the same. The learning process has a unique meaning centered on the teacher, who is the absolute master of the knowledge he transmits to the pas-

sive and receptive learner (see also Fonssi, 2018; Kä Mana, 2010; 2012a). The logical consequence of such a pedagogy is the regrettable observation of massive failure, unproductivity, and the inadequacy to fulfill the labor market's demands. Above all, a lack of creativity should be a major characteristic of underdevelopment (ibid.).

Within the context of the EEC target projects in Mbouo, the term *Principe du sens unique* is used in contrast to *Principe des sens divers* (Kokemohr, 1990; 1993). In Kokemohr's recent works, these terms have evolved, depicting a monological orientation or system of linear education as a closed system, which is opposed to an open system of education (Kokemohr, 2018, p. 55). Kokemohr used several synonyms depicting the terms that account for the dynamics of linear education performance. These include terms such as: "linear structure of teaching and learning processes" (ibid. p. 63), "monological statements" (ibid. p. 56), "monological frame of reference" (ibid., p. 64), "discursive exclusion" (ibid., p. 61), and "monological discourse" (ibid., p. 71). Using the inference theory (inference analysis), he describes and discusses the dynamic of a linear education in his numerous studies in Cameroon (Kokemohr, 1990; 1991; 1999a; 2002a; 2007; 2014; 2018; 2019; 2021). He considers the term linear education in its metaphorical meaning, the conception of which leads back to the traditional generational education practices. In this view, he recalls the Latin term to educate, educare, in its literal meaning, "to lead the young generation from darkness to brightness, i.e., from absence of light to the presence of light" (Kokemohr, 2018, p. 55).

Plato's Allegory of the Cave [73] in ancient Greek also underlines this view. The symbolism of light appears to represent the truth. Kokemohr, thus, depicts education, considering this symbolism, as a process of leading the young generation "from lack of knowledge to knowledge and from the lack of truth to the truth" (ibid. p. 55). Therefore, education aims to "structure the process of growing up" as a dichotomist process, which brings children from darkness to light. Here two dichotomist spheres become apparent: the sphere of the children encompassing darkness as a "lack of abilities to participate in life when coming to earth" and the "space of adults [as] a well-established world of brightness" (ibid. p. 55). This symbolism suggests that the old generation appears to be responsible for making the young generation integrate this "well-established world of brightness" (ibid. p. 55). Kokemohr's paraphrase of the metaphor of education also suggests that "the goals and norms of education are taken from current society," portraying "a straight line from a raw to a mature state of social being" (ibid. p. 55).

Philosophically, therefore, and in Kokemohr's account, "education is regarded as a linear process of hedging the society's future in the new genera-

---

73 Plato, *The Republic*, translated by Benjamin Jowett. See: http://www.filepedia. org/files/Plato – The Republic.pdf

tion. Linear education is taken as a set of resources that will enable teachers to secure the structure of the society in the change of generations." (ibid. p. 56.). The author admitted that the current educational systems worldwide display such a character of linear education as they "tend to standardize the curricula content as well as the learners' abilities and competencies" (ibid., p. 56); thus, considering a linear education to be a "consistent monological process" (ibid., p. 56.). This monological appearance of an educational organization depicts its linear character. In this regard, Kokemohr explained what he understood by a monological process, suggesting that "the everyday belief guides educational routines that educational activities (are to) follow a clear and consistent framework of rules" (see note 1 in ibid. p. 56).

In stabilizing their world and sociocultural heritage, the old generation must standardize their core body of experienced-proven knowledge and educate the younger generation. It is significant in traditional societies and somehow still typical of current educational systems where monological statements are taken to be true, for "they are clear, consistent, and free of contradiction" (ibid. p. 56). These monological statements constitute what is generally conceived as standard curricula, regrouping scientifically proven knowledge in different domains of inquiry.

However, considering Kokemohr's perspective, monological statements "are clear, consistent, and free of contradiction only within their frame of reference." The difference in the frame of reference determines their possible limitations. To illustrate this, he called upon an example of the calendar systems representing different world views[74] (heliocentric vs. geocentric), where the truth is limited to the context of the interpretation. It also confirmed the results of one of his first pedagogical studies in Cameroon in 1990, displaying different frames of reference to understand the phenomenon of air pressure. Kokemohr (2018, p. 133) used the case of Cameroon within the context of "intercultural pedagogical reflections" in Taiwan to discuss how "examples from a cross-cultural relationship can help for better understanding the diversity of frames of references and its impact on teaching-learning processes." So, what could be the significance of the study in developing pedagogical reform ideas within the specific context of cooperative pedagogical reform projects in Mbouo?

During an in-service teacher-training session in 1986 in CPF, the trainer, a German pedagogy specialist (a development aid worker of EED), used an experiment to explain the phenomenon of air pressure to his audience constituted of Cameroonian protestant primary schools teachers. Below is a simplified reproduction of a scheme Kokemohr used in his paper.

---

74 He exemplifies in his works of 2018 how the western Gregorian and Copernican calendar system in the heliocentric world view differs from the geocentric and galactic world views used in some Asian world views.

Figure 6: Experiment on the phenomenon of air pressure used in a teacher-training session in CPF

(Source: Kokemohr, 2018, p. 133)

Kokemohr reported about the experiment as follows:

> Typically, air pressure is not perceptible to our senses. Hence, it is difficult to develop a clear idea about it. The European teacher experimented with the flame on the water within the bulb in the first step. When putting the glass bulb over the candle, the flame disappeared, and the water level within the bulb immediately increased. The teacher was simultaneously describing what was happening. After watching the experiment, the African trainees were invited to find a good explanation. Many different interpretations were offered. The explanation of one teacher [Paul [=Fabien[75]]] is worth mentioning. He offered a very sophisticated explanation of the rising water level.
>
> […] He said that air is an organism resembling somehow a human body. For him, the air elements of oxygen and nitrogen work together like blood and air work together in a living body. He said the candle's flame within the bulb had eaten the oxygen, and consequently, the remaining air was dying. Fortunately, there was some oxygen left in the water. Paul [Fabien] said he knew it because fish respire in water. Therefore, he connected the air pressure experiment with his observation of fish in a nearby river. He argued that the remaining air – like fish – tried to catch the water's oxygen. For, oxygen is included somehow in water, both are caught, and the water level in the bulb increases with the captured oxygen. […] We would not say that air is an organism in natural sciences, but Paul [Fabien] takes oxygen and nitrogen as organic elements. For him, air can fall ill, and the air is healthy if the oxygen and nitrogen go well together. If there is a severe lack of oxygen, air will die. So, what is happening within the bulb is the air's struggle for survival, Paul [Fabien] said (ibid., pp. 134-35).

Kokemohr's interpretation of the example highlights the diversity of frames for references accounting for the understanding of "realities," in this case, of the phenomenon of air pressure. It shows the variety of didactic interpretations of the same phenomenon by different actors having different sociocul-

---

75 Kokemohr used different first names (Paul; Fabien) to refer to the target teacher in his various works (see Kokemohr, 1990; 1998; 2002a; 2014; 2018). For consistency, the author of this paper prefers to use Fabien in this work because he has used the first name Paul (anonymized) in his transcription of a class conference in ER (class of monsieur Paul = MP).

tural backgrounds and, thus, different world views. The example also portrays the difference between scientific and cultural knowledge, displayed in a model lesson during a teacher-training session (lesson done by a European teacher trainer) and a class of a Cameroonian trainee teacher trying to reduplicate the experience in the classroom of the village's primary school, using first-hand local instruments (Kokemohr, 2018, pp. 135-36). Two different monological statements are presented in two various contexts. The frame of reference to natural science in the first and an organic and sociocultural frame of reference in the second (see also Kokemohr; 2015 pp. 41-67).

Kokemohr's analysis of this example highlights that, while the European trainer conceived the experience of air pressure within the framework of the natural sciences, the Cameroonian trainee-teacher referred to an additional organic and sociocultural backgrounds of orientation, using the monological system of statements consisting of a "questions and answers" mode of classroom interaction. The consideration of each of these frames of interpretation in isolation leads to a cultural clash, where the first (European) portrayed his Cameroonian trainee teacher's organic (and cultural) interpretation of the phenomenon of air pressure to be wrong; the second is locked in his cultural frame of reference limiting his scientific understanding (and his making the pupils understand) the target phenomenon. The isolation in one or another context of interpretation or frame of reference characterizing most linear education (mainly didactic action) encompasses its limitation and, thus, depicts the danger in closed education systems.

Kokemohr reported that the mutual challenge of these frames of reference might become problematic. On the one hand, he noticed that:

> Undoubtedly, Paul's cognitive creativity is admirable, but most of us probably consider his idea strange and wrong. The European teacher in the teacher-training center did this, and he tried to clarify that an incorrect classification caused [Fabien]'s interpretation. However, Paul continued considering air as an organic, a living being with a strong will for survival by the category of isolated elements linked by causal relations. When the European teacher challenged Paul to change his primary category of interpreting the world, this challenge was an insulting attack on Paul's cultural identity (ibid., p. 135).

On the other hand, the trainee-teacher's interpretation of the phenomenon of air pressure as appealing solely to his sociocultural background seems to have hindered his ability to teach his pupils scientific knowledge, explicating it as a natural phenomenon. Kokemohr reported Paul's endeavor of getting his pupils to repeat a statement he memorized from his trainer's experiment (the European teacher): "Oxygen is a gas that activates the combustion of wax" (ibid., p. 136). When he asked a pupil to repeat this, the latter could not remember the proper order of the words in the statement. The memory-based teaching and learning process is a typical structure of repetitive classroom interaction, promoted by the frontal pedagogy (Kä Mana, 2012a) and present

in the objective-based teaching approach (Moukoko, 2012; Fonssi, 2018; Kenmogne, 1999; Kokemohr, 2018). The pupil repeats: "Combustion is a gas that activates" instead of "Oxygen is a gas that activates the combustion of wax." Kokemohr interpreted this pupil's failure as due to the fact "that the teacher Paul himself did not attend the knowledge of the sentence that he wanted to be memorized by his pupils" (Kokemohr, 2018, p. 136). This depicts a conflict between two competing contexts of interpretation present in a didactic real-life situation, where a scientific frame of reference (the trainer's frame of reference) is opposed to sociocultural backgrounds of knowledge (the trainee's). The risk of misunderstanding or not understanding knowledge provided in the curricula and taught in a repetitive interaction appears to be confirmed in monological statements.

The pedagogical and didactic challenge of the reform endeavored in Mbouo could have consisted of (and possibly still consists) of uniting the two (apparently) opposing frames of reference in the real-life classroom interaction. Kokemohr (2018) portrayed this problem as the drama of didactics that he further discussed, considering learning as a problem-solving process from the perspective of Humboldt's humanistic theory of *Bildung*. He claimed that whatever we teach at school or university somehow touches our world's construction and cultural identity.

The microanalysis of language use in transcripts of the two lessons (of 1986) has been the base for conceptualizing the *principle of diversity of meaning* in contrast to the dominant *principle of a unique sense* in 1990 (Kokemohr & Kenmogne, 1990). These principles were (are still) used to facilitate understanding the theoretical distinction between a monological structure of linear education and an open education system, considering the sociocultural backgrounds of educational actors in interaction.[76] How to overcome the didactic dilemma? That is, how to benefit from different worldviews that might emerge from the limits of an isolated frame of reference. In other words, the pedagogical and didactic interest is in paying attention to a singular inference frame of reference that might encompass sources for creativity, generating a diversity of meaning.

The principle of unique meaning is illustrated in several charts in Kokemohr's works, both in Cameroon (1990; 1991; 1993; 1998; 1999a; 2002a; 2014) and in Taiwan (2001; 2015; 2018) to capture the image of a ubiquitous process of teaching-learning in schools. Hassana (2013), Fonssi (2018, p. 36), and Shing-Shiang Ting & Ming-Shiang Ni (in Kokemohr et al., 2018, p. 77) quoted some of them. At the structural level of education organization, Kokemohr used the following chart to portray the dominant linear appearance of school systems worldwide.

---

76 Kenmogne's methodological understanding of the case as well as his interpretation of Fabien's biography constituted a difficult debate on Kokemohr's empiric interpretation of it.

Figure 7: The linear appeerence of the educational structure

the baby is gifted but is lacking knowledge and abilities
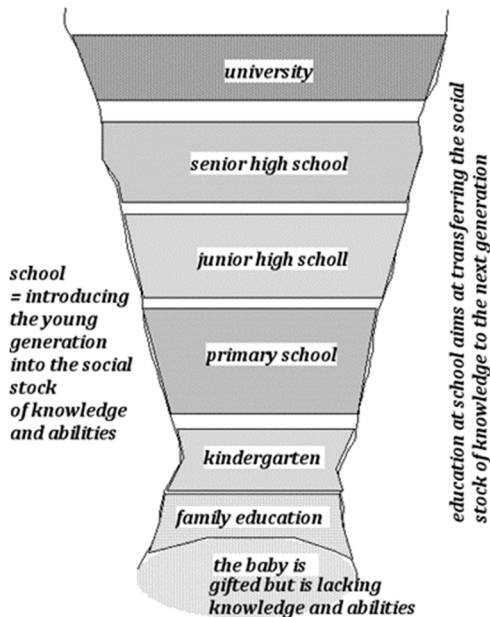
(Source: Kokemohr, 2018, p. 61, and draft 2012/2016, p. 7)

From a pedagogical view, and paraphrasing Kokemohr (2002a, p. 1), the dominant scientific frame of reference consists of school curricula and teaching methods (conventional knowledge consideration) often seem to disregard (or cut off) contextual, sociocultural, economic, historical, anthropological and philosophical considerations (or practical realities) in real-life pedagogical situations. Kokemohr claimed in this case that "the teacher has the task of conducting the course in such a way that the students refer the information to a conventional context of interpretation already given" (ibid., p. 1). Based on the results of their studies conducted within the framework of CPF in Mbouo between 1986 and 1990, Kenmogne and Kokemohr (1993, p. 2) underlined that "the most important reason for the failure of the school reforms lies in the fact that no attention is paid to the structural relationship between information and the socially prevalent contexts of interpretation." The illustration below portrays the limiting character of a linear education, cutting off competing frames of reference and excluding a possible diversity of interpretation.

Figure 8: Points of shadowing or cutting off what is taken as aberrant diversity
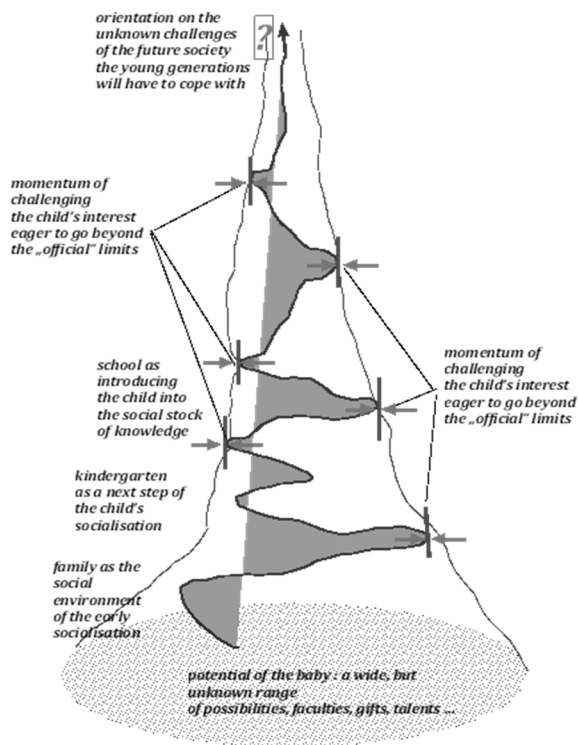
(Source: Kokemohr, 2018, p. 62, draft 2012-2016, p. 8)

This illustration depicts a pedagogical structure of education that prohibits any momentum of challenging the child's interest to go beyond the official limits of the curriculum. From early socialization on, within the social environment of the family to the level of the university (and throughout kindergarten, primary education, secondary and higher education), child education appears to principally be structured according to and around the conventional social stock of knowledge proven to be effective to introduce them to the adult world.

At the didactic level, the following illustration appears in Kokemohr's early works (1990; 1993, 1998) in Cameroon and his recent texts in Taiwan (2018) to depict a classic unfolding of a lesson oriented towards achieving a pedagogical objective.

Figure 9: Unfolding of a discursive exclusion process (sens unique) in a lesson oriented toward a pedagogical objective
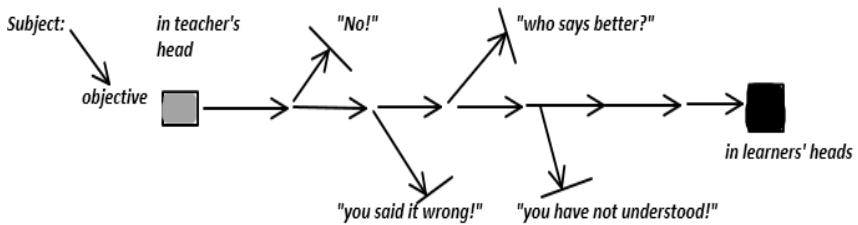
(Source: Kokemohr, 2002a, p. 21; 2012/2016, p. 4; 2018, p. 059)

This chart displays the linear lesson process where the teacher transposes the topic as an object of learning, which stresses only the teacher's perspective of meaning preliminary defined as an objective of the lesson. The lesson appears, thus, to be organized in a *sens unique* and controlled by the given goal. This controlling process is realized by an excluding dynamic of possible concurrent interpretations. What guides this dynamic is the dominant frame of reference, the interpretation of the knowledge as "the sole truth." Teaching-learning in such a lesson might be considered a process of leading learners to this truth by excluding every proposition concurrent to the dominant interpretation frame of reference.

This teaching method seems to be organized in a succession of questions and answers, as described by Kokemohr in the case lesson of Paul, observed in 1986. This description still applies to many current classrooms in Cameroon (Kä Mana, 2012b; Moukoko, 2012; Fonssi, 2018). The teacher controls the process, leading the learners to the truth by cutting off, excluding, rejecting, and, sometimes, even mocking the students' propositions (answers), which do not follow the semantics of the dominant frame of reference: "No!", "It's false," "It's wrong," "You said it wrong," "It is not that," "Who can say it better?" etc. In this controlling process, the teacher transmits the object of the lesson to the learners. Thus, the class's objective is the result of this transmission.

4.2.2 The Development of the Principe de Sens Divers (Principle of the Diversity of Meanings) in EP-ER-IPSOM-UEC

Contrary to the above-discussed *sens unique* orientation (or appearance) of a linear education, there are always several contexts of interpretation of a piece of information besides the dominant category in question (Kokemohr & Kenmogne, 1993). According to their reflection, the pedagogical and didactic

129

interest, therefore, lies in "the possibility of research, the richness of finding unexpected interpretations (either at the individual or social level) and the need to decide between several contexts of interpretation of open information" (ibid., p. 3). It appears to be the pedagogical and didactic perspective of the principle of diversity of meanings as conceived within the school reform context of EEC projects.

The idea behind the diversity of meanings (*sens divers*) principle appeals to providing learners with more room to develop their creativity in seeking and testing different contexts of interpretation. In this perspective, they (ibid., p. 3) agreed that "the main methodical and didactic work of the pedagogical reform lies in educating teachers (and through them, their students) to be able to make use of competing contexts." As such, the apparent opposition between the *sens unique* and the *sens divers* could just be an antithetical elaboration of propositions which, in a dialectical dynamic in Hegel's[77] sense, could creatively generate a synthesis (a discussion process in the light of which the most compelling proposition or propositions could be selected). For Kokemohr,

> Since all knowledge is embedded in social norms and values and is valid only within their frame of reference, education cannot be organized exclusively according to a monological system of statements. What is finally published as the official curriculum covers a lot of different interests, conflicts, and compromises escaping a closed system. [Thus], a curriculum results from different perspectives, interpretations, or frames of reference (2018, p. 58).

Figure 11 below represents the unfolding of a lesson oriented towards the diversity of meanings concurrent to the *unique sense* (meaning) orientation used by Kokemohr (1998; 2002a).

To trigger the productivity of the principle of a diversity of meanings (*sens divers*), the teacher has the challenge of formulating the lesson's topic in the form of a problem. The lesson's subject is no longer only an object to be learned, but it is transformed into a didactic/pedagogical problem challenging the learners' creativity to look for possible solutions. The structure of such a lesson is no longer straightforward but rather multi-perspective; that is, propositions from the learners are included and discussed for selecting the appropriate (or the best) solution/s that better address/es the debated problem. The teacher's role constitutes challenging the effectiveness (appropriateness) of the students' propositions and making them think critically. Here too, students might discover the limits of their propositions by themselves instead of being immediately rejected by the teacher in their attempt to find the right

---

77 Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (2010): *The Science of Logic*, translated with notes and introductory study by George di Giovanni, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, lxxiv-790, see: https://www.mcgill.ca/philosophy/george-di-gio vanni on January 19.

solution/s. The critical discussion of proposals in the problem-solving process might lead to a synthesis, meeting the consensus of the class and constituting productive results that could better tackle the problem initially posed.

Figure 10: Orientation of the sens divers of a lesson triggered by a didactic problem
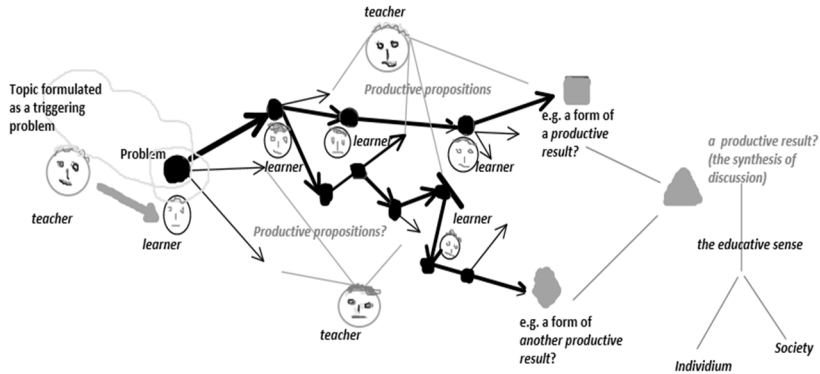
(Source: Kokemohr, 1998; 2002a, p. 21)

At the final stage of the lesson, students might identify with the dynamic process they have gone through to learn about the topic (subject/theme) in its various senses. This feeling could make them accept the summarized results to reflect further and discuss the educative meaning of the learned item (the importance of the solution to individuals and society). The diversity of meaning portrays learners as active and interactive participants in knowledge construction rather than passive consumers (memorizers) of knowledge. They could learn to relate curriculum items to concrete problems in the long term, using them in everyday life situations. They could also learn to think for themselves, critically construct their world-selves-relations and be equipped to handle society's future problems using their sense of creativity.

In this consideration, the principle of diversity of meanings could be not only a pedagogical and didactic principle of pedagogical reform but also a philosophical principle of a worldview to understand the present world and to better prepare the young generation for the sociocultural, economic, political, environmental and ecologic challenges of society. For Kokemohr (2018, p. 73), the principle of diversity of meanings triggers "a discourse that enables students to face the unknown challenges and problems. It is a more natural discourse, which consists of exploring new horizons of interpretation beyond the limits of the conventional thought". Kokemohr advocates, therefore, that "as educators, we must learn that the dynamic potential of educational dis-

course can be activated by sensitive exploitation[78] of points of discursive difference or diversity such as those mostly occurring unnoticed during the performance of classroom interaction" (ibid., p. 73).

Furthermore, the illustration above shows the complementarity between the principle of the diversity of meanings and the *principle of interaction* (which will be presented in the following subchapter) in a pedagogical/didactic situation because it opens a vigorous debate with the perspective of finding the best solution/s to an element of contents transformed into a problem posed to learners. To show the relevance and feasibility of these two principles, Kokemohr used the example of a primary school lesson on potable water. Indeed, it seems more manageable for the teacher to tell the learners the different processes of transforming dirty water into drinking water that they must memorize than to pose a problematic situation related to contaminated water. However, the latter approach seems to be more motivating for the learners because it allows their individual or collective involvement in constructing the target knowledge. In the following, the example in question is depicted by Kokemohr (1999a, p. 7):

> There is a great lack of drinking water in a village in Cameroon. This village is the victim of several diarrhea epidemics. Everyone is aware, even children, that these epidemics are caused by dirty water. So, they already know that they should avoid drinking water from a pond rich in microbes. After sports activities, the students go back to class. They are thirsty. The problem to be solved here is to have clean drinking water. The teacher offers them bottles of dirty water. He also provides them with different means to eliminate microbes from the water: sand, charcoal, filters made of plastic bottles, a pot, fire, etc. Students already used to work in groups set to experiment with the different ways of obtaining drinking water (own translation).

The lesson analyzed by Kokemohr in this example is neither about what drinking water is nor about the diseases caused by dirty water. The latter are considered prerequisites for the lesson on making dirty water safe for drinking. This clarification, thus, reinforces the attenuation presented above. On the other hand, the teacher would require more preparation time and creativity to imagine, design, and adapt to such a problem. Kokemohr pointed out that "the pedagogical art according to our approach consists mainly in transforming simple information into a problem that provokes the students and requires a solution" (ibid., p. 9). In the example above, a pedagogical problem arises. It is a problem of how to stimulate the potentialities of the pupils. In Kokemohr's words, "how to avoid falling into a chaotic classroom situation? Isn't there a risk of chaos in the classroom which these young people will later carry into the society and become the seeds of a failure of the social

---

78   In another illustration, he portrayed such a sensitive exploitation of points of difference or diversity in pedagogical and didactic situations (ibid., p. 62).

organism?" (ibid., pp. 7-8). To overcome this problem, Kokemohr proposed "to take students seriously" developing their awareness to the problematic issues and to motivate them to search for solutions to their immediate challenges. If the problem is poorly posed or does not interest them, students may turn the session into a recess.

Figure 11: Points of diversity gaining momentum and possibility creating new orientations
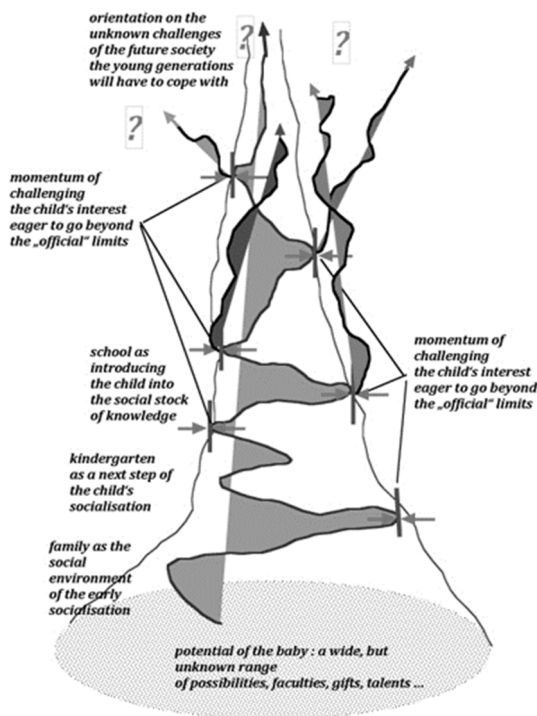
(Source: Kokemohr, 2018, p. 62; draft 2012/2016, p. 9)

Such a pedagogy would integrate the whole society. Because according to Kokemohr, "through these experiences, the debate is open on the most effective method. Pupils are committed to it, and discussions continue in the evening at home with the family on their observations, trials, and the solutions found" (ibid., p. 9). The pupils would have mastered the different processes for making dirty water drinkable and, above all, involved parents and friends in the concrete and practical resolution of a social problem (the fight against epidemics, such as cholera, dysentery, etc.). Such a lesson, based on the principles of interaction and diversity of meanings, has more chance to involve

educative importance[79] and the informative significance of the item of content taught and learned than a simple memory class. The author of this study used comparative empiric studies from EP-ER to interpret and discuss the unique sense and diversity of meanings orientations of the lesson of Monsieur Teba (MT) on the topic of water as empiric material in chapter 10 of this work.

Pedagogically understood, the principle of a diversity of meanings gives a perspective, a chance, or more room to explore the momentum of challenging a child's interest to go beyond the official limits of the content. The results might be a multiplicity of possible orientations on the unknown challenges of the future society the young generation must face. A classroom discussion of those different possible orientations might cultivate learners' ability to think by themselves and look critically at the world. Figure 11 below reflects this perspective.

In Kokemohr's sense, the teaching-learning process should accept the "momentum of challenging the child's interest eager to go beyond the 'official' limits" (Kokemohr, 2018, p. 62) and take the opportunity of this momentum to trigger the child's creativity. It depicts a dynamic of the pedagogical/didactic discourse that "crosses the boundaries of mono-logical education" to embrace a "more natural discourse" that would open perspectives of interpretation and analysis of the conventional knowledge (ibid.). The principle of diversity of meanings advocates accepting what Combe and Gebhard (2012) called the learners' perspectives (or *Alltagsphantasien*) in classroom interaction. They claimed that:

> Understanding learning shapes the transition between subject and thing as hermeneutic processing of interpretative perspectives. And this will not be possible without a design of hypothetical spaces based on experience and imagination[80] (ibid., p. 66, own translation).

Combe and Gebhard admitted, hence, with regards to Kokemohr (1985), that the teaching-learning process deals with the problem of "handling and pro-

---

79 "Educative meaning", in the sense of *Bildungsprozess,* can be understood as the result of a teaching-learning process which transforms the learners', and, possibly, also the teacher's relation to the self and to the world. In the example above about experimenting processes of making dirty water drinkable, it might correspond with the social interaction with parents and friends after school, where the learners bring in their new world view to confront the everyday life practice of the family in their experiences with dirty water and diseases caused by it.

80 The author of this work translated the claim of Combe and Gebhard (2012, p. 66) from German into English. The original claim in German reads: „Ein verstehendes Lernen gestaltet den Übergang zwischen Subjekt und Sache als hermeneutische Abarbeitung von Deutungsperspektiven. Und das wird ohne den Entwurf von hypothetischen Räumen auf dem Boden von Erfahrung und Fantasie nicht möglich."

cessing of the different perspectives that the learners bring in with" (ibid., p. 66). So, how can the principle of diversity of meanings be considered a principle that guides social life within the classroom? The production of diverse and competing contexts of interpretation of meaning might be possible as a conducive classroom interaction dynamic, thus, the *principle of interaction*.

4.3 The Development of the *Principe d'Interaction* (Principle of Interaction) in EP-ER, IPSOM-UEC

Interactionists and ethno-methodologists have broadly discussed the importance of "interaction" in pedagogy in the 1980s. Symbolic interactionism has, therefore, been an essential thought in pedagogical theories. Ting and Nin (2018, p. 87) considered three types of interaction systems: ontogenetic, sociogenetic, and interaction microprocessing. It is ontogenetic when it encompasses the interaction of oneself as an individual; it is sociogenetic when it concerns the interaction between individuals and individuals and or between individuals and institutions. It is a micro process when it involves sociocultural and symbolic aspects. Considering the classroom to be a microsociety, Ting and Nin, after Kokemohr (2010), understood interaction as an effective teaching-learning process involving all the above aspects, which could be compared to social interaction. They argued that "classroom interaction will be affected by issues [of]: expectation, belief, anxiety, convention, tradition, hope from parents and teachers" (Ting and Nin, 2018, p. 88). In this view, a classroom interaction includes complex social interaction dynamics and the intersubjective relationship of pedagogically involved actors because they acknowledge that a "classroom is embedded in a complicated and specific social context and historical and cultural environment" (ibid., p. 87).

In the case of the reform projects of EEC in Cameroon, the results of classroom observation and analysis helped the reformers to depict the teacher-centered dynamics of interaction globally. Kokemohr (2002a, p. 9) considered that:

> "embedding in interaction is useful because it increases the dynamics and fertility of the search processes. However, this is only possible if the dynamics of the individual search processes are not counteracted by the rigid interaction imperatives of conventional group bonding."

This is, for instance, the case when the classroom interaction dynamics are generally dominated by the teacher's orientations, instructions, and his framing of information processing in a linear perspective of a pedagogical objective of the lesson he prepared. In a teacher-oriented (centered) classroom dynamic, the learners seem to be obliged to memorize the information pro-

vided by the teacher or to work out the information according to the dominant context of interpretation defined by the teacher. It reduces the interaction to the instance of the learner (*ego*) and the teacher (*alter present*) in a binary structure towards the object of the lesson (Kokemohr & Kenmogne, 1990, p. 2). This characterizes instructional interaction where "the learner has only one option: learning the information enunciated by the teacher."

However, according to the two above-quoted authors, "formation is a quite difficult and complex process. It results from the interaction of at least three agents: *Ego*, *Alter* present, and *Alter* absent" (ibid., p. 2). They considered that adopting a binary structure of interaction only addresses the validity of one context of interpretation, whereas the triangular system of interaction favors a competition between "many contexts, many categories, and many cosmologies" (ibid.) of interpretation. In this sense, the principle of interaction facilitates the search process for possible solutions to a problem, engaging students and the teacher in testing them in a discussion (Kokemohr, 2002a, p. 10).

Figure 12: Interaction dynamics displaying instances and their competing contexts of interpretation
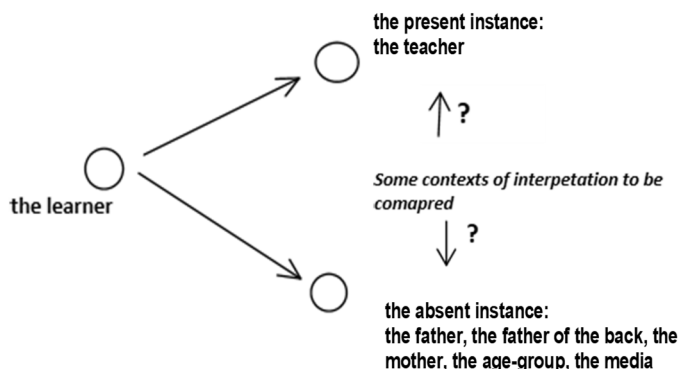
(Source: Kokemohr, 1998, p. 4)

The teacher treats the information in the "present instance" compared to an "absent instance" comprising the family, street, media, and context of peer learners. The pedagogical principle of interaction attempts to awaken the students' potentialities to address current and future problems. Kokemohr (1999a, p. 5) recalled the conclusions of the educational research he and his Cameroonian colleagues conducted within the framework of CERP:

> For us, the school is a social organism made up of individuals, each of whom carries, in a latent way, a cognitive, affective, and social richness. We are convinced that this richness can be awakened and exploited to benefit individuals and society. Today, in Sub-Saharan Africa, it is rare to find a pedagogical approach that

stimulates pupils' creativity. This situation results from a way of interacting and communicating in schools that tends to restrict the natural abilities of pupils instead of awakening them. In our opinion, the fundamental question is how to awaken this richness. In many schools, we have observed that the behavior of teachers tends to sedate learners' potential. Contrary to this situation, we believe that the efforts in terms of contents and didactic materials, which are essential, only reach their true objectives if the cognitive and affective richness of the students is liberated (own translation).

Once the observation (diagnosis) is made, it remains for the CERP team to prescribe an appropriate treatment. The question Kokemohr posed is: "How could learners' potentialities be unleashed and their creativity awakened"? (ibid., p. 6). The first perspective for the EEC reform projects is that creativity could be awakened through "interaction and social communication" (ibid., p. 6). It is, therefore, the base of the principle of interaction that Kokemohr defined as "the freedom to interact, reflect and discuss openly – a freedom that must be shared by all those who interact" (ibid., p. 6). In this frame, the principle of interaction would imply that the teacher is a partner of the students. The role of teachers in a pedagogical interaction is defined in contrast to the traditional approach, where the authoritarian teacher is considered the sole source of the knowledge that they transmit to the learners. The principle of pedagogical interaction in the sense of promoters of the reform projects in Mbouo consists of a shift from the traditional teacher-centered teaching-learning process to a more learner-centered classroom interaction: from a transmissive (passive) approach to an interactive (creative) approach. The assumption is that "if young people are exposed to real problems adapted to their potential, they could utmost be committed to finding a solution." (ibid., p. 7)

However, didactically, the reformers see some conditions attached to this assumption. First, they consider that the notional content "might" be transformed into a problem or a situation of the problem. Second, this transformation might consider the potentialities of the learners. Finally, to do so, it is necessary to identify the cognitive and affective potentialities of the learners. Disregarding these conditions might lead the teacher to provide his students with problems that they cannot solve and, consequently, treat them as incapable, stressing their traditional role of "know-it-all" and "knowledge provider."

The principle of interaction is considered concomitant to the *Principle of the diversity of meaning*, which states that "there are several paths to be taken in the search for solutions to a problem so that one does not know in advance which path is the most productive" (Kokemohr, 1999a, p. 7, own translation). This suggests that teachers should take students and their age-appropriate potentials seriously. In this perspective, the reformers suggest the following didactic strategy of providing learners with pedagogical problems triggering

their creativity: "We try to give them as many problems to solve as possible instead of just giving them information to memorize" (ibid., p. 7). This seems to mitigate the requirement to turn notional content into problems. It is not a matter of transforming content into problematics but instead of trying to do so as much as possible in addition to notional content, which appeals to memory information (Kokemohr, 2002a).

Both principles of *diversity* and *interaction* are sustained by the principle of *reciprocal or corporate responsibility*.

4.4 The Development of the *Principe de la Responsabilité Réciproque* (Principle of Reciprocal or Corporate Responsibility)

Kenmogne (2007, p. 7) recalled Kokemohr's observation of the practice of responsibility taking and its criticism to introduce the *Principle of reciprocal or corporate responsibility* within the context of the school administration in Cameroon:

> Most often, schools (not only Cameroonian) are structured hierarchically. The Headmaster is the person in charge of the system and gives orders to colleagues to make everything work. Unfortunately, this hierarchical system makes the colleagues more-or-less passive so that they expect the "chief" to give clear orders to be carried out. More-or-less unconsciously, they expect the "leader" to master all problems and take every precaution through his demands. In such a system, members tend to project any responsibility onto any "leader" who, consequently, finds himself in a paradoxical position.
>
> On the one hand, he is considered the "voice" of the group he speaks for, i.e., the authority representing everyone's identity. On the other hand, he is regarded as the "voice" transmitting the orders of the Inspector, Secretary of Education, Ministry of Education, etc. The "chief" represents the voice of the leaders and, at the same time, secures his colleagues' lives. Often, this paradoxical expectation is hidden in a harmonious atmosphere, the "harmony" resulting from the repression of different interests. This attitude stems from a system of accurate orders and expectations or imaginary orders and expectations. It often leads to a behavior that is not alert to the problems that arise in everyday life. To put it metaphorically: reality, instead of being caught in its reality, is obscured by an imaginary screen in front of the experience so that "leaders," "authorities" and "chiefs" write the "truth" of "reality" on this screen for teachers to transmit it "in the heads" of the learners. Instead of educating about reality, this system reproduces the misconception that the "leader" possesses solutions for every problem. It is not surprising that a wait-and-see attitude has arisen (see also Kokemohr, 2005/2009b cited by Foaleng, 2008, p. 4, own translation).

Kenmogne, as an expert on his culture (tradition), referred to the hierarchical structure of a traditional system of governance, i.e., the chieftaincy that he transferred to the educational administration context. This system informs about the hyper-centralization of power in the school director (principal) figure that correlates with the image of "solutions provider." Consequently, and according to Kenmogne (also to Kokemohr, 2005/2009b), such a system predisposes the teachers to display a passive attitude towards problems that occur at school. Moreover, it puts the school administration in a paradoxical position, caught between the expectations (mouth of the group) of the teaching staff and the administrative hierarchy characterized by the dynamics of reception and the transmission of orders. The metaphor of an imaginary screen of reality (experience) seems essential in this analysis of the realistic view of the concept of responsibility. It depicts a symbolic circle of responsibility in such a context of a hierarchical system of school governance, where the structural process of prescription – transmission-reception – (application and reproduction) seems dominant. It is an instructional system where an instance gives instructions and other instances that receive, transmit, or apply them. Kenmogne portrays this as a system of "attentisme*."* In this regard, Chief Ngniè Kamga of Bandjoun, interviewed by Foaleng in May 1999, complained:

> One person alone, facing many problems in the village, cannot solve all these problems. He thinks: "Do not leave our problems to me alone." They are complex to the extent that there is a need for people of goodwill and disinterested people to study, examine and choose solutions. I will make everyone responsible. Therefore, it should not become the leader's business or a group's business. So that the children of the folk examine their problems, even if some systems need to be changed, let us not make it the leader's business (Foaleng, 2008a, p. 9, own translation).

In reform pedagogy, this could be an observation of a practice (Kokemohr, 2009b, p.130) where the secretariat of education receives reform solutions from the ministries (as providers of reform principles), which they transmit (instruct) to pedagogical inspectors who will then transfer them to the school directors. The latter receives orders and transmits (instructs) them to teachers, who use these orders in their classrooms. Learners are expected to memorize and reproduce these in exams.

It is simplistic to speak about it in a complex process such as education. However, it seems to represent a picture of the common sense of a practice of responsibility in a school context, characterized by what Kokemohr (ibid., p.130) called "la naissance de l'attentisme" (the rise of attentism) in subordinated instances. Kokemohr stated: "It is obvious in such a system that every word that might evoke or refer to conflicting interests is considered a danger to be avoided at all costs. However, the peace taken for granted is not suitable for a changing society. It weakens the potential for development" (ibid., p.

130, own translation). Within the framework of EP and ER, the reformers started to develop in practice what they assumed to be the principle of mutual responsibility as complementing the principles of interaction and diversity of meanings, as mentioned above. In the sense of Kokemohr:

> "more than a pedagogical principle, a reciprocal responsibility reinforces solidarity between the group members. Above all, it is reciprocal (corporate) responsibility that integrates each member of the group so that each of them commits themselves for the good of all and that none of them puts themselves outside the social context" (ibid.).

Nevertheless, what would such solidarity consist of? Makaké et al. (1998) discussed what the term solidarity might mean within the Bamileké society (and the Cameroonian society in general). Soffo, a teacher of the EP and ER, wrote that the principle of corporate responsibility "describes a system of a life well adapted to our traditional societies" (Soffo, 1998, p. 1, own translation), referring to the multi-ethnic context of the society in Cameroon. It is lived practically in everyday social activities, such as farm work, the coffee harvest, in the chieftaincy, the construction of a fence, or a public hut. Soffo admitted that "in one case or another, everyone thinks of his immediate neighbor while going. Thus, every person present is responsible for the absence or the presence of his neighbor".

Figure 13: Group distribution inducing reciprocal responsibility of school problems: the three groups are invited to present regularly their work for plenary discussions, criticism and the adoption of results

Group S (Social)	Group P (Pedagogy)	Group E (Environment)
handles pupils' individual problems in relationship with families and parents' association	handles the quality of lessons to be taught: good preparation, good unfolding, critical analysis of lesson plans and/or model lessons	handles problems related to the social and physical environment of the school
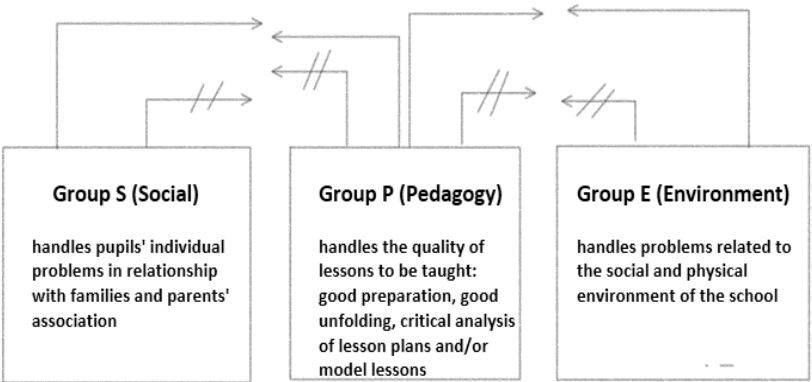
(Source: Kokemohr, 1999a; Fonssi, 2018, and reports of ER 2004-2005)

He also illustrated how reciprocal responsibility works at the economic level, where the *tontines* (commonly called *djangi* in Cameroon) represent a typical Bamileké culture of money-saving, money distribution, and loans. For Soffo, "the reciprocal responsibility is thus based on common development of the

society. Everyone contributes to the group's success by drawing the others' attention to a particular failure" (own translation). Therefore, the principle of corporate responsibility appears to be significant in the pedagogical and the didactic context of EP-ER in that it "prevents negligence, absenteeism and the misappropriation of collective material in our schools" (own translation). It appears to be an ethical principle of living together, management, and social solidarity.

Pragmatically, the principle of reciprocal responsibility in EP and ER encompasses the distribution of the teaching collegium in three groups around three significant domains of action (or problems): pedagogy (group P), socialization (group S: "group social"), and environment/ecology (also known as group E). The following figure portrays an experience with the ER teachers of Mbouo, materializing this principle.The figure shows a specific division of labor evolving teachers in the school administration. The interspersed arrows indicate the reciprocal critical activity, which, in the sense of Kokemohr, would constitute the very essence of the solidarity mentioned above. The principle of reciprocal responsibility would then be defined by the logic of criticizing and being criticized. These two roles constitute what is called reciprocity. This reciprocity means that there are no leaders in the strict sense. The following extract from Kokemohr (1999a, p. 12) describes the goals of this principle at the EP and ER,

> The well-understood and well-lived responsibility make it possible to achieve two crucial goals at the pilot school and society levels. On the one hand, people are empowered without being isolated individually. Within their group, they have the freedom to make their own decisions. On the other hand, the double act of criticizing gives them the experience of certain equality and fraternity. They find themselves equal because they live according to standard social order. Besides, they find themselves to be brothers and sisters, as members of a social organism sharing the same responsibility and fighting for the same goal. At the level of this social organization, the principle of reciprocal [corporate] responsibility seems to establish the values of a society where the spirit of democracy and efficiency reigns, given the problems to be solved (own translation).

It is also worth recalling Eboussi Boulaga's (2010) ethical definition, where he evoked that the principle of reciprocal responsibility gives the first two principles a translation in moral, ethico-judicial terms. In this sense, Fonssi (2005, p. 9), discussing ethical challenges of the "paradigm of complexity" of the project IPSOM, considered "the complex ethics that we would like to see at IPSOM is, therefore, ethics of thought and thought of ethics. It is a group ethic for the group and by the group, enlightened by complex thought and oriented towards living together." (own translation). This ethical view informs about the significance of the group or the community in the sense of Metz (2009; 2013) in consolidating solidarity dynamics.

Moreover, it depicts a social culture of inclusion in the group, where socialization aims to introduce the child to an existing closed world of adults seeking to perpetuate their group culture. The ethical value seems to dominantly rely on the group factor, contrary to cultures where the individual appears to be central. However, the discourse on different world ethics distinguishing between communitarianism (social group's significance) and individualism (significance of the individual) does not appear to be prominent, although one might not exclude the other. It includes the idea of corporation and reciprocity: the importance of a shared view favoring the group harmony and the significance of individual participation in the group, highlighting, appraising, criticizing, and accepting criticism from the other group members.

Reciprocal or corporate responsibility does not weaken the group dynamics; instead, it reinforces them by providing an objective ethical argumentation through the dynamics of mutual criticism. Thus, the group's harmony does not rely solely on "implicit" inclusive-exclusive rules of living together but rather on the dynamics of the inter-subjectivity of members concerning the group culture. Therefore, this ethical consideration could imply the pedagogical character of the principle of reciprocal responsibility. Kokemohr (2002a, p. 5), referring to the experience of the EP of Mbouo, argued that:

> Communication can refer to any subject and any instance involved in the relationship students (and teachers) have with the world and themselves. The pedagogical task of the Pilot School is defined by the needs of the students to build their relationship with the world and with themselves; it is not defined by a constituted knowledge called closed. In principle, there is no prohibition to communicate with any instance of the school or village administration and judge their behavior, provided that the judgment is well-tried and open to criticism (own translation).

Kokemohr also acknowledged that the principle of reciprocal responsibility is not the negation of the administrative organization of roles in the school governance. It only stresses the importance of mutual criticism for more mutual accountability. For instance, "each member of the EP has the right to judge the work of others and that they are obliged to accept justified criticism" (ibid., p. 5). It is an attempt to introduce critical thinking and acting in the established system of school governance for the benefit of quality teaching and learning practices, in the sense that the latter should suffer from a *sens unique* administrative decision making.

Foaleng (2008) strongly criticized this principle, arguing that it destroys the established culture of chieftaincy (especially the symbolic power of the role of the school director). Even though this criticism, the danger of a *sens unique* decision-making has proven to be accurate within the context of ER. Because the EEC education board unilaterally replaced almost all the ER teachers in 2009 with new teachers who knew very little about the reform

ideals developed in EP and ER. This decision has negatively impacted the reform process (Fonssi, 2018; Kokemohr, 2014).

To sum up, it is worth mentioning that the principle of reciprocal (mutual or corporate) responsibility has been practically developed in the case of EP to handle a recurrent problem of responsibility rejection by the school community regarding administrative, social, and environmental shortcomings triggered by the hierarchical organization of the school administration after the image of the social organization in Cameroon. It depicts a vicious circle, where everybody transfers the responsibility of action regarding a problem either to the upper position or the lower, according to interest. For instance, during a discussion on possibilities to increase teachers' salaries at EP as subsidiaries for their extra work in the project DYFOP,[81] most of the participants seemed to attribute the responsibility of the decision-making to the secretary of education. This tendency appears to depict the social reality of the decision-making in which they are embedded, which is the reality of the practice of a top-down salary decision (imposition) and not a negotiation.

Asking to discuss how much they should be paid for their work appears unrealistic because this is not the regular administration practice. They portray this controversy using the metaphor of market or trade, characterized by negotiating interests and profit, contrary to the *habitus* of a salary imposition by the top level of the hierarchy of the school administration. Adopting the principle of reciprocal responsibility helped the EP community address better pedagogical, social, and environmental problems of some pupils and the school (hygiene conditions, garden and a green schoolyard as testimonies of ecological quality development of the EP)[82].

But how significant were the above-discussed pedagogical reform ideas in the institutional development process of the educational projects of EEC in Mbouo-Bandjoun? Chapter 5 answers this question with empiric material from expert interviews with two leading actors in the scientific and institutional development of the target projects and practical historical experience of dealing with reform challenges for over 30 years.

---

81 The transcript of the discussion was analysed and interpreted by different participants of the international symposium of Hamburg in 1998 under the thematic interest of the principle of reciprocal responsibility. For more information on this empiric example, visit the archives of the University of Hamburg in the office of Dr. Gereon Wulftange of the Department of *Bildungs- und Transformationsforschung*.

82 Other examples or cases that had been handled in EP and ER could be read in reports of the different groups (groups P, S, E) in the archives of the *Ecole de Référence de Mbouo*, precisely the reports of the school year 2004-2005.

5 Reconstructing the Development Process of the Pedagogical Reform Projects of EEC in Mbouo-Bandjoun

This present chapter aims to reconstruct the historical backgrounds of the EEC pedagogical reform projects[83] of (5.1) EP and ER, (5.2) IPSOM, and (5.3) UEC from the point of view of Kokemohr and Kenmogne as the two principal co-founders[84] of the projects. Two empirical materials support this view: interview transcripts of RK, JBK, and scientific texts and communication comprising publications or manuscripts and archives of the different projects at UEC and UHH. The chapter mainly analyzes the unlinear character of the projects' process influenced by external heterogeneous political interests, power relations, and the inclusion-exclusion cultural orientation of practice. These projects were developed in Mbouo, thanks to (5.4) the conjunction of individual claims of educational partners from Cameroon and Germany. The experience of two co-founders of EP, IPSOM, and UEC, namely Kenmogne of the EEC and Kokemohr of the University of Hamburg, is here analyzed. Other actors of the cooperative projects are mentioned throughout the text, referring to, exploring, or illustrating their commitment or involvement in the target projects.

The objective is to provide – almost 30 years later – an insight into the EEC teacher education reform attempts in Mbouo. How do external heterogeneous political interests influence the development of these cooperative educational projects? Or, more precisely: How can the structure of political power relations transform innovative, collaborative pedagogical reforms? These questions or research interests are discussed concomitantly to reconstruct the target projects' progressive development briefly.

---

83 (EP): *Ecole Pilote de Mbo-Bandjoun* which later became *Ecole de Référence* (ER). (IPSOM): *Institut Pédagogique pour Societés en Mutation,* which is also known as ISP from the official state denomination. ISP-IPSOM was also commonly used as an attempt to preserve the original thought name IPSOM as well as to guarantee the official state denomination's legitimacy. (UEC): *Université Evangélique du Cameroun* the official state name of which is IUEC, standing for *Institut Universitaire Evangelique du Cameroun*. These denominational transformations will be given more thought later in this work.

84 The term "founders" can be understood as the people who worked on the project concerning its academic philosophy (RK) and its political implementation (JBK).

5.1 The Project Ecole Pilote (EP) and Ecole de Référence (ER) of Mbouo

The reform school project in Mbouo developed in three circumstantial phases of experiences: in-service teacher training programs in CPF, the EP, which later turned into an *ER*.

5.1.1 In-Service Teacher-Training Programs and Pedagogical Research in CPF

It is worth recalling that before EP-ER, IPSOM and UEC projects in Mbouo, cooperative reflection and activities for school reform were developed in CPF within the framework of the *Conseil des Églises Baptistes et Évangéliques du Cameroun* (CEBEC). This Council was created in 1959 to reflect on how to perpetuate social and evangelical institutions of Protestant churches after their autonomy in 1951[85] (EEC) and 1952 (UEBC) (Messina and Van Slageeren, 2005). Supported by the German Protestant Development Services (EZE-EED now merged with Bread for the World), the churches of CEBEC created the CPF in Mbouo-Bandjoun:

In 1985, as JBK was appointed Assistant of the Director of CPF, Mr. Grisammer from the German church organization *Dienste in Übersee GmbH* (DÜ), the institution had already been developing in-service teacher-training programs with the professional assistance of EZE pedagogical counselors, then called development helpers. He took part in some sessions of those programs and noticed that the training was worse than the teaching and learning approaches he had observed in Ndoungué during his experience as a part-time college teacher. He, therefore, stated: "It's impossible because it was even more dramatic than what I experienced in Ndoungué" (transcript of the interview of JBK 1999, own translation). In February 1986, the church appointed him Director of the CPF. He started discussing the matter with Grisammer and Straßer (from EZE) to see if they could not act differently: "Can't we organize the seminars differently?" (ibid.). This is how JBK came to investigate the missions of the CPF, "and so, I started going through the archives to find out why the CPF was designed. That is how I discovered that one of its missions was school reform. It was not only to train teachers in the tradition, to continue and strengthen the current tradition; but it was for school reform" (ibid.).

The initial missions of CPF are worth mentioning here. JBK submitted that "it was a forum where farmers, doctors and nurses, teachers; all those

---

85   Foaleng (2005) mentioned in his work the date of 1957 without a source.

who work in the church services had to meet very often to reflect on the impact of the church's mission on the country's development process" (ibid.). This initial mission of CPF was neglected by the first directors of the institution in favor of teacher training. As Kenmogne put it, Bassong, a pedagogical inspector, was the first Director of the Center. Committed to pedagogical questions, "he transformed the CPF into a center for teacher training only" (ibid.). Therefore, under JBK, the CPF continued its teacher training programs. However, with more perspective on school reform, he adjusted to curriculum changes, an infrastructural improvement, a collective promotion of pupils in primary schools, and agricultural and manual work in the school programs. Talking about the activities undertaken within the teacher training programs in cooperation with the German pedagogical counselors Straßer, Bühler, and Krebs, JBK pointed out that "we always invited about 40 teachers from all the CEBEC schools and at the time we organized about 22 seminars per year, 22 seminars of one week per year on various topics: mathematics, French, natural sciences, English. And so, we started to strengthen the manual work seminars [too]." (ibid.)

The reinforcement of seminars on manual work in schools during the training sessions in CPF was motivated by the observation that teachers tended to misuse the time load set for this activity. They used to exploit manual work periods to send pupils to work on their farms or do housework (fetching water or firewood). During the seminars on manual work, the reflection questioned the possibilities of structuring this subject around concrete manual and agricultural skills to be learned by pupils. On this issue, JBK stressed that it was "Hans Bühler, who was somehow at the root of the creation of the CPF and who initiated the school reform with the introduction of school gardens, the introduction of this question of valuing manual and other work […] in Protestant education" (ibid.). The training sessions were introduced by model lessons performed by the pedagogical counselors before the participants, which had been transformed into a classroom setting. The reform also reflected the content development of the agricultural and manual work. In addition to teacher training sessions in CPF, JBK was concerned with pastorship reform.

> I can consider pastorship reform that pastors should preach on Sundays and develop animators and social animators. Besides, I set up a social and pastoral animation project that EZE financed. This social and religious animation program later became the department of rural auto-promotion in CPF (ibid.).

Within the context of these in-service teacher training programs of CPF, Kokemohr did his field research in Cameroon between 1986 and 1990.[86] The first findings of his field research have been used as pedagogical reform prin-

---

86 The history of his first stay in CPF is recalled in the chapter reconstructing his personal interest in doing research in Cameroon.

ciples for further teacher training in the Pilot School and empirical studies conducted within the framework of the project *Comité d'Etude et de Réflexion Pédagogique* (CERP).

5.1.2 The Experience of the Pilot School of Mbouo (1991-1995)

Mbouo is a small semi-urban village in the Nkoung-ki division of Bandjoun, in the western region. The folk language is Ghomálá, one of the various dialects of the Bamiléké language. In his doctoral work about school reform in post-colonial Africa and the experience of *Ecole Pilote* of Mbouo, Foaleng (2005) described the history of the missionary station in Mbouo and its role in education in the locality. He provided an exhaustive analysis of sociocultural, political and traditional realities proper to the Bandjoun folk. These realities will be referred to in the chapter dealing with the sociocultural backgrounds of actors involved in the Mbouo pedagogical reform projects. The present chapter attempts to reconstruct the experience of the school reform in the Pilot School based on related literature and empirical data. Questions to be answered are: How did the Pilot School come into being? How did the reformers conceive it? How did it work? How did it contribute to the reform of the EEC school system in Mbouo? These are some questions structuring the interest in reconstructing the Pilot School's process development in Cameroon's field of school reform.

During the German colonial period of Kamerun, protestant missionaries settled in the Djiomghuo quarter in 1913 (ibid., p. 51). They created a missionary station comprised of a presbytery, a church, and a primary school, officially inaugurated in 1926 (ibid.). The protestant mission opened a hospital, a teacher training college, in 1947 that was later transformed into a secondary school, the *Collège Elie Allégret* (ibid.). Today, the missionary station of Mbouo includes the CPF, the primary school, and the UEC. Within the framework of in-service teacher training programs developed in CPF, the EEC transformed the primary school of Mbouo into the *Ecole Pilote de Mbouo* in 1991(Kenmogne & Kokemohr 1993; Kokemohr, 2002a). The *Ecole Pilote* resulted from pedagogical field research that Kokemohr and Kenmogne undertook. The decision to change it into a reform school resulted from Kokemohr's presentation of his study to his Cameroonian colleagues and partners in 1990 at CPF. He reported that:

> I wanted to present and discuss my results one last time to him and other partners in Cameroon to check the analyses and interpretations in their entirety at the end of my research in Cameroon. This took place in a susceptible situation in which, encouraged by the political collapse of Eastern Europe, resistance against the one-party rule in the form of nationwide strikes and massive student unrest led to

the emergence of a multi-party [political] landscape. In this discussion, the concrete political-educational dimension of these works, [especially] the practical development and the democratic potential contained therein, were well-perceived, surprising for me as well. It led to the vision of building a reform school based on the results of the field research (Kokemohr, 2002a, p. 3, own translation).

The geopolitical crisis in Europe and the struggle for democracy in Cameroon in the 1990s also affected the educational field. This transition context might have triggered people to seek new orientations for handling new challenging social transformations. The context of uncertainty in this period helped to highlight the limits of established systems, making people question them. Unexpectedly, this context facilitated Kokemohr's pedagogical ideas by his colleagues involved in the teacher-training endeavor in CPF. Kenmogne confessed that neither he nor the other educational partners and colleagues properly understood Kokemohr's work during his research stay in Cameroon. His micro-analysis and interpretation of single cases of individuals did not match their expectations of explicative research based on the paradigm of quantitative representativity.

To illustrate this misunderstanding of Kokemohr's works (1986-1990), JBK recalled the case of Fabien's[87] lesson, which fueled a methodological discussion. On the one hand, he argued that the choice of Fabien as a sample for research was not "normal" because Fabien had not advanced in school. He only had a CEPE, so he could not understand complex notions of the natural sciences. On the other hand, he argued that it was necessary to build a representative sample of participants (teachers) and not conclude a single case. At the time, Kenmogne found Kokemohr's interpretations of the case not convincing. He "was convinced that Fabien's speech was not conditioned by the social structure (and background) in which he lives [as Kokemohr interpreted it]; but rather by the fact that he did not master the notions of natural sciences" (transcript of the interview of JBK 1999, own translation).

In addition to these methodological and cultural misunderstandings, another external factor reinforced the distance to Kokemohr's empirical works. Kenmogne linked this to the fact that "gradually, a certain jealousy was developing" among the different actors in Kokemohr's research (ibid). An underground power struggle was present among the competitive approaches of structural reform ideals and the reform of classroom interaction dynamics. This led to the metaphorical consideration that: "Rainer's pedagogy is about stories in the clouds; it has no connection to reality" (ibid). This situation comforted Kenmogne and other partners at the time, who did not want Kokemohr again in CPF. Kenmogne remembered that: "Neither Werner, nor

---

87 The case of Fabien, mentioned in chapter 4 as an empiric research of Kokemohr in CPF, highlights the problem of the context of interpretation and of meaning of the principle of the *sens divers*.

Ursula [the couple Krebs], nor I understood how he worked with us. But if the Germans do not already understand what a German is doing, Jean-Blaise, for you, it will be even more complex" (ibid.). Thus, in 1990, it became evident from the direction of the CPF that Kokemohr was no longer welcome, although he had no further intention than that of the last validating discussion of his findings. Kokemohr admitted: "So, I wasn't aware of all you just said, but for me, it was planned to happen for the last time, a last criticism of the interpretations." (ibid.)

However, this situation changed during a Thursday evening discussion in 1990 at CPF, where Kenmogne understood the significance of Kokemohr's interpretation thanks to the geopolitical and national context of transformation and the struggle for democracy of that period.[88] During this discussion, his colleagues were able to link his interpretations to the ongoing discourse on democratic values and the socio-political transformation challenges to figure out that the child must be allowed to develop their potential to build their world. Kenmogne summarized his interpretations of Kokemohr's findings as follows:

> Strictly, the child must be trained since we have even gone so far as to say that when the craftsman carves the wood or stone if he does not respect the texture and lines, the wood breaks, the wood gets angry, and the wood breaks. Ultimately, therefore, wood participates in this artwork. Therefore, [we considered this perspective of the child to think that] for school reform, one of the fundamental concerns is to respect the child, to recognize that the child must also make his world, the child must also have the freedom to take a critical look at the world and its social context. And the child must commit him- or herself and, if necessary, if the social context in which they find him- or herself no longer reflects the world of their dreams as they want to build it, then they must even oppose this social structure to make the world as they want to build it. So, there I took both my hands like that, lifted my body, moved back again, sat on the seat, looked at Mom and Tipkap, and told them, my friends, are you aware of what we are saying? However, it means that if the political structure of the Cameroonian society no longer suits us and we dream of another world, we must oppose, we must resist, we must resist this political structure to see how to make children dream of another Cameroonian society, and it means that we risk going to prison. And I looked at Rainer and said that this case is starting to interest me three years later. And from that moment on, it was not very clear, but in any case, it was a Thursday. I think it was the moment, the decisive event for the project's continuity (excerpt from the transcript of the interview of JBK in 1999, own translation).

Kenmogne's preference for Kokemohr's pedagogical research and ideas as compared to Bühler's approach had developed gradually from 1986 to 1990.

---

88 Kokemohr (2002a; 2014) developed more insight into the geopolitical context of the 1990s which impacted the educational and pedagogical reform discourse in Cameroon.

It is a preference constructed through working together on the field since JBK recalled what RK thought, which is: "Jean-Blaise was for me the best interpreter I ever met … an interpreter between my culture and the culture here" (transcript of the interview with JBK 1999, own translation). The decisive moment was an encounter between JBK, RK, Bühler, and Heinrichs-Drinhaus in the train station in Frankfurt in 1991. RK recalled that Bühler said he would not work parallel to RK, as JBK had suggested. He would work for the organization and RK for the interaction. And JBK had to choose with whom of the two he would like to work on the reform projects in CPF. According to RK: "JBK chose him against Bühler, and the matter was settled" (transcript of the interview with RK 2017, own translation).

It was the choice of the pedagogical reform at the level of a classroom interaction (teaching and learning processes) that Kokemohr stands for, against the pedagogical reform at the level of the school administration supported by Bühler. It was a decisive event for the continuity of the project in CPF after three years of cooperative field research. This is how the idea of capitalizing on Kokemohr's findings for a reform school emerged. Within the framework of CPF, Kenmogne could then transform the EEC primary school of Mbouo into an *Ecole Pilote*. "Jean-Blaise Kenmogne succeeded in making this school near the CPF a reform school, albeit initially only unofficially" (Kokemohr, 2002a; 2014). But how did this decisive choice contribute to the reform experience conducted within the context of the *Ecole Pilote de Mbouo*? How did the experimentation of the *Ecole Pilote* develop? How did the reformers (JBK and RK) conceive the *Ecole Pilote*?

Kokemohr and Kenmogne (1993) discussed "conditions for the successful development of an *Ecole Pilote*." They argued that the research they conducted in Cameroon within the framework of the pedagogical activities of the CPF in Mbouo-Bandjoun "confirms that the most important reason for the failure of the school reforms lies in the fact that no attention is paid to the structural relationship between information and the socially prevalent contexts of interpretation." (ibid. p. 2) For this reason, they viewed the school reform endeavor as guided by the principle of interaction. Thus, a school reform should "make people more flexible and independent in dealing with the problems they face" (ibid.).

In addition to the concept of interaction, Kokemohr and Kenmogne considered the importance of developing the learners' ability to understand a piece of information in its variety of meanings. Learners should be provided with the freedom of a diversified interpretation of a topic. They should be allowed to analyze a theme's problematic nature and reflect on the relevance of the different solutions to a specific problem. Because an *Ecole Pilote* has "the task of preparing people to face the problems of today and the future and help them adapt their behavior towards themselves and the world in the face of new situations" (ibid.). This is conceived as the *Principe des sens divers*

(Principle of diversity of meanings). In the development of the Pilot School, another principle was conceptualized to tackle the problem of the centrality of decision-making in school governance. Taking advantage of the culture of solidarity characterizing the Bamiléké folk (Soffo et al., 1998), the reformers developed the *principe de la responsabilité réciproque* (principle of corporate responsibility) to guide the classroom, the school, and social interactions within the Pilot School. For the successful development of an *Ecole Pilote,* its founders considered the following conditions necessary. First:

> It requires someone who, guided by the idea of the *École Pilote*, can promote its concept and is politically strong enough to defend it against opponents. [For], it is necessary to have political support until school practice has become a matter of reality and is understood and accepted by the public (Kenmogne and Kokemohr, 1993, p. 4).

Kenmogne efficiently assumed this responsibility of opposing external political interests within the political struggle of the church in CPF mentioned earlier. He had benefited from the help of Kokemohr. His strategic and political stand for the project guaranteed the sustainability of its development process and inspired subsequent structures, such as the CERP, the IPSOM, and, presently, the UEC, where he assumed the responsibility of the rectorate (Kokemohr, 2002a; Kenmogne, 2012; Fonssi, 2018). Second, Kenmogne and Kokemohr claimed that:

> It is necessary to have a capable person who advises the staff in their teaching. Such a counselor must be reliable, experienced, and skilled in the sense of the basic didactical principles of the model school (*sens unique*, *sens divers*) (Kenmogne and Kokemohr, 1993, pp. 4-5).

In this regard, the *Ecole Pilote de Mbouo* was supported by a committed team of pedagogical counselors, composed of Fonssi (pedagogical inspector) and Werner and Ursula Krebs (developmental counselors from EZE). Fonssi (2018) stressed the determinant commitment of Werner and Ursula Krebs to developing this reform school in Mbouo. Third, the founders considered that:

> The teachers who form the staff of a model school are to be chosen according to their capability and willingness to orient themselves towards the model school's main principles. They must be willing and capable of changing the structures of their interaction, allowing differing interpretations, contradictions, and discussions, and accepting them as productive additions (Kenmogne and Kokemohr, 1993, p. 5).

Among the committed teaching staff involved in the successful experience of ER, Kokemohr appreciated Monsieur Kengne, Monsieur Soffo, Monsieur Tankwa, Mme Marie, Mme Marthe and Mme Cécile (transcript of interview RK; see also Kokemohr, 2014; 2002a). Fourth, they suggested that:

> Scholars should observe the model school closely, and there must be adequate teacher training. Continual further education of teachers concerning the correlation of theory and practice is essential (Kenmogne and Kokemohr, 1993, p. 5).

In this role, Kokemohr accompanied the project yearly with field research, training workshops, discussion sessions, and theoretical reflections (Fonssi, 2018; Kokemohr, 2002a; 2014). Other conditions consisted of the following:

> A model school should not be established as a solo project. It would be advisable to include it in a network of reflections with several model schools. A model school must not be isolated from the community or society. Means should be provided to facilitate its social integration and show the advantages of its concept to parents (and to the persons in charge). It is crucial to grant relative autonomy to the model school. The model school must not be bound to the curriculum during school years. It is only possible to have the necessary freedom of thought and action if teachers do not have to worry about their income. Therefore, it is essential to guarantee a place of work and secure payment so that teachers can develop confidence in their work (Kenmogne and Kokemohr, 1993, pp. 5-6).

Kenmogne & Kokemohr (1990; 1993), as well as Kokemohr (2002a; 2014) and Fonssi (2018), provided details on other practical measures concerning the staff formation, the enrolment control, the environment of the school, the role of parents and other stakeholders, the ecology and arts and the school governance and maintenance. The *Ecole Pilote de Mbo* developed under these conditions and was guided by the conceptual framework of the reform principles of interaction, diversity of meaning and corporate responsibility. With the financial support of the EZE-EED, the reformers could renovate the "almost in ruins" classrooms of the mission primary school and build new halls, such as a meeting room, the nursery section of the school, and rooms for arts and handicraft work (Kokemohr, 2002a; 2014; Fonssi, 2018). In very few years, the school was transformed into a modern campus with a garden and a green yard, and trees were planted around the school yard, making it look inviting.

Meanwhile, the classroom interaction was guided by the reform principles of the Pilot School. This was backed up by empiric research triggered by problematic cases in school. Teachers and administration staff were acquainted with the theoretical discussion and the training on the pedagogical methods and the psychological, social, and anthropological considerations in education. From 1991 to 1996, Kokemohr regularly worked twice a year with the Cameroonian colleagues based on a stay of one month: "In those years I traveled to Mbouo at least twice a year for a one-month teacher training and a concept development as well as for smaller accompanying research" (Kokemohr, 2002a, p. 5, own translation). The day-to-day management, further pedagogical training, and a follow-up of the *Ecole Pilote* were realized by Krebs and Fonssi (Fonssi, 2018). Kokemohr (ibid.) admitted that "an important condition of founding phase [of *Ecole Pilote*] was that Krebs, who

had taken over the position of pedagogical consultant in the neighboring CPF as a development aid worker since 1988, accompanied the day-to-day work in the school" (own translation). Thanks to this day-to-day scientific follow-up and permanent training and research, the *Ecole Pilote* could rapidly shine and yearly ranked at the top of the school ranking in the region.

However, due to external influences of power struggles within the CPF in 1993, a new strategic orientation was thought about, which led to the creation of the *Comité d'Etudes et de Reflection Pédagogiques* (CERP) and the transformation of the *Ecole Pilote* into an *Ecole de Référence* in 1994. This phase helped thinking about the future of the reform project in terms of the *Ecole de Référence* as a laboratory sample for school reform, and later, in terms of a private church teacher-training college based on the reform principles of the *Pilot School*.

5.1.3 The CERP and the Ecole de Référence de Mbouo-Bandjoun

The project CERP was created by a letter of the EEC President in 1994 (Fonssi, 2018) after some years of in-service teacher-training sessions in CPF Mbouo-Bandjoun and from the experience of the *Ecole Pilote de Mbo*. It was inspired by the capitalization of some pedagogical empiric research results conducted by Kokemohr and a team of educators led by Kenmogne (then director of CPF) in EEC schools between 1986 and 1993. The CERP arose from a power struggle within the church administration of the CPF and the *Ecole Pilote*. Kokemohr stated in an interview in 2019 that: "In 1993, Rev. Dr. Jean-Blaise Kenmogne was pulled out of the directorate of the CPF because it had become too strong for the *chef de station EEC* of Mbo, a member of the EEC board committee" (own translation). The conflict began when the latter wanted to control the funding of the *Ecole Pilote,* managed by the Director of the CPF.

Kokemohr (2005) argued that taking advantage of the context of the economic crisis, the *chef de station EEC* often quoted President Paul Biya's speech: "C'est la crise" (ibid.) to justify the bad governance of the Protestant Hospital of Mbouo. While the hospital was sadly deteriorating when he was the Director, the CPF flourished under Kenmogne. Its campus was green. They organized activities regularly. The agricultural and social development animation program for pastors and church administration staff was successful. They renovated the buildings of the *Ecole Pilote* and its nursery school. New halls were built as well. A school garden was sustained (Kokemohr, 2014). Kokemohr underlined that, while the *chef de station* of EEC said: "C'est la crise" in the hospital, Kenmogne was making the CPF and the *Ecole Pilote* very dynamic and alive. The *chef de station* EEC wanted to share the

budget of the *Ecole Pilote*. As the former refused to let his misuse of the reform project's money, he played his card as the chief of the mission station and member of the church committee board to take Kenmogne out of the CPF and replace him with someone whom he could easily manipulate. This struggle informs about external drawbacks of the internal dynamics of the reform project EP-ER, which led to the exclusion of Kenmogne from the administration of CPF. However, according to Kokemohr, "since the [*chef de station* EEC, Director of the Protestant hospital] and the President of the EEC were involved in a power struggle, the other members of the EEC board committee supported the latter. The [former] also lost his position in the church board committee".

Consequently, Kenmogne was able to change the antipathy against [this director] into sympathy toward the President. He used this to ask the latter about establishing a committee that "needed to work out a plan for a reform of the church school system within one year" (ibid., own translation). The reaction of the projects' internal actors (JBK and RK) in such an uncertain situation caused by external political interests consisted of securing the funds for the reform project *Ecole Pilote* and creating an independent structure for research. To ensure the funds of the project *Ecole Pilote* against its misappropriation by the new direction of CPF under the control of the *chef de station EEC* of Mbo, Kokemohr used the political trick of money shortage. This consisted of asking the new director of CPF to sign a letter stating that the *Ecole Pilote* would no longer depend on CPF as a condition to further financial subvention of the CPF from Europe. The two quickly signed the concession because neither the new director nor the *chef de station* wanted to lose the strategic funding contact to EED. This agreement was a determining factor for the autonomy of the *Ecole Pilote* in 1993 vis-à-vis the CPF.

The second factor reinforcing this autonomy was the official creation of a research committee by the President of the EEC, Rév. Charles-Emmanuel Njiké on January 12, 1994 (Fonssi, 2018, p. 32). Since JBK had lost his position in the CPF, he designed a pedagogical research committee to sustain the ongoing and promising work done at the *Ecole Pilote*. Thus, the project CERP was created to capitalize on fruitful empiric research leading to the reform school *Ecole Pilote*. The CERP project embedded school reform ideas developed as founding principles for a more learner-centered pedagogy.

Fonssi (2018, pp. 32-33) described the two phases of the project. From January 1994 to June 1995, the first phase consisted of "analyzing the EEC school system's potential effectiveness and making concrete proposals for its reform." Under the term "efficiency of the school system," Fonssi saw its capacity to "stimulate the child's creativity during his or her training with a view to his or her integration into sociocultural, political, and economic life" (ibid., own translation). The second phase covered the period from September 1995 to 1998 under the heading: "school, divergent societal developments

and the integrity of the individual" (ibid.). Kokemohr remembered that the project CERP was initially thought by JBK to engage pedagogical research in 18 months with the final aim of proposing concrete solutions to the problems of the EEC school system. This ambition was motivated by the will to generalize the successful experience of pedagogical reform of the *Ecole Pilote* in other EEC schools. In other words, JBK's idea was to open other *Ecoles Pilotes* in the EEC school system to capitalize on the experience of Mbo (Kokemohr, 2014).

The idea of multiplying the experience of the *Ecole Pilote* in more pilot schools could not develop because, on the one hand, the financial resources could not be sustained. The funding partner EZE – EED could not support such a huge budget (Kokemohr, 2002a; 2014). On the other hand, it was not easy to ensure the scientific follow-up of many pilot schools. Neither Kokemohr nor Krebs could assume this role for a long time. And getting additional specialists from the North with the help of EED was also problematic. Then they also had to be devoted to developmental projects, get the support of their families, be open to the principles of the reform school in place, be flexible regarding the pedagogical practice and not be keen on a centralistic system of education.

Moreover, many teachers would have had to be trained according to the reform principles. All these complex implications hindered the multiplication of the experience of the *Ecole Pilote* in many other primary schools of the EEC. The reformers considered the advice of Heinrichs-Drinhaus, representative of EZE-EED in Cameroon, who saw "the perspective of using the *Ecole Pilote de Mbouo* as a place for further research on school reform issues in a country such as Cameroon" (ibid., p. 7). In 1994, the CERP took on doing further research on school reform issues within the EEC school system.

The reflection within the CERP tackled shortcomings in Cameroon's educational system and especially the classroom interaction dynamics (Kokemohr, 2014). Moukoko (2012, pp. 12-14) summarized some of these drawbacks in three unfortunate realities, notably: (1) "The fact that the system produces few, very few people able to think for themselves, and who are therefore of low intellectual creativity" (own translation). Moukoko, as well as Kä Mana (2012a, p. 53), criticized this system for producing learners who imitate, reproduce, repeat, or recite the taught information items in the curriculum. For Moukoko, the reason is that "teaching as it is done [here], does not train young people to face and solve problems but rather, it strives to 'prepare' them for exams." Such an exams-oriented-education system implies (2) "the fact that current teaching-learning process has remained excessively marked for several decades by a clear tendency towards learners' passivity despite some attempts to change it" (own translation). Most of the pedagogical interaction dynamics in Cameroon classrooms consist of a frontal mode of teaching-learning relationships where the teacher, considered an ultimate

"master" of knowledge, transmits knowledge items to "receptive" learners taken as a whole (group class).

The dominant interaction dynamic means teachers function as distributors of knowledge and learners as passive "recipients" (Kä Mana, 2012b; 2012a). This seems to be underlined by a context of mostly large classes of more than 80 learners in primary and secondary schools and sometimes more than 1000 students in university lecture halls (Moukoko, 2012, p. 13). Kokemohr (2018, p. 58) used an accurate image to portray "students as pure knowledge carriers on two legs" (own translation), characterizing the monological education. These realities may have led Moukoko to observe that (3) "the tendency to make almost all young learners irresponsible, in all respects, in their studies in the strict sense of the word as well as in their way of conceiving their commune life wherever they might be" (own translation).

Moukoko interprets the consequence of passive attitude as leading to irresponsibility regarding their relationship with themselves and the world. Within ER, IPSOM, and UEC pedagogical reform projects, this problem led to the development of a reform principle guiding school life, namely the principle of reciprocal or corporate responsibility (Kokemohr, 2014). This development was attempted throughout social field research, pragmatic discussion, and empirical interpretations. The school life organization was conceived of three groups of responsibilities[89] taking advantage of the communally oriented culture of society (Kokemohr, 2014; Fonssi, 2018, pp. 35-36).

Two studies were conducted within the framework of CERP (1996 to 1998). The first concerned the "socialization conditions and processes in polygamous and monogamous families of the village" (Kokemohr, 2002a, p. 7). The second investigated "the problems and structures of the corporate assumption of responsibility within the collegium" (ibid.). In September 1998, an international symposium funded by the Volkswagen Foundation was organized at the University of Hamburg to discuss the results of these two studies. Scholars from Africa and several European countries reflected on the socialization and leadership implications of school reform in Africa, focusing on the particular case of the *Ecole Pilote de Mbouo* in Cameroon. Kokemohr (2014, p. 62) argued that "a colloquium on [EEC] education policy in February 1999 at the *Col de Batié* in Cameroon, financially made possible by EZE, led to the public formulation of the proposal to make the experiences of the EP fruitful by establishing a Pedagogical Institute for the future generations of teachers" (own translation). The results of this colloquium constituted the building blocks of the decision to create IPSOM by the EEC board (see details in Fonssi, 2018).

---

89 The pragmatic process of the construction of these groups is discussed in chapter 4.

5.2 The Project IPSOM

IPSOM started to function effectively in the academic year 2005-2006. In the beginning, the project was conceived for pre-service training of primary school teachers according to pedagogical and philosophical principles developed in the *Ecole Pilote*. The question is: Under which processes and conditions did the project become a church institution for secondary school teacher training? How did IPSOM evolve in five years (2005-2010)? Which lessons can be drawn from the experience of IPSOM and its three founding principles?

5.2.1 *Processes and Conditions of the Creation of IPSOM*

According to Kenmogne (2003), IPSOM was the result of the work of the CERP. Its missions compassed: "[training] teachers for a nursery and a primary and a secondary education by providing them with in-depth initial and post-graduate training" and "researching in scientific fields related to pedagogy" (ibid., p. 4, own translation). Kenmogne (2007, p. 1) argued that: "The central idea is to think of African society as a society in mutation, in the transition towards new requirements of social organization and new fields of action given a new order of human relations in the world" (own translation). The background of the future of EEC educational projects in Mbouo might have triggered the conception and the creation of IPSOM (Kokemohr, 2002; 2014). Since creating more pilot schools was complicated, the *Ecole de Référence* and the CERP served the objective of further reflecting on pedagogical reforms to improve the EEC school system (Kokemohr, 2014).

Furthermore, these stakeholders agreed that getting more teachers trained according to the reform principles developed in EP-ER and CERP could only be fruitful if a training institution was implemented (ibid.). Therefore, empirical research was developed within the CERP (1996 to 1999) to investigate sociocultural and political conditions or realities for the successful implementation of a model school. In 1998 results were discussed at the University of Hamburg, Germany, and the EEC Colloquium in 1999 in Batié. Kokemohr wrote that the Batié Colloquium "led to the public formulation of the proposal to make the experiences of the EP fruitful for future generations of teachers by establishing a Pedagogical Institute" (ibid.). The EEC education director, Edeme, was keen on the idea and took some measures at the administrative level to facilitate the implementation process of the institution (Kokemohr, 2002a). Kokemohr also described the founders' motives to create IPSOM using the experience and conception of the EP and ER.

The plan to use the ER's experience and conception in an institute for teacher training has two motives. Often, the question arose of how the reform school project could gain durability through its efforts. A positive answer to this question only seems possible to us to the extent that the school becomes a pragmatically meaningful educational institution in a sociocultural context and is recognized by parents, pupils, and all concerned. This recognition is currently prevalent. Nevertheless, we must not be deceived, for it is based, on the one hand, on the great need for the school to become a source of hope for a better future for the children by developing skills in agriculture and home economics and by clearly outperforming the schools in the region in its official exam results. Beyond this very understandable attitude of parenthood, we must continue to ask about the fundamental function of schools in a society marked by problematic upheavals, for it can never be regarded as a certainty that a school will react to those problems that arise in society. Therefore, it seems fitting to us to include the ER as an exemplary individual school in the conception of the Teacher Training Institute, not as a place of application of theoretical knowledge by students but as a place of concrete scientific research and reflection on the question of fit and controlled testing of possibilities for action. Here, students should learn pedagogical activity in the tension between the school and its sociocultural environment. At the same time, this is the second motive for developing IPSOM. It can only fulfill its function of scientifically educating future generations of teachers in the sense of the conception and experience of the IPSOM if the education imparts the students the ability to critically examine the functions of pedagogical-didactic action in specific social contexts (ibid., pp. 11-12, own translation).

Kokemohr highlighted two motives that triggered the creation of IPSOM. First, the concern of the sustainability of the reform school experience of EP-ER had been a permanent preoccupation of the founders. On the one hand, they linked this to the guarantee of social recognition of the significance of a reform school in providing a "better future for the children." On the other hand, this recognition should go beyond the stakeholders' expectations to emphasize the "fundamental function of school in a society marked by problematic upheavals." The ideal expectation that "the school becomes a pragmatically meaningful educational institution in a sociocultural context" seems superior to the social legitimation of the reform school, relying on the school performance in internal and external examinations. Therefore, IPSOM aimed to pragmatically bring this ideal to "reality" for the EEC and Cameroon (see Kokemohr, 2014, p. 21).

The social legitimacy of the EP-ER neither gave it the status of "model school" nor that of "practice school."[90] However, it was considered "an exemplary individual school in the Teacher Training Institute" conception,

---

90 Such schools are considered practical schools for teacher-training institutions in both the primary and the secondary school teacher education systems. This is provided in texts, programs, and the status of ENSs as well as ENIEGs in Cameroon.

where students could concretely and creatively reflect on possibly better teaching and learning activities. The trainees of IPSOM were expected to learn how to unite the school and its sociocultural contours pedagogically. ER and the College Elie Allegret of Mbouo (CEA) developed as "places of concrete research, empirical reflection, and action. Teachers and students can investigate how the school could be a place where teaching-learning processes (in the diversity of their subjects and forms) can prepare them for active participation in social life and to respond to challenges in which both dangers and future opportunities are indicated" (ibid., p. 22, own translation).

But durability did not lead to the creation of IPSOM as a place of reduplication of an ER experience. Instead, it was a place where trainees are acquainted with dealing with uncertainty characterizing transitional societies, such as Cameroon. The second motive was to prepare trainees to creatively integrate the complex sociocultural contours of schools in the context of Cameroon. For this, education should "impart to the students the ability to critically examine the functions of pedagogical-didactic action in certain social contexts" (see excerpt above). The new room open to a university reform had its foundations in the ER reform principles enabling students to challenge the memory-oriented teaching and learning established *habitus*, constructed closely regarding the social structure and the culture of chieftaincy and the authoritative centralized school system of a francophone colonial heritage. This second argument for the creation of IPSOM encompassed its pedagogical conceptual orientation. The three pedagogical reform principles of *sens divers, interaction,* and *responsabilité réciproque* were, therefore, the conceptual foundation inspiring "innovative" teacher training programs and the teacher education philosophy of the new institution.

Initially, creating IPSOM with the motives mentioned above was principally oriented towards the benefits of primary school teachers of EEC. However, administrative and policy requirements had changed this initial orientation. The initial project of IPSOM addressed to the Ministry of Secondary Education was designed to train holders of a *Baccalaureate* or a GCE/AL to teach in primary schools. Policy provisions in the domain in Cameroon attribute such a program instead to the competency of the Ministry of Higher Education (Kokemohr, 2014; Moukoko, 2012, pp. 31-34) for primary schools; holders of a *Baccalaureate* or a GCE/AL spend less than one year in training school (nine months). By designing a three-year program for such trainees, the founders wanted to introduce a change in the quality of teacher education in primary schools.

This perspective of change had been administratively compromised. The policy context was the first obstacle to a potential change in a primary school teacher education program. The procedure of creating IPSOM had then to be introduced to the Ministry of Higher Education, and through this, its initial orientation was changed to concern the secondary school teacher education.

From the beginning of the creation of IPSOM, the changing perspective had to adapt to the existing dominant system. A subsumption culture of hierarchical administration challenges every change perspective and reintroduces the status quo, which Moukoko called the "involution process" (Moukoko 2012, pp. 31-34, own translation). He further illustrated this by analyzing the "quasi-magical transmutation" of its original name *Institut de Pédagogie pour Societé en Mutation* (IPSOM) into ISP, *Institut Supérieur de Pédagogie* (Higher Institute of Pedagogy). Moukoko questioned this ministerial transformation of the denomination of IPSOM to ISP. He posed the following questions:

> Apparently "merely administrative," this decision does not aim at sounding the death knell for the initially-conceived protestant, and, potentially, "subversive" project. At least not in the field of education. Is the decision to rename the project not a starting point for an insidiously involutive process that is part of a classic reflexive approach in the sense of Mehan and Wood? (ibid., pp. 31-34, own translation).

Mehan and Wood (1975) developed the concept of "reflexivity" as one of the five features of social reality, comprising (1) reality as a coherent body of knowledge, (2) reality as an interactive activity, (3) reality as a fragile activity and (4) the permeability of social reality. According to Kokemohr (2011), the "reflexivity of social reality" can be represented by the metaphor of a "mirror effect" (see also Hassana, 2013, pp. 20-21). The mirror shows humans a projected image of themselves to feel like they are being duplicated. The same is true for social reality, which can be reflected through different social mechanisms, mainly through communication, a shared body of knowledge and the means of the social inclusion of members who agree on the same ideas and the exclusion of those who are considered different (ibid.). In the latter view, Moukoko might have wanted to question the political force, which seems to exclude any different tentative ideas considered "subversive" to the social order. In other words, Moukoko here portrayed the "subsumptive" power of the state that frames any institutional structure and philosophy. In the case of IPSOM, the shift from primary school teacher education to secondary school teacher training is legally justified by entry and duration requirements.

Moukoko's questioning could highlight interpretations of the philosophy behind the title *Institute of Pedagogy for Societies in Mutation,* having triggered a unilateral decision of the ministry to rename IPSOM ISP. Those possible ministerial interpretations of the name IPSOM might depict a specific political culture of "seeing a subversion behind an idea of a 'change' perspective, a transformation perspective." In this view, the ministerial decision to rename IPSOM ISP could portray a strategic political intention of a "getting back to the order" that subsumes institutional structures and political philosophies behind them.

The metaphor of "baptism" that Moukoko used in his questioning the ministerial decision in the case of the project IPSOM appears appalling because it portrays a process of political and philosophical subsumption in play in the institutionalization process of the project IPSOM. To "baptize" in the Christian tradition represents a public ceremony of immersion in the water of a new fellow as a testimony of change from an old life to a new life in Jesus Christ. In Christian milieus in Cameroon, baptism is often followed by a shift in the first name of the new fellow (born again). In the ceremony, a fellow Christian could be given the name John or Paul, etc. The term is commonly used to name a special event, a phenomenon, a structure, or an institution. In the latter, Moukoko's metaphor of "débaptiser et rebaptiser" could be interpreted as such that the founders of the EEC teacher-training project "baptized" it as "IPSOM."

The institutionalization process of the project by the Cameroonian educational administration followed the ubiquitous dynamic of *débaptiser – rebaptiser*, leading to the subsumption of the project in the established centralistic system of education in place. Moukoko saw a potential process of involution: the back-to-the initial state (normal state). *Débaptiser* could mean that the ministry "rejected" the initial name IPSOM; it canceled it from the project description folio. Then, the project was *rebaptized* ISP, a new name that fits the "normality" in the domain in Cameroon because private higher education institutions are either named *Institut Supérieur or Institut Universitaire.* This normality was reestablished when the EEC created the *Université Evangélique du Cameroon (UEC).* The subsumption process of rebaptism led to the renaming of the UEC in *Institut Universitaire Evangélique du Cameroun* (IUEC). This is due to the decree of September 2001 (Art. 4 (4) and the law of April 2001 Art. 4.), which provided that all private universities in Cameroon are formally organized as higher private university institutes.

The administrative norm and the power of interpretation could have characterized the institutionalization process of the project IPSOM. The subsumptive political power of the state regulates such processes either by reestablishing the norm or by reinterpreting any change process into a subversion process and thus, rejects, cancels, or renames the institution after the established model or norm of interpretation. However, this political power and institutional understanding not only influences the form or structure of an institution encompassing ideals of change, reform or transformation, but it also affects its strategic contents. Kokemohr (2014, pp. 23-24) recognized these impacts on the strategic contents of the program IPSOM. He submitted that "with this mortgage, it became challenging to understand the diversity of readings and at the same time to gain new professors who could identify

themselves with the reform principles. Only the weekly forum[91] could have been a place to open different ways of reading and correspondingly, more free contributions to the discussion" (ibid., own translation).

Adaptation strategies to political injunctions could have led the founders of the project IPSOM to rethink its curriculum and subsequent academic approaches. They moved from primary school teacher education programs to secondary teacher training programs. According to Kokemohr (ibid., p. 23), the formation in IPSOM was initially planned to encompass two innovative working approaches promoting the pedagogical reform principles experienced at EP-ER. He described these as follows:

> Parts of the study should be carried out in project-related work periods of close interweaving practical experiences with theoretical discussions. This concept should be supplemented by a forum in which all teachers and students of the initially still small IPSOM meet every week to discuss fundamental educational and social theory issues freely and across disciplinary boundaries, starting with introductory presentations or lectures to be able to discuss topics (ibid., own translation).

However, reading Kokemohr, the first aspect of the program could not work due to the new curricula for a secondary school teacher education which implied a variety of school subjects and their didactics combined with the need for a corresponding number of professors. Moreover, the complexity of the time management in the planning of the various courses corresponding to the variety of school subjects could have made it difficult to organize the training in project-oriented work periods, which is considered to favor the perspective of pedagogical reform principles of a diversity of meaning, interaction and corporate responsibility. The academic administration of IPSOM could then use this argument of time congestion to justify the impossibility of working in project-oriented periods of empiric research and theoretical discussion (Kokemohr, 2014, p. 24). Fortunately, the second approach, consisting of an organization of a pedagogical forum, could be realized at IPSOM (Hassana, 2013).

Conditions for the creation and institutionalization of IPSOM appear to have experienced Cameroon's sociocultural and political context and realities. But how could these have shaped to concrete functioning of IPSOM from 2005 to 2010?

---

91   The weekly forum is a strategic pedagogical mechanism put in place to support the reform philosophy behind the project IPSOM. It consists of a weekly meeting of the IPSOM community (trainers, trainees, administrative staff and guests) to discuss a theme of general interest and/or to discuss a book or a presentation of a topic. More to this project can be found in chapter 6 of this work.

5.2.2   The Five-Year Experience of IPSOM

The Higher Institute of Pedagogy (ISP), referred to as the project IPSOM, opened its doors to its very first students in October 2005 in Mbouo-Bandjoun (Moukoko, 2012, p. 18), two years later as initially planned (Koke-mohr, 2002a, p. 7). Reasons for this delay can be found in the above-mentioned administrative challenges and probably in the delay in completing the infrastructural building. The latter could have urged the EEC to use conference halls and office rooms of the CPF while the building process of the IPSOM Campus was taking place.

In his report entitled *Bilan de l'Année Academique 2005-2006, une Esquisse*, Foaleng (2006), then *responsable scientifique* of IPSOM, submitted that the academic year 2005/2006 was considered an "experimental year." He reported that "when we decided to begin, we only had the creation agreement which precedes the opening authorization. This agreement allows the construction of the buildings that will house the institute" (2006, p. 2, own translation). However, any private higher education institution needs a ministerial decree authorizing its opening to function officially.[92] Moreover, Foaleng informed that in September 2005, there were only five candidates; two of them gave no feedback. The effective enrolment of three candidates was not enough. Fortunately, the administrative council of IPSOM announced that the minimum number of students for a start should be three (ibid.).

The insufficient enrolment of the students, coupled with the need for an agreement of authorization, challenged the founders in effectively beginning the program IPSOM with an attempt to use a different training approach to what is usually done in teacher training institutions in Cameroon. Regarding the problem of recruitment of conducive teaching staff, Foaleng argued in his report that "they had to deal with the constraints of the field" (ibid., p.2, own translation). Thus, they could not follow the initial provisions of the program projecting to work with permanent teachers who could reside on campus for more interaction with the trainees (ibid.). Confronted with the challenging question of what to do in such difficult conditions at the start, the founders of IPSOM opted to implement the minimal requirements of their initial planning. In this view, Foaleng reported:

> However [and fortunately], the law in this area does not prohibit experimental trials. Therefore, we wanted to use this first year to test our pedagogical approach; we decided to make this year a year of pedagogical endeavors to test the solidity of the approach. With a small number of students, it became easier to find a workspace: we could obtain a classroom at CPF. With the help of the colleagues in place, we were able to sketch out a training program according to a

92   See the decree of September 2001 governing the creation, opening and functioning of private higher education institutes in Cameroon.

study plan that we had to finalize gradually. By the last week of September, time-tables of courses were drawn up that would allow us to start working from October 3 (ibid., p. 2, own translation).

The program started effectively in 2005 with five students and three trainers (ibid., p. 3). The first lecture in IPSOM was given by Nkemleke of the English didactics department in the afternoon of that day (ibid.). The latter remembered this introductive lecture on teaching *English as a Foreign Language* very well. On January 3, 2020, Nkemleke recalled in the WhatsApp chat that "I was trying to discuss the characteristics of the foreign language teaching environment. The students here are from non-English backgrounds, and the language teacher must bring everything to them, using teaching aids and all sorts of regalia."

The challenge of the language context in foreign language teaching and learning in Cameroon, especially in the case of the English language in a francophone school, could be crucial regarding the IPSOM approach of *sens divers* and this research interest in the sociocultural backgrounds of some actors involved in the pedagogical reform projects of EEC in Mbouo-Bandjoun. Although reform issues are reconstructed and discussed in the chapter on teacher education in Cameroon, it is worth commenting on the professor's related issues. The foreign language teaching environment that he mentioned refers to two contexts: the context of the place ("the students here") as well as the context of the language backgrounds ("are from a non-English background"). The context of "place" marked by the locative adverbial "here" refers to the location of IPSOM in Mbouo-Bandjoun (Foaleng, 2005) in the western region of Cameroon where the Bamiléké culture is dominant.

As far as the context of the language background is concerned, French is the official school language in this region of the country. The first language background is the Ghomálá language of the Bandjoun. This language environment, coupled with the culture in place, could be challenging to teach English as a foreign language to French-speaking students who, in turn, will teach this language to their learners who use Ghomálá at home and French in school. This complex foreign language teaching environment sounds suited for an introductive course of English didactics in the spirit of the pedagogical reform principle of s*ens divers*. It might open a vivid discussion on the description of such an environment and the didactic contextualization of IPSOM's pedagogical approach.

Nkemleke (2015) discussed the didactic significance of the IPSOM approach in his lecture: "Teaching English in the 21st century: some Methodological Approaches" (also cited by Fonssi, 2018, pp. 44-45), presented at UEC on May 22, 2015, during a sharing of pedagogical reform experiences between the FSE of the UEC and its partners from the *In-Service Teacher Training Program* (IST-P) of the Presbyterian Church of Cameroon (PCC)

education board in Bamenda. He highlighted some psychological, cognitive, and affective dispositions characterizing language-learning processes. Students might have or adopt different learning styles. While some have sensory preferences (focusers vs. scanners; visual vs. auditory), others might display relational ones (introversion vs. extraversion; global vs. analytical). Regarding the *sens divers*, these differences need to be acknowledged and promoted to favor the students' productivity regarding a pedagogical problem a theme might raise.

Different learning styles could then give room to the production of a diversity of meaning and approaches in a problem-solving process that might constitute a database of propositions to be interactively and critically discussed to select the most effective ones depending on the contexts of the problem. Nkemleke, in his introductive course, raised the concern regarding research on features of sociocultural backgrounds and teacher education in Cameroon, especially within the context of the EEC pedagogical reforms projects in Mbouo-Bandjoun[93].

Concerning effective courses experienced during this first academic year 2005/06 in IPSOM, Foaleng (2006) also reported that only four didactics subjects from the five initially planned were effectively functioning. These comprised the *didactique de l'anglais* (English didactics), the *didactique du francais* (French didactics), the *didactique de l'histoire/géographie* (didactics of history and geography) and the *didactique des mathématiques* (didactics of mathematics). These departments were under the academic responsibility of Nkemleke from the English department of ENS Yaoundé, Alexis from the French department of ENS Yaoundé, Désiré from the department of history of ENS Yaoundé and Priso, a permanent teacher of IPSOM. At the creation of the UEC in 2010, IPSOM became the Faculty of Sciences of Education (FSE) and united these four didactics specialization subjects. The studies were regrouped in each department into speciality courses (*cours de spécialité,* SP), common courses (*cours de tronc commun,* TC), non-compulsory courses (*cours facultatifs*), optional courses (*cours optionnels*) and professional activities (*activités professionnelles*). This course distribution was taken from the model practised in ENS Yaoundé.[94] Nevertheless, Foaleng stressed that "the courses have been taught to respect the didactic approach of the "*sens divers"* approach" (ibid.). Other activities during the very first academic year of IPSOM comprised weekly fora as from October 12, 2005,

93   Some of these features are highlighted in chapter 3 of this work, in the empiric analysis of the class conference of MP, in the study of the lesson of MT, and a subsequent group discussion with both teachers of ER.

94   The *Convention Spécifique* of December 12, 2011 between the UEC and the University of Yaoundé stated that: "For the University of Yaoundé I, the school assuming the scientific and technical responsibility of this partnership is the ENS of Yaoundé" (Art. 1, end of the paragraph).

targeting the exploration of theoretical foundations of IPSOM (these included Kokemohr, 1999a; Moukoko, 1999; Kengne and Soffo, 2005).

Even though characterized by uncertainty, the experimental academic year 2005/06 had proven successful in the curriculum development, the trainers' commitment, and the trainees' enthusiasm (Foaleng, 2006, p. 4). Regarding the trainers' responsibility to organize their teaching activities from the perspective of the IPSOM pedagogical approach, Foaleng reported the following:

> Teachers seem to have understood that this philosophy was realized consubstantially to the *Principle of sens divers*. It is both a methodical philosophy of education and a philosophical approach that combines several pedagogical and didactic strategies. That they no longer ask too many questions about putting the principle into practice may well mean that they have understood that it is not a method in the sense of an approach allowing the *application* of some theory. On the contrary, each should consider it from a praxeological angle and contribute to realizing the principle through practices depending on the constraints of his discipline (ibid., p. 5, own translation).

The report acknowledges that the trainers' appropriation of the IPSOM approach in their pedagogical activities followed an intense discussion in international pedagogical colloquia at IPSOM in September 2005, November 2005, February and April 2006 (ibid pp. 4-5). These encounters could have helped the teachers better understand the philosophy and the didactic challenges of the reform principles sustaining the IPSOM approach. According to Foaleng (ibid.), it was expected that this might also influence the trainees' understanding of this approach:

> The third achievement is the observable transformation in their behavior at the end of the year's second half. Students said they were "completely lost" at the beginning of the year, were constantly afraid of being on the fringes of the Cameroonian school system, and were worried about incompetence when they found themselves in a classroom that was part of the system. Gradually, and thanks to the exchanges with the teachers and their enthusiasm as pioneers of IPSOM as an original school, they agreed to become more and more involved in the work, to believe that the approach has significant benefits for both teachers and learners. They began to understand that the principle of *sens divers,* which calls for freedom, could only be realized if the other founding principles of IPSOM, namely the principles of interaction and corporate responsibility, were indeed considered (ibid., p. 5, own translation).

Despite multiple practical difficulties in the early years of IPSOM, Kenmogne (2007) spoke of good and "encouraging" achievements after two years (2005-2007). He stated that "we are seeing rapid progress, even among the weakest: their horizons for understanding the problems of the country, of Africa and the world are widening; their critical and analytical capacity is

solidifying; their potential for creativity is being consolidated" (ibid., p. 10, own translation).

Altogether, the experience of IPSOM was an enthusiastic endeavor that mobilized many teacher trainers from the University of Yaoundé, who found convivial and conducive research and teaching innovation possibilities. Thanks to their commitment, concrete activities and initiatives, general teacher education orientations in Cameroon could be developed in the four didactic departments. However, like any endeavor of change, there were also substantial drawbacks, which mostly entailed the old established habits of frontal teaching and the learning practice, the hierarchical school governance with its dominance on the pedagogical interaction, and the weight of painful historic colonial interactions, which continue to structure the base of cooperative projects negatively. The latter sustains a silent and somehow distant suspicion of any North-South joint endeavors, making it challenging to focus priorities on concrete educational and pedagogical problems hindering the practical emergence of new perspectives of quality teaching and learning (Kokemohr, 2014, p. 63). These were doubled to permanent power struggles around such projects, which, on the one hand, have positively contributed to the development of the projects from in-service training at CPF to EP, ER, and IPSOM. On the other hand, these power struggles considerably destroyed the capitalized experiences of reform in EP-ER and somehow also at IPSOM (respectively, the massive affection of ER teachers in 2009 and the conflict between administrative staff and pedagogical research staff at IPSOM). So, how did these conflicts lead to the creation of the UEC in 2010?

5.3   The UEC's Development from the SCB of Power Relations

The UEC was created in 2010 under the arches of IPSOM. How did it come into being? Which processes led to its creation and why? How did the different actors engage in the sociocultural and political crisis to construct the project UEC? This work cannot fully answer these basic questions since this study lacks subsequent literature and empirical data. However, considering Kokemohr (2002a; 2014), Fonssi (2018) and Moukoko (2012), who had already discussed the experiences of EP-ER and IPSOM, they all could inform about the impact of the different conflicts of the creation of UEC.

In the interview of 2017, exploited for the historical reconstruction of the development of the projects in Mbouo, Kokemohr admitted that one of the most plausible arguments behind the creation of UEC in 2010 was an economic reason. The problem of financial independence was a substantial interrogation or reflection. Questions were: How could the projects be sustained

after the funding phases of the implementation? How could the projects still function independently of the financial support of cooperative partners? These questions were acute and sustained the survival uncertainties that characterize most cooperative projects in Africa, Cameroon. The evaluation of the project IPSOM by EED experts posed the reflection on these uncertainties and the necessary restructuration of the project (Kokemohr, 2014, p. 83). The general observation and experience in the domain are that most such projects disappear or die once the financial support ends.

Consequently, reflecting on sustaining the projects was urgent. From this background of argumentation and emergency, the two partners and friends, RK and JBK, united again to discuss expanding the training offer at IPSOM to include other faculties within a private university institute. The author says "again" because of a dispute in 2009, which ended their cooperation (according to Kokemohr, 2014, p. 82. an "eruptiver Konflikt"). It is confirmed by actors of anonymous projects who had witnessed the public dispute between them at Douala Airport in 2009. And despite this conflict (see also Kokemohr, 2014, p. 60), Kenmogne could convince Kokemohr to head the scientific committee of the projected new university institute.

The strategy of financial independence and sustainability of the project IPSOM developed by taking advantage of the privatization of medical education by the state. Since medical studies were and are valued by parents, they are willing to invest the necessary budget in sending their children to private university institutes to be trained as medical doctors. Moreover, as a good stratagem, Kenmogne did not miss this opportunity to think about the idea of a private evangelical university institute by capitalizing on the experience of IPSOM. It was, therefore, efficient to capitalize on the pedagogical reform principles developed at EP-ER and IPSOM to conceive a church university based on the Protestant philosophy of education. The tenets of IPSOM, thus, constituted the building blocks of the new university. They "rebaptized" the *principes fondateurs de l'UEC*, the founding principles of the UEC (see Moukoko, 2012; Hassana, 2013 and Fonssi, 2012; 2018).

However, this background of argumentation disguised an internal power conflict between two political camps within the EEC education board that struggled to gain control of IPSOM (Kokemohr, 2014, p. 61; and ibid., pp. 83-85). This political struggle was sustained by the silent concurrence between two pedagogical reform projects, the project CERP, which led to the creation of IPSOM, and the project DYFOP-POST, which, even though very successful in some experimental classes in EEC schools in Douala, was not further implemented. An attempt to capitalize on this project was developed in IPSOM to train EEC primary school teachers between 2007 and 2009. In 2009, the EEC education board affected almost all ER teachers trained during the CERP project and who had been working according to the pedagogical reform principles of *sens divers*, *interaction,* and *responsabilité réciproque*.

They were spontaneously replaced (Kokemohr, 2014, p. 83) by teachers trained at IPSOM, according to the DYFOP pedagogy.

Many could then see the top side of the power struggle around the project IPSOM. The concurrence in reform projects backing political and positioning struggles could have been a determinant factor that had triggered the strategy of the creation of the UEC by the camp of JBK supported by Kokemohr, though there was very little preparation, reflection, and scientific founding work like in the years between 1998 and 2003 that led to the creation of IPSOM in 2005. Emergency conferences organized in 2009 and 2010 in Douala reflected on the creation of UEC with the political support of EEC.

Consequently, the sociocultural and political contexts of the project UEC had influenced its creation and implementation. These continue to influence its current development as well. The power struggles typical to the Cameroonian ethnic, religious, political, and social culture have continuously triggered the development of the EEC projects in MBouo-Bandjoun. The example of the UEC has proven how significant the actors' sociocultural backgrounds have backed the struggle for the sustainability of cooperative reform projects in Africa. This is a qualitative observation and proof of how important the quality of the participants' interaction is for the step-by-step construction of the reality of the projects EP, ER, IPSOM, and UEC (Kokemohr, 2014, p. 61).

In all the conflicting and critical situations and circumstances (internal and external), the founding partners could unite despite their sociocultural differences to struggle for their ideas and initiatives, just like RK and JBK. Although they had misunderstandings, they had always come together whenever there was an internal or an external threat to the projects (ibid., p. 62). As they pointed out in their paper of 1993 (p. 5) about the conditions for sustainable model school projects:

a) A model school is always a risky endeavor. Because it can become a challenge for the surrounding schools and the outsiders' preconceived schooling ideas thus, it requires someone who, guided by the idea of the *Ecole Pilote*, can promote its ideals and is politically strong enough to defend the project against opponents. Naturally, the *Ecole Pilote* must convince people through its strength as well. Nevertheless, it is necessary to have political support until school practice has become a reality and is understood and accepted by the public.

b) As the model school starts its reform on the level of interaction within the concrete practice, problems and questions will continue to arise. Especially at the beginning of the reform, teachers will frequently be unable to find solutions by themselves for these kinds of questions and problems. Therefore, it is necessary to have a person to advise the staff in their teaching. Such a counselor must be reliable, experienced, and skilled in the sense of the basic didactical principles of the model school (*sens unique*, *sens divers*). This

> kind of counseling should be continued until the school practice has become a matter of course in its basic structures.

Both had played these roles committedly, looking beyond their substantial interests and sociocultural differences to struggle "ensemble" (as it is common to the Bamiléké culture of "on colle ensemble") for the sustainability and development of the ideas, values, visions, and cooperative projects. Therefore, the more the partners supported their economic interests, the more the projects tended to die once they ended. The more they favor their different *habitus*, the less innovative they become in the projects. The more they can identify themselves with the ideas and visions of the projects put in place, the more they are willing to struggle for the financial sustainability of these projects. In these struggles, they interact and put aside any conflicts. Fonssi (2008, p. 8) acknowledged that such

> crises and conflicts are inevitable. Nevertheless, this inevitability does not mean antagonisms should prevail over attractions, nor does it mean that attractions should take precedence over antagonisms. Neither should the same conflicts arise, and that heterogeneity prevails over homogeneity. Too much heterogeneity and antagonism kill the system. Just as too much attraction and homogeneity predispose the project to a single sense and degrade its values into doctrines, i.e., theories closed on themselves (own translation).

Although this observation sounds idealistic, the interpretation of the historical development of the project UEC highlights crises momentums that triggered the emergence of a new orientation of the projects from in-service training courses at CPF, the project CERP in EP, ER, and IPSOM to the creation of the UEC as reconstructed in figure 15 below.

The creation of UEC with four faculties has contributed to the multiplication of pedagogical challenges regarding the everyday practice of its founding principles above discussed. Most of the teaching staff is recruited part-time and have little idea and experience about these pedagogic reform ideas (Fonssi, 2018). Though impregnation seminars and workshops were yearly organized for their benefit, their commonplace[95] (Quan et al., 2017) pedagogical habitus has often constituted and constitutes a drawback to working according to the reform principles.

---

95 Quan et al. (2017, pp. 638-639) citing Schwab, 1973, p. 504) describe teachers' commonplace as referring "to knowledge of the teachers: their backgrounds, 'personalities, characters, and prevailing mods'". The latter submits that it "should include what these teachers are likely to know and how flexible and ready they are likely to be to learn new materials and new ways of teaching" (ibid., p.639). This observation of Schwab matches the point developed in this work about teachers' sociocultural backgrounds being significant in their professional quality development. It is therefore a question of habitus transformation in teacher education.

Figure 14: Reconstruction of the timeline of the EEC pedagogical reform projects in Mbouo-Bandjoun

1986-1990
RK and JBK's field
research within the
framework of CPF
and CEBEC-EEC
schools

Primary school teachers from CEBEC schools (EEC and UEBC) are regularly introduced to pedagogical and school reform ideas in CPF

CPF de Mbouo (1975?)
➢In-service teacher training programs
➢Project *Réseau Ecole et Développement* (1986-87)
➢Project of social and pastoral animation (1988), Department of Rural Auto-Formation
➢Agricultural development projects (from 2013), professional training in agriculture
It all started at CPF: (1986-1990) empiric research resulting in teaching and learning principles of the *École Pilote de Mbo* in 1991

(1991-1995) *EP de Mbouo*
➢*Sens divers*
➢*Interaction*
➢*Responsabilité réciproque*
CERP (1994)
➢Empiric research and theoretic training

1991-2003
Experiences of EP-
CERP-ER

(1995 -1998) *ER de Mbouo*
➢Teaching-learning based on the reform principles developed in the *EP*
➢Empiric research and theoretic training by CERP
➢Research and symposia (Hamburg-Batié) in view of the project IPSOM (1997-2003)

(2005-2010) *IPSOM*, official appellation *ISP*
Secondary school teacher training courses (Bachelor) based on pedagogical principles of *sens divers, interaction, responsabilité réciproque*
•Didactics of English
•Didactics of French
•Didactics of history and geography
•Didactics of mathematics

2005-2010-today
Experience of
IPSOM-UEC

(2010) creation of the *UEC* official appellation *IUEC* under the founding principles of *sens divers, interaction, responsabilité réciproque* and with the motto of ethics, creativity, and excellence
•IPSOM renamed Faculty of Sciences of Education
•Faculty of Medicine and Health Sciences (2010-2013) = Department of Biomedical Sciences (2013-2017) = Faculty of Sciences and Technologies (from 2017)
•Faculty of Agronomy and Environmental Sciences
•Faculty of Protestant Theology and Sciences of Religion (independent Campus in Ndoungué)

[B.M.D university system]

(Source: author)

Many claimed that medical, agronomic and theological subjects are proven bodies of knowledge to be taught as such and are, therefore, neither open to *sens divers* nor allow criticism (Fonssi, 2018). Students raise voices against dominant transmissive teaching and learning methods during forum sessions, asking for more room for interaction, discussion, and participative construc-

tion (appropriation) of knowledge in lectures (Hassana, 2013, see also Fonssi, 2018, p.169). The little attention and effort invested in further development of teaching and learning practice quality were limited to some personal initiative of some lectures of didactics courses at the FSE.

In addition to the commitment of some FSE lecturers with more experience in working according to the *sens divers* approach at IPSOM, the UEC administration continued the follow-up research within the Projet d'Appui à l'Amélioration de la Qualité de l'Enseignement Protestant (PAAQEP I and II). Fonssi (2021)[96] , in an e-mail exchange about this book project, commented that the project PAAQEP "tried to consolidate the heritage of the reform experiences of EP-ER until 2018". However, it was almost "impossible, or at least difficult to keep the flame of the pedagogic renovation" (ibid.) since many teachers retired and others were transferred to other schools of EEC. It is worth investing further in the roles of JBK and RK in the development of the above-reconstructed EEC educational reform projects in Mbouo-Bandjoun. The question is: How did the different SCB of Kokemohr and Kenmogne structure their interaction throughout the projects?

Section (5.4.) reconstructs their interests and commitments displayed in interview transcripts to understand further their potential roles in developing the projects.

5.4 Conjugation of Individual Interests as a Building Block of the Projects?

Writing about the individual prerequisites to the projects ER and IPSOM, Kokemohr (2002a, p. 3) claimed that "the projects of the ER and IPSOM are the result of the happy coincidence of two individual lines of interest, the politico-pedagogical interest of the Cameroonian pastor Jean-Blaise Kenmogne as well as my research interest" (own translation). So how did the unification of these different interests help develop the EEC's pedagogical reform projects in Mbouo-Bandjoun? In how far have external political interests influenced the projects? How to understand the concept of *external heterogeneous political interests*? The external, heterogeneous, and political analysis could inform the character of the founders' interests within the context of the cooperative development projects in Cameroon in general and at the EEC in particular. For this purpose, the author uses the contrastive technique of explanation.

---

96 In an E-Mail of February 9, 2021, he suggested some points about the projects EP, ER, IPSOM, and UEC.

In the development process of the pedagogical reform projects in Mbouo, external/outsider interests fundamentally oppose internal/insider interests. Meanwhile, heterogeneous is contrastive to homogeneous, and political, in this context, is opposed to pedagogical/didactic. In other words, external heterogeneous political interests are synonymous with internal homogeneous (i.e., having the same objective) pedagogical or didactic reform interests. In this sense, the outsiders' political interests are antonymic to the insiders' pedagogical and didactic reform dynamics, outlined as an action program (practice of innovative pedagogy and didactics in classrooms and bloc seminars for teacher training) as well as a field research program (empirical pedagogical research in the social environment of the Pilot School). Such antonymic parallel interests comprise power control over the projects for either a search of a charismatic subjective power (culture of visibility and charismatic authority) or the search for the use of an administrative power position to embezzle the projects' finances. In any case, it is a political and subjective fight for power control and exercise.

The interest in studying these parallel power relations influencing the projects resides in reconstructing how the projects handle these to survive or undergo a factual unexpected positive or negative transformation. The interviewees' perspective aims to analyze how innovation can fight against an established habitus and an open field of the projects' self-transformation perspectives within this conflicting context of interests. Often it appears as if it is within such a crisis that innovation emerges. In this sense, Tchombe (1999), writing about "Structural reforms in education in Cameroon," notices and recommends that: "In significant ways, outside prescriptions have disrupted the progress of the system for development and even change. Until the government assumes its responsibility and demonstrates the appropriate political will to see reforms in the context of Cameroon realities, both reactionary internal and unrealistic external factors will get in the way of progress in education".

5.4.1 Kokemohr's Academic Research Interest and his Commitment to the Projects in Mbouo

An expert interview was conducted with him in 2017 to interpret the background of Kokemohr's research interest in the context of these projects. Transcripts of interviews with RK and JBK were anonymized. This project's reconstruction addresses its historical development process. They are used as secondary sources of information and not as primary research data for analysis and the interpretation of sociocultural background features of actors of the projects. Another reason for not anonymizing the transcripts is that comparative information from both biographies or about the roles played by different

parties is available (Kokemohr, 2002, p. 3; Foaleng, 2005; Kä Mana, 2012; Hassana, 2013; Fonssi, 2018). Extracts from these transcripts are translated into English for the fluency of the present text.

Concerning his research interest in Cameroon, Kokemohr considered a pedagogical interaction great in analyzing teaching and learning processes. This interest in interaction dynamics of teaching-learning processes refers to his personal history, as can be found in the following sentence introducing the discussion during the expert interview: "In my own story, the question of interaction has played a role" (own translation of the transcript). The question of interaction as a field of educational research proved to have played a vital role in Kokemohr's personal history and further in the orientation of his research career. The school change had made him experience a "very difficult phase" in his high school education due to the family moving to another town for professional reasons. The problem does not emanate from his changing school but rather from his interaction with the teaching staff and school administration, mainly constituting school professionals of the Second World War.

In other words, the after-war context of the 1950s (Gass-Bolm, 2005) was somehow problematic in his German education since many teachers returned with mental disturbances, as Kokemohr phrased it in his autobiographical narration, "and that is the kind of guy I had as headmaster. A sadist" (transcript of interview, own translation). He had to fight his way through school, and, thus, he did not consider it an easy time but rather a time of struggle.

After his doctoral studies, he was interested in how the theoretic concepts function within the concrete level of pedagogical interaction, portraying an empiric interest in the philosophical development of linguistics. This interest consisted in investigating how inter-subjectivity constructs itself in the process of teaching and learning. Although he had the privilege of contacting hermeneutics scholars researching the field of symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology in the USA, Kokemohr wanted to address inter-subjectivity in teaching-learning from a non-European culture setting. He stated: "If we want to know more, it is necessary to go into a non-European culture" because he wanted "to come to essential new insights beyond" the western culture (own translation; see also Kokemohr, 2002a, p. 4).

This search for a non-European culture for pedagogical research brought him to Cameroon. In 1986, Kokemohr (ibid.) considered a visiting invitation offered by a former member of his doctoral colloquium who, in 1983, started working as a development helper in the role of pedagogical counselor at the *Centre Polyvalent de Formation* (CPF). This was a chance to access educational research fields within the context of CPF and its in-service teacher training programs. In the beginning, this interest was purely an empiric research interest with no practical intention to implement a pedagogical reform

project (ibid.). From 1986 to 1990, he conducted field research on how individuals or groups work out the numerous and new challenging problems they encounter in their everyday lives (ibid., p. 5). He stressed that some of these problems were due to the economic crisis of 1985, which led to the privatization of many state companies through the World Bank with subsequent poverty, the closure of teacher training colleges, and the structural transformation in families. Kokemohr's research principally scoped the pedagogical interaction analysis encompassing the theoretic educational question that addressed cultural resources accounting for possible transformations of the self and world relations (ibid.). He used a micro-analysis of concrete interaction processes in pedagogical and social situations.

He regularly stayed in Cameroon for field research about interaction (pedagogical and social) and theoretical reflections to improve pedagogical and didactic realities in Cameroon's educational context (Kokemohr, 2014). The cooperation with EEC scholars, especially with Kenmogne, then Director of the CPF, provided him with an overview of the endemic infrastructural challenges and the dominance of frontal teaching and learning processes. These, coupled with socio-political and cultural traumas of colonization, tragic impacts of struggles for independence, and the challenging process of setting a national administration after independence (Deltombe et al., 2016), helped to durably establish a particular fear of an active or reactive commitment of the population to look for solutions to their problems themselves (Kokemohr, 2014). The tendency of passivity and the expectation of external solutions to social, and sometimes even individual, problems were triggered by this fear resulting from a problematic common experience of history (ibid.). A dominant orientation of teacher-centered interaction was observable in most pedagogical settings, and a dominant administration-centered (chieftaincy) orientation of social interaction in educational and family settings (ibid.). Kokemohr's research in education and the training of teachers within the EEC pedagogical reform projects in Mbouo-Bandjoun were conducted in cooperation with Kenmogne. Kenmogne's educational interests are political commitment to quality education and social life (Kokemohr, 2002a; Kenmogne & Kä Mana, 2002).

5.4.2   Kenmogne's Political and Pedagogical Interests and his Commitment to the Projects in Mbouo

Kenmogne's political and pedagogical interests are also closely linked to his biography. The time Kenmogne spent in France for his studies (1975-1981) played a vital role in the crystallization of his interest in developmental politics and, later, in educational politics. After his CAP Certificate in automobile mechanics in 1972, he worked as a state public servant for three years before

getting a scholarship for a six-month internship in France in 1975 to special-ize in Diesel motors (Kokemohr, 2002a, p. 3). He was introduced to a prayer meeting in a Protestant church during this internship period. Kenmogne stat-ed: "It was at this prayer meeting that I truly lived the experience of Christian conversion. And it was there that I decided to be a pastor" (own translation from the French transcript). This experience of authentic conversion to the Christian faith also marked his professional conversion to pastorship instead of pursuing his career as a specialist in Diesel motors.

At the same time, he discovered the real history of Cameroon's political struggle for independence after having read the book of Mongo Beti entitled: *Main Basse sur le Cameroun*, at the time banished in France. The book re-counts the history of political figures of independence, such as Ernest Ouandjie, Um Nyobé, and Félix Moumié (see also Kenmogne 2012, pp. 44-45), portrayed as the *maquisards* by the French colonialists and the govern-ment of Ahidjo after the independence of Cameroon in 1960. Moreover, Kenmogne was fascinated by the figure of Bishop Albert Dogmo. He in-spired the political orientation of his future pastoral profession. He stressed that "this Cameroonian Bishop is a priest who, from the beginning, wanted to make the gospel of the word of God, an engine of development" (own trans-lation from the French transcript). The two experiences of 1975 were "ex-tremely important" (ibid.) in the transformation (i.e., change) of both the spiritual and the professional personality of Kenmogne. The latter experience is portrayed as a "political theology of liberation" (Kenmogne et al., 2002, own translation). He stated further:

> And it was, therefore, from this moment that, for me as a Christian and later as a Pastor, since I decided to be a pastor, the question of political commitment be-came a necessity. However not a political commitment in the political sense of a political party. Political commitment in the sense that, I think that, when we un-dertake projects for the liberation of the individual, projects for the liberation of men and women in a society, in any society, whether we like it or not, this com-mitment has a political connection (excerpt from the transcript, own translation).

Kenmogne was convinced that "the church can only fulfill its true mission by emphasizing the social and political dimension of the gospel" (ibid., own translation). After his internship in Diesel motor mechanics in 1975, he stud-ied theology and philosophy in Montpellier and Paris. He returned to Came-roon in 1981 and was posted as a chaplain in the Protestant Hospital of Ndoungué in 1982. There he was confronted with the tragic reality of sick-ness and poverty of patients, which reinforced his belief that the gospel must also address the social dimensions of the present life. He confessed: "It was during this first year that I discovered that the gospel must not only remain a spiritual question, but it must rather have social roots, fundamentally social" (ibid., own translation). One year later (in 1983), he was transferred to the Theological School of Ndoungué as a trainer. He assumed that "in the train-

176

ing of pastors, I always seek to insist that if the gospel does not have a role to play today, then it is worth nothing as a gospel" (ibid., own translation).

Another important experience of Kenmogne in Ndoungué was related to his part-time teaching activities in the Protestant College, where he taught philosophy, history, and geography to high school students. In June 1982, he was asked to give a speech in front of the administrative officials of the town on the very first ceremony of price distribution to college students. He had prepared a speech on the subject *Ecole et Développement* (school and development) with the claim that "a school is an important tool for national development and reconciliation/national unity" (ibid., own translation). As a part-time college teacher, he viewed education as a political instrument to develop the nation, promote its unity and advocate reconciliation.

Kenmogne's experiences in France as a student and in Ndoungué as a chaplain, a theology teacher, and a part-time college teacher contributed to the political and strategic orientation of EEC pedagogical reform projects in Mbouo. He was committed as Director of CPF (1986-1993), Coordinator of ER-CERP (1994-2003), administrative Delegate of IPSOM (2005-2010), and now Rector of the UEC (since 2010). In his book, published in 2012 with the title: *Pour une Revolution de l'Ecole par la Revolution de l'Intelligence*, he metaphorically portrays his political and strategic role "like an orchestra conductor in a fiery concert" (Kenmogne, 2012, p. 9).

Kenmogne is the Rector of the UEC. He is considered one of the founders of the UEC. In his capacity as the first person in charge of the UEC, he is the guarantor of the university education policy of the institution. He was and still is, together with Kokemohr, one of the thinkers of educational innovation in the school and the university context of the UEC. He has nourished and continues to nourish the project of a school at the service of social transformation. He was the first who contributed to research and reflections that led to the pedagogical principles of the various founding meanings of the UEC, of which he is not only a precursor but also a major and unavoidable actor.

The interest in Kenmogne's work on the founding principles of the UEC focuses on the impact of the interdisciplinary nature of his competencies as an ecologist, educator, and defender of human rights on the general university policy of the UEC. So, which contribution does the multi-disciplinary commitment of Kenmogne strategically make to the educational philosophy of *sens divers*? How would one interpret such a tint in the university policy of the UEC? These questions will guide the author's attempt to analyze Kenmogne's reflections on the founding principles, the weekly forum, and the seminars to stimulate the actors of the UEC with his pedagogical philosophy. To elucidate this reflection, the author wrote to him via e-mail. In an e-

mail interview[97] on March 12, 2012, Kenmogne portrayed himself as a political strategist who unites many stakeholders concerning religious, educational, ecological, and human rights (Hassana, 2013, pp. 41-42). Like an experienced strategist, he handled organizational, financial, political, and socio-anthropological issues to concretize innovative ideas in an institutional form. This political and strategist portrait of Kenmogne can also be found in his booklet published in 2012 in UEC and entitled: *Pour une Révolution de l'Ecole par la Révolution de l'Intelligence*. He viewed himself as a strategic animator and a coordinator of a group of expert researchers comprising Fonssi, Kokemohr, and Kä Mana (ibid., p. 10). Kenmogne pointed to his pivotal role in the projects (CPF, EP, ER, IPSOM, UEC) by claiming that:

97 In these e-mails (see Hassana, 2013, pp .41-42, own translation of the original mail from French into English), Kenmogne stressed his current commitment in developmental and social projects. "For more than 25 years now, I have been engaged in the search for ways to bring about a deep and positive transformation of education systems and structures in Cameroon and Africa. This research has led me to understand that it is not possible to train the rising generations with the old recipes of authoritarian and pyramidal pedagogies that are currently saturated in their capacity to change society for the development and construction of an emerging Africa. I also know that it is not enough to attack these old pedagogies to claim to revitalise education in Africa and to innovate teaching methods. We need more, much more. In particular: the mobilization of intellectual forces and research energies to identify the essential problems of African education systems and to analyse the causes of the current crisis in education in Africa, the bringing together of several fields of knowledge and expertise to build a global and fertile vision of what needs to be done, the widest possible dissemination of research findings in terms of methods and opportunities for innovation and the animation of concrete places that truly embody change. The multiplicity of my commitments in society and the plurality of my fields of action do not constitute a dispersion or a loss of energy. Rather, they are articulated around these four requirements which they feed for more fruitful and consistent results. My commitment in the church as a pastor constitutes a fundamental anchor to give all my struggles a spiritual silt and the strength of faith to hope and to release the breath of resurrection in front of all the obstacles and all the powers of death that destroy life in Africa. My commitment to the International Circle for the Promotion of Creation (CIPCRE) allows me to have a vision of education centered on development in the full sense of perennial human promotion. My involvement in civil society and in networks fighting for human rights, especially for minorities, is a battle for values, essential values without which the togetherness of human communities loses all substance. My involvement in economic and financial life and in debates on alter-globalization gives me the strength to empower myself. The field of education unites all these commitments and gives them a direction of social transformation of which the principles of the UEC are the radiant expression."

I animate the overall vision, coordinate the movements, and focus on strategies like a conductor in a fiery concert whose success, dynamics, and influence he must ensure. I also ensure that the team is enriched with new talent and that new people are brought in for research workshops and reflection seminars. Above all, I assure to anchor our work in the concrete practice of education, the concern of which must be to live in institutions, such as the Evangelical University of Cameroon, which I currently have the honor of directing (ibid., own translation).

So, how did these two actors of the reform projects in Mbo unite their individual academic and political interests? How did this play a significant role in developing EP, ER, IPSOM, and UEC?

To sum up, the development of pedagogical reform projects in EP-ER (CERP) and IPSOM-UEC in Mbouo-Bandjoun was not linearly planned (Kokemohr, 1990; 2014). Many circumstances led to the initiation of these projects. These include the personal interests of actors such as presidents of the EEC, Rév. Kenmogne, Kokemohr, the Direction of the EEC school system, and many other participants from EEC and the German partner organization EZE – EED – Bread for the World and scholars of the faculty of education of the University of Hamburg. The intention and commitment in those pedagogical reform projects developed progressively by either capitalizing on field research findings or strategically reacting to external political power struggles and interests during the projects. Although the first years of the EP and the ER were quite peaceful, external factors were somehow influential and triggered transitions, changes and innovations that contributed to creating a private teacher training institution in Mbouo. How significantly can this observation inform the critical and pedagogical reception of reform ideas (principles) claimed at EP-ER and IPSOM-UEC? This question constitutes the essence of chapter 6 below.

6 The Reception of the Pedagogical Reform Ideas in EP-ER and IPSOM-UEC

The pedagogical and didactic paradigm of diversity of meaning (*sens divers*), as developed at EP-ER and IPSOM-UEC, is present in the current discourse of the teaching-learning process. For instance, Combe and Gebhard (2012) pled for considering a "learner's perspective" in pedagogical and didactic situations. Their advocacy of *Phantasien* in education seems to meet the sense of Kokemohr's (2018, p. 68) reflection on "how can education meet the open future of complex societies" and the related uncertainty. For, "growing up is different from a simple transfer of knowledge, abilities, norms, and values," as it appears in a linear education. Dealing with uncertainty in classrooms and schools provides learners with multiple phantasies to handle a problem.

Therefore, a diversity perspective of education could create opportunities for the creativity of learners and teachers that might start a mono-logical orientation of the teaching and learning process. Hence, Bähr et al. (2019, p. 4) see "crisis and irritation as starting points for educational processes" (own translation) in the perspective of *Bildung* as a transformation process (Koller, 2011; 2017). Many other education researchers stress social and contextual issues of the teaching and learning process in the natural and mathematical sciences. Yasukawa et al. (2018) investigated numeracy as a social practice, while D'Ambrosio (2001) introduced the concept of ethnomathematics in teaching and learning mathematics.

This chapter highlights the contributions to the development of the pedagogical reform principles of the UEC. In the IPSOM-UEC, one of the prominent researchers who stressed controversies, risks, and limitations of the three principles is (6.1) Moukoko Priso, a mathematics teacher at IPSOM-UEC. Other trainers and researchers within these projects also contributed to (6.2) the philosophical reflections, (6.3) the practical pedagogical shortcomings and a didactic capitalization, and (6.4) the conceptual systematization of the principles of *sens divers*, *interaction,* and *responsabilité réciproque*. Some strategic (6.5) instruments for the appropriation and reflection on these principles are also analyzed.

6.1 Moukoko Priso's Contribution to the Discussion and Development of the Pedagogical Reform Principles at the UEC

Moukoko had tried to discuss the implications and challenges of these principles in his subject domain (didactics of maths) and in the general pedagogy and school reform dynamics (theory of involution of the reform). He (1999) highlighted the necessity of a concept of clarification to limit misunderstandings and misinterpretations by the stakeholders of the project CERP. He underlined the presupposition that the transition character seemed to be limited to some societies, commonly categorized as Third World Countries. According to Moukoko, "all human societies are in transition. The content and form of the transition could vary from one society to another. [However], the situation of African countries is that of a severe crisis of generalized transition of the whole continent" (ibid., p. 1, own translation). The specificity of the transition in African societies encompasses an economic precarity, political and cultural domination from foreigners, and destabilization of all sorts (armed conflicts, terrorism). These multiple transitional challenges led to the observation by Moukoko that "the absence of creativity is quasi-general" (ibid., p. 3).

Therefore, African societies needed people who could innovate and permanently invent, meaning people who possess great intellectual creativity. He joined the position of CERP-EEC, which highlights the necessity of auto-formation to promote learners' creativity in such societies in transition. He also pointed to the educational problem that "the training is essentially based on developing capacities to execute repetitive tasks to the detriment of capacities of reflection, invention, innovation, scientific criticism and creation" (ibid., p. 4).

However, in his agreement with the CERP's philosophy of education and propositions, Moukoko submitted that some of these propositions needed more clarification and a precise reformulation (ibid. p. 6). These included the relation between memory and intelligence, the idea of innate competencies of human beings and their independent learning capabilities, parental assistance to learning, and the necessity to develop the creative thinking capacity of learners. The CERP-EEC project finds that a Cameroonian formal education is oriented towards memorizing a ready-made body of knowledge in most cases.

Consequently, the CERP researchers advised a more learner-centered pedagogy for developing problem-solving capacities. Moukoko thought that educational actors might misinterpret such an observation. He remarked that "generally, any current formulation saying that the memory takes a considerable place in teaching and learning processes is always understood by the

public as implying that those processes do not develop the intelligence. These two functions, memory and intelligence, are, thus, always opposed" (ibid., p. 6, own translation). It is important to point out the possible misunderstanding and misinterpretation of CERP's claims. Hence, Moukoko recalled the scientific works of Laroche (1998, p. 2), who concluded that "memory is one of the essential components of intelligence" (own translation). Therefore, the two terms do not necessarily oppose each other, as could be misinterpreted by the public and even some scientists (Moukoko, 1999, p. 6). Moukoko agreed with Laroche that "there is neither cognition nor intelligence without memory. Thanks to memory, the past guides our perception of the present and permits us to anticipate and adapt" (ibid., own translation).

Moreover, Moukoko pointed out another possible misunderstanding or misinterpretation of CERP's claim that "every formation is based on innate competences of human beings [and the idea according to which] the process of learning cannot be made by others" (ibid., own translation). With Vygotsky and Bruner, he highlighted the limitations of such a possible misinterpretation. According to Vygotsky, quoted by Moukoko (ibid.), "in humans, higher mental processes are deeply influenced by a sociocultural process which mediates them" (ibid., own translation). He, furthermore, considered Bruner's claim that "it is impossible to conceive human development as something else than a process of assistance, collaboration, between the child and the adult; the adult acting as a mediator of the culture" (ibid., own translation). Moukoko concluded with Vygotsky and Bruner that the intervention of adults (others) is significant in a child's school learning process with the condition that the latter takes the role of assistant, mediator, and counselor. The intervention of the others might then help learners develop their potentialities "because [school learning] is that through which the child acquires scientific concepts that Vygotsky distinguishes from natural concepts" (ibid., own translation).

Therefore, according to CERP/EEC, an auto-formation should not exclude the intervention of others (i.e., teachers) in the process of child development. There is only the risk of too much intervention from parents or teachers that might hinder the child's creativity. Moukoko stipulated that

> children's interest in constructing their world and their relations to the world by themselves risks being destroyed by the adults' goodwill who, generally, want to transmit their relations to the world to their descendants through a closed education, using a constituted knowledge, the norms of the adults' world (ibid., own translation).

The CERP/EEC drew attention to the risk of a solely linear education, an educational system relying on close systems of statements (knowledge) to be memorized and reproduced without reflecting the learners. It does not conceive of formal education without such a constituted body of knowledge, according to which present practices are oriented. It only advocates for a

more open education system, allowing the development of a child's creativity of looking at the world differently. Moukoko used Vygotsky's "zone of near development of the child" (ibid., own translation) to illustrate this advocacy of a child's creativity in the learning process. This zone encompasses mental functions that, at some point, achieve maturity in child development. These include, for example, functions of operation, synthesis, and deduction. Hence, problem-solving in pedagogy helps to trigger and anticipate intellectual development.

A prominent contribution of Moukoko in the discourse of the reform principles of UEC-EEC is his reflection on the possible risks of degeneration of the projects. Moukoko (2008; 2012) hypothesized a real risk that the actors of the target projects reproduced at the end of the current system they tried to change in IPSOM and UEC. Therefore, the risk of reflexivity (Mehan and Wood, 1975) could be identified at the level of students' behavior, the teachers, and the administration staff. Moukoko reflected on how rigid old habits (*habitus*) are and how difficult an endeavor of pedagogical change or reform might be.

6.2 Philosophical Reflection on the Principles

In many of his books on education in Africa, Kä Mana devoted much space to an optimistic and utopic philosophy of education for an African renaissance (Kä Mana, 2010). Being involved in the IPSOM project from its inception to its transformation into the UEC, Kä Mana taught the philosophy of education. His reading of the principles of the various meanings, the foundations of IPSOM and UEC, seems much more philosophical than didactic. For him, the global philosophy of education in Africa today should be based on the most acute awareness of the problems and the construction of an individual and collective personality capable of giving fruitful answers to these problems (ibid). It assigns a philosophical mission to the principle of diversity of meaning/sense, which consists of arming the mind of learners with a capacity to problematize realities and work on questions according to multiple answer possibilities. It views the school as a place of confrontation with problems and a search for multiple answers inducive to the learning of democracy as a space of cooperation, exchange, and concerted action, a space of dynamic and active co-responsibility (ibid.).

Such a mission, in his view, would make it possible to revolutionize African education through a revolution in the imagination of its younger generations. He defined this imagination as the mental place and the dynamics of the mind that are ignited by the representations, basic beliefs, aspirations, dreams, quests, utopias, essential reference points, and self-visions of a per-

son or a community (Kä Mana, 2009). Revolutionizing the African imagination through education would then consist of "putting the school at the school of social and opening society to all the creative dynamics of the school" (own translation) so that an in-depth transformation can be undertaken following the ideals that the imagination of the construction of the New Africa is nourished by an economy of knowledge and a promotion of new knowledge.

According to the Congolese theologian and philosopher, this philosophical project "for a new African model of education" would draw its resources from the principle of the diversity of meaning (ibid.). It redefines the pedagogical and educational orientation in a logic of breaking away from the logic of a single meaning. Thus, it is viewed to replace the training of *poodles* with an educational project that would forge dynamic personalities who would have to invent the New Africa (ibid.). For Hassana (2013, pp. 39-40) summarizing Kä Mana's thoughts, the philosophical project also aims at

> replacing the training of "monkeys" who cannot even imitate Europe properly by training "New Africans" who are capable of creating new knowledge, of abandoning a school of Panurge sheep in favor of training the "tracers" of new ways of our destiny, of openers of new horizons and surveyors of new fields of vision and curbing the parrot complex through training of a will of intellectual, ethical and spiritual power in a drive to invent our future (own translation).

Therefore, this philosophical vision of the approach of IPSOM, according to Kä Mana, is a vision of incrementing a new utopia, a new logic of self- and world-relationship through education in Africa. Kä Mana's contribution to the discussion on the foundation principles of IPSOM-UEC has been significant in forum sessions, conference papers, courses on ethics and the philosophy of education, and various publications between 2005 and 2012.

Another philosopher who dedicated some reflections on IPSOM and UEC pedagogical reform ideas is Eboussi Boulaga. His contributions to conferences, workshops, seminars, and colloquia within the framework of the projects were significant in reformulating the concept of a reciprocal responsibility to include the notion of corporateness (Eboussi Boulaga, 2008). The follow-up research program of IPSOM (2006-2010) benefitted from his exceptional competency in international and intercultural coordination and monitoring of conferences, workshops, and colloquia. He also provided a comparative discussion on the challenges of university innovation by invoking the experience of the Université des Montagnes (Eboussi Boulaga, 2008). Eboussi Boulaga (2010) clarified the concepts and ideas of IPSOM and UEC. He viewed the principle of diversity of meaning from the perspective of what he called "positive multiplicity" (own translation) of the subject of knowledge that is constructed around a "point of view," a perspective, and a "target." Eboussi Boulaga claimed that "it is, therefore, possible to consider the same subject from different angles. The sense (meaning) is an orientation of attention which specifies, valorizes, gives significance to some features, to

a variety of features" (ibid., p. 31, own translation). In this regard, the *Principle of the sens divers* essentially aims to scope such knowledge's validity. The diversity of meaning (*sense*) does not nihilate its unicity; it only pluralizes it. Hence, in the words of Eboussi Boulaga: "many principles of unification, coherence, and order are possible. One can, thus, compare them, prefer one rather than other for some reason to be produced, grade them" (ibid., p.31).

As far as the principle of interaction is concerned, Eboussi Boulaga linked it to the idea of a practice of a correct attitude and compliance to the situation of scientific knowledge, henceforth always partial, nevertheless controlled, but tentative. As such, individual and collective experiences are related. He saw a pedagogical interaction both as bilateral and multi-lateral, encompassing the idea that all learners already possess a multitude of knowledge and experience, integrating some new knowledge into the existing frame. It allows a "topical and thematic judgment by discriminating the different domains of knowledge application and its degree and level of validity" (ibid., p. 32, own translation).

Regarding the reformulation of the principle of reciprocal responsibility, Eboussi Boulaga found the idea of corporateness to better fit the contextual life within the Cameroonian African sociocultural frames. It suggests that "the imputation of success and failure, order and disorder, under their diverse forms" (ibid.) concerns all the members of IPSOM as an institution. Moreover, corporate responsibility encompasses the results and processes of the actors' interactions towards tackling a pedagogical and an educational problem. Eboussi Boulaga submitted that "meaning is 'inter-said' (*entre-dit*). It is what emerges from dialogues. The interest is in the link between different individuals. That is, what interests all, placed in the middle and grasped by each one, within their reach and at their disposal" (ibid.).

Overall, Eboussi Boulaga considered the principles of IPSOM as strategic objectives to transform a situation supposedly in transition. He conceived them as "regulating ideas of a pedagogy capable of doing the past in the present and the future. They are thus criticism and project" (ibid., p. 34, own translation).[98] The Approach of IPSOM multiplies sources of knowledge and makes it a result of creative interaction and a matter of all and each. According to Eboussi Boulaga: "The principles are neither techniques nor receipts. They trigger an implementation, which they can enlighten, but which invents itself" (ibid., own translation). These views conceive the pedagogical reform principles of UEC as dynamic, open to improvement according to pedagogical and didactic problems, contexts and situations, and the development of the educational discourse.

---

98 The original French text says: „Les principes sont les idées régulatrices d'une pédagogie capable de faire du passé pour etre en phase avec le présent et l'avenir. Ils sont donc critique et projet" (Eboussi Boula, 2010, p. 34.).

6.3 Pedagogical and Didactic Contributions to the Discourse on the Principles

In EP-ER and IPSOM-UEC, contributions and criticism to the reform principles have been experienced. These concerned the pedagogical orientations of the principles and their practicability in didactics and social life.

As far as criticism of the experience in EP and ER is concerned, Foaleng (2008a) raised some controversies around the practice of the principle of corporate/reciprocal responsibility. His concern was about "how the principle of reciprocal responsibility could be used efficiently if no one had a sense of responsibility" (ibid., p. 4, own translation). He tried to address this question from his observation of the daily life of ER during the school year 2006/2007, preferring to work with the instances of ER in his role as the *Responsable Scientifique* of IPSOM. Foaleng claimed that the Director of the ER "felt powerless in front of the colleagues who thought they were all equal because of the principles of ER structuring the internal hierarchy of the school" (ibid., own translation). His criticism was that the reform principles had attempted a deconstruction of "traditional roles," and he stated that "if social positions are above all social constructs, no one doubts that these constructs influence the behavior of individuals" (ibid., own translation). According to Foaleng, these constructs attempt to deconstruct traditional roles; however, they nourish themselves from these roles at ER. This is why "the principles that thought to cement this deconstruction seem, in the end, to create confusion in the behavior, the default aggravated by the lack of a referential known by all" (ibid., own translation).

Foaleng's criticism of the *Principle of reciprocal responsibility* mainly concerns its misinterpretation as a principle equilibrating the responsibility between the director and the teachers, thus inhibiting the hierarchical position of the former. The Director of ER developed a kind of reluctance and reserve in decision making, fearing either a remonstrance from the project founders (Foaleng, 2008a, p. 6) or the disrespect of his teaching staff. The Director considered the mechanism adopted accordingly as a drawback of his position, which made him feel powerless. Foaleng argued that this misinterpretation and its consequences for the behavior of the different ER actors were motivated by the implicit hypothesis of "de-traditionalizing" the Bamiléké traditional chieftaincy system (ibid., p. 3, pp. 6-7, own translation).

Therefore, he proposed to reestablish the Director's role of "chef" under the sociocultural reality of the Bamiléké *chefférie* system, which, according to him, had survived the cultural domination of colonization. This proposition transpired in the form of questions like: "Could it be bad to make the Director a real chief? Meaning to insist on the reciprocity of the responsibility in an explicit agreement of the hierarchy; having teachers who might have been his

notables and who, together, might have been responsible for the future of this school." (ibid., p. 10, own translation).

Furthermore, Foaleng argued that "for not having been attentive to this profound dimension [the traditional dimension of chef] of cultural practices of the Bamiléké, the *cheffatale structure* had been blamed for relatively disfunctioning the school institution leading to the difficulty in putting in practice the principles of the school" (ibid., own translation). His metaphorical description (*cheffatale structure)* depicts the set of ER instruments promoting the *Principle of reciprocal responsibility*. He assumed that, "the circumstances of the reform project seem to have created its structures, which, for a long time, have hindered its success" (ibid., p. 12, own translation). Foaleng's criticism of the reform principles in ER could be related to his "theoretical postcolonial position" regarding North-South cooperation sustaining development projects in Africa (Foaleng, 2005). He then raised attention to the postcolonial and accultural dimensions of intercultural pedagogy. One can understand why he claimed to defend the "traditional chieftaincy" system of the Bamiléké folk, a system which, to the best of the author of this work's knowledge, is not peculiar to this society considering the multi-cultural and multi-ethnic context of Cameroon (Kokemohr, 2015). Even though many empiric and contextual studies accompanied the projects in Mbouo, Foaleng (2008b) found that they did not help enough considering the "profound dimension of the Bamiléké cultural practices" and its "traditional chieftaincies" structure of the sociocultural organization (ibid., p. 10).

However, the adoption of the principle of a reciprocal responsibility at ER was motivated by the empiric observation that the teachers were passive in decision-making regarding problems in school. They tended to wait for solutions from the director (Kokemohr, 2014). The principle was then introduced to encourage teachers to take more responsibility and be critical and receptive to critique. Soffo and Kengne (2010, p. 24) recalled a practical experience of this principle, "concretely, for a colleague who was usually late, we did not need to wait that the director came to tell him the danger he was exposing the school to through his behavior" (own translation). Contrary to Foaleng's claim of the "incapacity of everyone to create conditions for discussions and for consultations that were sufficiently effective to permit oneself as well as others, not only to be aware of responsibilities but also to afford the means of assuming them" (ibid., own translation), Soffo and Kengne supported that "the dialogue was open, frank and problems raised by oneself and others found a solution when possible" (ibid., p. 25, own translation). In the case of IPSOM-UEC, many researchers tried to thematize the ideas of the reform projects in their didactic classroom activities as well as in their didactic and pedagogical reflections.

In French didactics, Belibi (2010, p. 81), in his article entitled: *De la Réalité d'un Enseignement Enraciné au Cameroun*, stated the problem of lan-

guage and culture in the education in Cameroon. He acknowledged, together with Ngalasso, that "when African children enter school, they are not disarmed: they arrive with a cultural, intellectual and sentimental background, knowledge and skills, and a privileged means of communication and expression: their mother tongue, which the school takes little consideration and value" (own translation). Belibi stressed that "the school requires the child to abandon outright all those identity values that are regarded as obstacles to change and progress" (ibid., own translation). Therefore, the formal school introduces the child to a new world foreign to his first socialization, a world of foreign languages, French being the sole language of instruction the child must learn concomitant to the school items. Belibi regretted that "the child is forced to give up its cultural backgrounds and adopt the language culture of the school" (ibid., own translation). He denounced a kind of *tabula rasa* of the child's first socialization background by the school system dominated by the French language culture.

One can agree with Belibi that French's sole teaching-learning encompasses serious risks of confronting the learners' cultural identities. This excludes the learners' vernacular language and vehicle languages from school and, thus, prevents them from keeping their cultural prestige (Belibi, 2010, p. 84). This unfortunate observation could surely justify Belibi's claim that "the Cameroonian educational system is extraverted" (own translation), leading to the problem of extinguishing its national languages in the long run. To jugulate such a cultural and linguistic problem in education, Belibi suggested to refer to Norway's experience adopting a system of "rootedness and openness, understood as the convergent teaching of local and foreign languages" (ibid., own translation).

For IPSOM, as an innovative teacher training school, the perspective of a pedagogical convergence of teaching and learning local and foreign languages sounds applicable. In this view, Belibi recommended that IPSOM constitutes itself as an avant-garde laboratory in the matter. He suggested the creation of a department and a laboratory of African ancient and contemporary languages to promote a program of studies oriented towards a pedagogical convergence of teaching and learning local and foreign languages. Concretely, according to him: "The training of language teachers should include an introduction to African linguistics coupled with a specialization in a Cameroonian language chosen from among the national vehicles in addition to the foreign language" (ibid., p. 87, own translation). The programs should also include a module of "an ancient Egyptian because of its proven genetic relationship to contemporary African languages" (ibid., own translation). Unfortunately, even though the relevance of Belibi's reflection concerning the role of language and culture in education is great, his recommendations have neither been implemented at IPSOM nor FSE-UEC. Such an endeavor could have given a further perspective to the pedagogical reform principles

claimed. Fortunately, the current curricula of *Ecole Normale Supérieure* (ENS) entail teaching and learning national cultures and languages (Hotou et al., 2016).

Another IPSOM trainer, Meppa Womeni (2008), also attempted to implement a didactic exemplification of teaching according to the *sens divers* approach. Her paper: *Approche de l'IPSOM et Pratiques Didactiques en Classe de Lecture* highlighted a multi-perspective of teaching-learning reading skills. Meppa conceived reading as an activity of understanding, constructing, and reconstructing a meaning of a text. Thus, reading could be plural depending on different axes or entries. She distinguished screening reading from scanning critical and intensive or studious ones. There are also different models of reading corresponding with diverse grids. These include onomasiological, semasiological, and dialectic models. Besides, Meppa discussed different reading approaches, comprising thematic and historical ones. According to Meppa (ibid., p. 3):

> To approach a reading text according to the IPSOM principles is to understand it and state one's point of view on its meaning. However, a diversity of points of view or reading grids does not mean that order and coherence disappear, but rather that it becomes pluralized, and one can compare, prefer one grid to another, or use several grids to have several semantic constructions of the same text (own translation).

The significant contribution of Meppa to the development of the principles of IPSOM and UEC stems from her lectures on general and French didactics at the bachelor's level. Most of the student teachers acknowledge her exceptional capacity for explanation, demonstration, moderation, and counseling during her lectures. As responsible for the practical phase of training in this institution, she can assist students effectively during internships with confronting, conciliating, and contextualizing pedagogical, didactic, and psychosociological theories and practical challenges of the fields.

In English didactics, Nkemleke (2010. p. 53) argued that "the notion of a 'method' as a single body of ideas that one needs to master to be able to teach English had already been discarded." Methodologies of teaching and learning English have evolved from grammar-translation methods to recent communicative language teaching methods. A development that contributed to shifting teacher-centered methods to learner-centered ones. Nkemleke highlighted some compatibilities of current practices in English Language Teaching (ELT) with the approach of *sens divers* as claimed in IPSOM. To account for these compatibilities, he argued with Rodgers that "the future of ELT lies in a synthesis of the various approaches and teaching strategies that have proved to be 'successful' in the past" (ibid., p. 57).

This eclecticism in ELT encompasses the ideas of diversity in practices proper to the approach of IPSOM. Language teachers appear to be urged to approach language teaching in this eclectic perspective and not adopt a

mono-logical way of predominantly approaching English lessons. The recent development of ELT in the 21st century has focused on knowing the learners and their needs, their learning styles and motivations, eliciting the total functional response of the students, and considering the interdisciplinary perspective of ELT in classrooms. The latter appeals to teachers to be aware of several factors influencing a language classroom. Nkemleke summarized these factors in the following figure.

Figure 15: An interdisciplinary perspective of the learner-learning situations
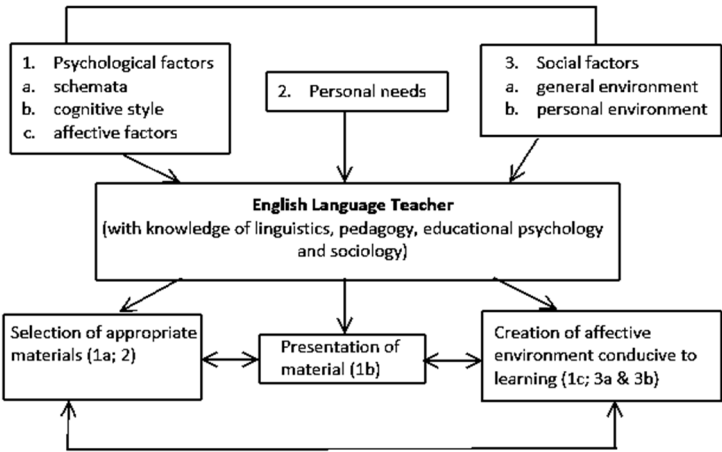
(Source: Nkemleke, 2010, p. 61)

The figure above depicts an interdisciplinary perspective of ELT entailing multiple psychological, affective, social, personal, and subject-related knowledge factors that should be taught in teacher-training institutions to provide students with the appropriate overall knowledge necessary for an effective ELT classroom. Therefore, as promoted at IPSOM and UEC, the principle of diversity challenges teachers to invest in these multiple factors of learning, avoiding a homogeneous unidirectional practice of teaching characterizing most classroom situations in Cameroon. Nkemleke concluded that "placing the learners at the center of teaching and learning and letting them discover meaning through using the language in a multiplicity of contexts in and out of the classroom should characterize a good English language teaching and learning situation" (ibid., p. 64). The IPSOM approach was designed to achieve such an objective in teacher education and classroom practice. However, realizing such a holistic perspective of didactics appears to be compromised by the contextual realities of overcrowded classrooms, coupled with a tremendous lack of supporting didactic materials and resources.

Mpoche (2008) discussed some of the above-mentioned contextual challenges of IPSOM. He agreed with Heath (1986) that "it is not possible to assess cognitive abilities cross-culturally without taking into consideration the social context in which intellectual skills have been learned and are routinely used" (ibid., p.3). Social, communal, and relational factors, therefore, appear important for any educational reform endeavor because "the child or learner is not an isolated entity. He or she is part of the society, and their social backgrounds significantly influence their academic success" (ibid., p. 3). Mpoche's claim supports the research interest of this work on the significance of the sociocultural backgrounds in assuring a quality teacher education in Cameroon. Investigating how IPSOM copes with local and global educational stands, Mpoche admitted that the content of its pedagogical programs is "exemplified in the use of local reality in teaching" and encompasses "an ideology that is neatly embedded in the course contents and the method of transmission" (ibid., p. 9).

However, he acknowledged that: "IPSOM has not broken away from the local practice of using colonial languages for education" (ibid., p. 9), which he considered a prominent challenge in African formal education practice. As far as global education is concerned, Mpoche viewed IPSOM as a center for technological transfer, a place for scholarly learning, theorizing, and experimental practices (ibid., p. 9). The principles of diversity, interaction, and reciprocal responsibility are present in international workshops, research follow-up seminars, and lectures. Mpoche thought that "academically trained teachers will be absorbed by the labor market" (ibid., p. 9) of education. He concluded that: "IPSOM is operating within a backdrop of very strong local forces" (ibid., p. 9), which could pose challenges but could also be measuring the road to success.

In the didactics of history, Eugène Desiré Eloundou (2008) discussed how the teaching and learning of history in school could be a process of "truth" reconstruction, contrary to the dominant pedagogy of transmission of politically interested narrations of past events as historical events. The general claim by most history teachers in Cameroon is that "history is the past, and who says past says memory" (ibid., p. 1). Therefore, teaching this subject in school appears to be narrating past events that the learners memorize. A common argument for this includes the question: Which diversity of meaning could one attribute to the fact that the German Douala treaty was signed on July 12, 1884, or that the Second World War happened between 1939 and 1945? Such an argumentation served and still applies to many history teachers who adopt a certain dogmatic attitude toward "evident truths" providers and, thus, support the *sens unique* model of teaching and learning history.

Eloundou argued, on the contrary, for the possibility of teaching-learning this subject from the perspective of the IPSOM approach. He advocated that "the History teacher should adopt procedures of 'truth' as well as those of

'narration' in front of learners" because "the path toward the historical truth is thus a construction which depends on several parameters (sources, subjectivities, interests) and a set of methodological exigencies which should make the act of teaching history an interactive act in which every partner participates in the act of the elaboration of the truth" (ibid. p. 2). Eloundou applied this claim to the sense of the principle of reciprocal responsibility because the learner could identify themselves with the result of the process of a "historical truth" reconstruction. The principles of IPSOM are, thus, considered as a perspective from a "unipolar, ideological or interested vision of the history" (ibid.). This means that they trigger a possibility of contradicting some "politically interested historical truths," which are still included of the curricula of the school subject history.

6.4 Fonssi's Contribution to the Conceptualization of the Principles

Fonssi (2018, pp. 187-191) claimed that: "Reciprocal responsibility is a moral principle regulating the rights and duties between individuals and groups within an organization." Hence, he attempted to analyze this principle using the concepts of "mutual-aid, correlation of rights and duties, collegial management of the group class, solidarity of school members, and the ethics of contract in the social organism. His endeavor resulted in the definition of sub-moral principles capturing the essence of these concepts. These comprise the following principles: inclusion encompasses helping each other, every right correlates to duty, optimal management matches with collegial management, solidarity is a totalizer of school success, and the contract is an alternative to a despotic constraint. In the UEC, a structured questionnaire was addressed to the working staff of UEC on Labour Day of May 1, 2014, to address the issue of reciprocal responsibility in handling work duties, rights, accountability, and solidarity among colleagues. Fonssi designed the questionnaire: *Conseiller Pédagogique du Recteur*. The author of this work scanned some of the completed questionnaires (22) that could be found in the archives of the Faculty of Sciences for this research on the foundation principles of the UEC.

The questionnaire was constructed around workers' rights, duties, and relations with the employer (the UEC). Most of the participants claimed to know their rights and duties. However, they commented mostly on their duties, relating them to present, regularity, studiousness, and punctuality. Responding to the issue: "I know my rights and duties," a participant mentioned: "Yes, but not enough, much more duties, no rights, precarious status, no working contract." Another respondent answered "yes" and commented:

"I do my job well and always will when needed." One of them even resumed their understanding of the term rights and duties to "fidelity and punctuality." These comments can help understand the motives to talk more about duties than rights in the workplace. They also inform about the subsequent focus or emphasis of the administration. Concerning the relationship between employees and employers, the term hierarchy appears to be dominant in the questionnaire, depicting the paradigm of the top-down administration practice. Very few claimed to know the working charges/requirements of the "hierarchy" through the brief description of the posts. Many of the participants admitted having no clue about it. Almost no participants claimed to know the regulations and procedures of the management of the UEC.

However, all admitted to being regularly informed in meetings and decision-making in their sectors of activities. Moreover, many participants also admitted to asking for a talk with their "superior" if they disagreed. Concerning the relations between colleagues, all agreed to help each other when needed. Almost all preferred approaching their colleagues to discuss problematic issues in the workplace rather than reporting the issue to their "superior." Therefore, collegial solidarity among workers is confirmed regarding problematic issues or failure in the workplace. They preferred to solve the problem among themselves, as developed by Monsieur Paul and Monsieur Teba in the system of *arranger*, which will be analyzed in the empiric section of this work. Consequently, the relationship between staff and hierarchy appears to be rather defensive, using a strategy of avoidance and distance.

Though administratively designed (because of its conception by the opposition), this small survey informs about how the principle of reciprocal responsibility was used in the context of the UEC to structure the working regulations. The group dynamic of handling contextual and everyday problems seems absent in favor of individual accountability and administrative control. Nevertheless, the survey highlights implicit and practical solidarity among workers as a defense strategy or avoidance of hierarchy control (which is portrayed as fear of retaliation in the questionnaire). This provides information about the coercive character of the hierarchical responsibility control over workers, teachers, and learners in pedagogical situations.

The principle of reciprocal responsibility encompasses possible misinterpretations from both sides. On the one hand, the working class (teachers, support staff, lower administration staff) might not feel accountable for failure, thus, rejecting the responsibility. In such a case, the risk of individual irresponsibility is high, leading to impunity. On the other hand, the administration (hierarchy) could use the principle to reinforce the control over the workers. Therefore, there is the risk of fear, avoidance, and abandonment of constructive criticism concerning the lower hierarchy and despotism concerning the top hierarchy. This and other controversies around the above-reconstructed and discussed pedagogical reform principles have been and are

still subject to criticism. The issues are open for development and have been processually experienced, experimented with, and evolved to address the recent discussion on the competency-based pedagogy and teacher training approach.

Theoretically, the principles have recently been understood as fundamentals of the Active and Creative Pedagogy – *Pédagogie Active et Créative* (PAC), developed in the UEC (Hassana, 2013; Fonssi, 2015; 2018). Fonssi (2018) developed the essence of this concept from the perspective of systematization of these principles in a pedagogical paradigm of active and creative pedagogy. The essay also entails a capitalization of what he called "*les bonnes pratiques*" (good practices) to provide practical and theoretical tips for teaching and learning practices in the view of the PAC pedagogy.

6.5 Practical Mechanisms Claimed to Sustain the Founding Principles of the UEC

In IPSOM and the UEC, the principle of diversity of meaning, interaction, and reciprocal responsibility have been adopted as foundation principles (Kokemohr, 2002a; 2003; Kenmogne, 2007; Fonssi, 2018). To promote these principles in the everyday life of the university, the inventors of the principles developed a strategic mechanism consisting of a scientific follow-up project, which included a weekly forum, a yearly impregnation seminar, and regular follow-up research colloquia.

Hassana (2013) studied the project: *Forum Hebdomadaire* of the UEC for his master's dissertation. According to him, "the weekly forum of the UEC is a space for debates, discussions and academic exchange. It is a specificity of the UEC in the sense that it is one of the pedagogical instruments of the founding principles of this institution" (ibid., p. 12, own translation). Moukoko (2008, p. 9) claimed that

> a very special and original position is given to the weekly forum in the IPSOM-UEC. It is a space where professors, students, and non-teaching staff meet every week to study one or more issues, debate one or more themes, to discuss a problem, all with the aim not to impose a point of view but rather a perspective of openness for all participants" (own translation).

In this light, Hassana's work described some features of the project forum. He stated that "this space has served as a pedagogical framework for the popularization, institutionalization, and legitimization of the founding principles of the IPSOM and UEC" (Hassana, 2013, p. 12, own translation).

In the IPSOM era, the weekly forum was conceived of as *par excellence* for an explanation, an appropriation of the principles of various meanings, an

interaction, and reciprocal responsibility considered in the institute's training philosophy. After IPSOM's transformation to the UEC, the weekly forum survived different requirements and challenges. One of the factors of this differentiation is the transformation of one training offer into two others, two of which are medicine and agronomy. As the players and the target audience grew, the weekly forum had to adapt to these new realities. In the institutional spirit of the UEC, the motivation for the creation of a space, such as the weekly forum, seems to fall into one of the seven main categories of the motivation of Emmanuel Jardin's (2003, p. 265) project CLE (*Collège Lycée Expérimental*). It endeavors to find a place that encompasses real changes and breaks away from the constraints and obstacles characterizing traditional schools.

Hassana's findings on how the forum helped to re-dynamize the foundation principles of the UEC are summarized as follows:

> Lectures and discussions allowed students to theoretically and practically evaluate the principle of diversity of meaning. As far as the theoretical knowledge of the principles is concerned, Moukoko Priso's presentation on the risks of involution in the UEC project made it possible to measure the obstacles to the good functioning of the UEC institutions. Moreover, the various interventions of Prof. Kä Mana regarding these principles made it possible to understand the various concepts structuring the pedagogy of *sens divers*. Regarding the practical side of this pedagogy, it should be noted that the debates in the forum were very interactive; the consideration of the diversity of approaches was remarkable. The students have gained responsibility in taking a stand and learned to criticize both authors' opinions and social behavior within the UEC (Hassana, 2013, p. 93, own translation).

The weekly forum's follow-up research helped demonstrate that it appears to be a significant space for the daily experience of the three principles (ibid.). The forum space also allowed observation of a conscious and an unconscious consideration of the principles by the different actors of the UEC in the forum, debates, crisis management, and social interactions. Furthermore, the research highlighted the increase in the challenges and the stakes of this space within the newly created university. Organizational, strategic, and disciplinary difficulties seem increasingly serious, given the increase in staff and training courses at the UEC. Thus, the implementation endeavor of the UEC's weekly forums from 2010 to 2012 seems to be becoming increasingly complex, considering what Moukoko (2012) discussed as the "risks of involution." It was recommended that these drawbacks of the project forum should be taken seriously to maintain this space as a major instrument conceived to sustain the foundation reform principles claimed as a specificity of the UEC.

Concerning the impregnation seminars and the conferences, they were organized yearly at IPSOM (2005-2010) to provide a discussion panel for

teachers and students about the issues of the reform principles (Foaleng, 2005). They were also often organized from 2010 to 2015 within the framework of the UEC, including sometimes all the faculties and reserved for participants from the faculty of the sciences of education (FSE). The seminars aimed at introducing the principles of IPSOM and UEC to new teaching staff and new students.

The conferences served as a wider platform for research communication, workshops on specific questions on the reform principles, and a reflection on effective strategies for the development of the university institute. Furthermore, colloquia were organized at the beginning of each academic year. However, as the university grew in a number concerning faculties, students, staff and challenges, it became difficult and sometimes impossible to sustain the regularity of those seminars, conferences, and colloquia. These challenges also widened the gap between the faculties concerning the adoption and practice of the principles. Teachers of the faculty of medicine and their dean found it inappropriate to their subject that they considered an objective science, not allowing any diversity of meaning. They decided to stick with their transmissive teaching and learning methods with the argument that they had to cover the training program. Nevertheless, some initiatives with the students and some open-minded teachers of the faculties of medicine and agronomy were fruitful within the forum sessions, which allowed open discussions and open criticism of teaching methods.

The follow-up research program in IPSOM and UEC was included in the founding texts of these institutions as a prominent aspect of a university's mission and activity (Kokemohr, 2002a, 2003). It was strategically and philosophically conceived to promote the creativity of university actors to reflect on the challenges of quality education in a developing country like Cameroon (Kokemohr, 2014). Hassana (2012) underlined that research accompanying a project benefits the realization of the project to a scientific spirit of permanent questioning, thus, allowing a continuous improvement of the project.

The IPSOM project was based on scientific research in educational sciences, which led to a lack of creativity in the Cameroonian educational system (Kokemohr and Kenmogne, 1990; 1993). The project's initiators aimed at creating a research framework conducive to the experiment of a new pedagogical orientation promoting creativity and innovation. A *Recherche d'Accompagnement pour la Redynamisation des Principes Fondateurs de l'UEC* was then introduced to the project: "Its objective was to guide, orient and evaluate the project through scientific monitoring consisting of a permanent reflection on the project. This reflection took shape in the various symposia, seminars, workshops, research workshops and the weekly forum" (Hassana, 2013, own translation). The dynamization of the IPSOM project consisted of the definition of thirteen basic lines of follow-up research aiming

at handling the fundamental problem of a "vicious circle that serves people to stabilize their *habitus*."

On the one hand, the project consisted of field research in ER and CEA and within the community (parents, chieftaincies). It aimed to pursue empiric research to support the newly created university institute and provide students with qualitative empiric data collection, transcript, analysis, and interpretation methods. It was also an opportunity for them to adapt teaching-learning theories to the practical realities of the classroom context (Kokemohr, 2008). On the other hand, it encompassed scientific seminars, conferences, and colloquia involving international researchers, students of IPSOM and UEC, and administrative staff. These were spaces of scientific communication about current reflections on education.

Moreover, the project included "tutored research projects" for students to entice them to early research reflexes and empower them with scientific skills as critical thinkers. Unfortunately, these initiatives could not be sustained due to internal power interests that led to personal and administrative conflicts among the stakeholders of the projects (Kokemohr, 2014). For instance, the excuse of the density of the curricula in the semester planning was often used to avoid or cancel tutored research projects considered second to extracurricula activities. This excuse is built on the argument that IPSOM and UEC train professionals, providing expected knowledge and know-how "indispensable" for their future professions. In this sense, the excuse tended to put teaching-learning processes as top priorities and research processes or activities as secondary, highlighting the power conflicts between the university administration and the staff from the scientific follow-up project.

To sum up, the pedagogical reform ideas behind educational reform initiatives of the EEC in its missionary station of Mbouo-Bandjoun had been contextually constructed and conceptualized according to everyday peripetia of the practical life in classrooms, the school administration, and cooperative political situations. Developed from the drawbacks of a linear education orientation, the ideology behind those reform endeavors addressed the diversity perspective of learner-centered pedagogy, fostering critical interaction and reciprocal educational/pedagogical/didactic responsibilities of the school community. Therefore, the interest in diversity in education is significant in a rapidly changing world, where the uncertainty of the future has become increasingly challenging for the younger generations. This uncertainty calls for reconsideration or reinvention of educational concepts and practices to address the complexity of challenges in the domain. The pedagogical reform principles orienting and sustaining educational projects have, thus, been criticized and further reflected in concrete pedagogical and didactic classroom activities and philosophical orientations of teacher education within the contexts of CERP, IPSOM, and FSE. As discussed in the chapter on theoretical

considerations, they attempt to understand education from Humboldt's humanistic theory of Bildung (Kokemohr, 2018).[99]

The further question now is: How can this theory and its empiric research considerations help to investigate the significant roles of the sociocultural backgrounds of educational actors to achieve a quality development of the teacher education in Africa from the scope of the practical private experiences of reform of teacher training orientations developed by the evangelical church of Cameroon in Mbouo-Bandjoun in West Cameroon? The research interest in the significance of potential qualitative roles of the sociocultural backgrounds in everyday life of the target projects considers the empiric reconstructive methodological framework for educational research. The samples entail empirical data from classroom situations and autobiographical narrations of some interviewed teachers of ER and a private college in Bafoussam (college teachers trained at IPSOM and UEC). Part II, hence, presents the empiric framework of the study, the methodological approach used for empiric case studies and features of the sociocultural backgrounds of the participants, and the significance of their roles in the development of a quality teacher education.

---

99 The problem of transformation or change, as theorized by Koller and Kokemohr, in terms of *Bildung* as a transformation process of relating to the self and the world has been discussed in this chapter as a crucial turning point in the discussion of pedagogical reform in EP-ER-IPSOM-UEC.

Part 2: A Qualitative Study of Features of SCBs and their Significance for QTE in Cameroon: An Empiric Reconstructive Analysis of Classroom Activities and Autobiographical Narrations

7 Methodological Framework

The study of features of the SCBs of actors of the UEC in everyday life activities calls for a qualitative methodology with an ethnomethodological framework of research (Schütz, 1962; Blumer, 1969; Mehan and Wood, 1975; Silverman, 2005; Berger and Luckmann, 2005). This qualitative research is used in the educational sciences (Bohnsack, 2010a, pp. 10-20), especially research on teacher education (Clandinin et al., 2017). This methodology chapter, thus, situates (7.1) the empiric reconstructive research perspective of this study. It further describes the chosen research approaches, concepts, and methods that deal with the problem of the significance of the SCBs of the involved actors in the EEC pedagogical reform projects in Mbouo-Bandjoun in their everyday pedagogical activities.

The study considers the ethnomethodological framework of research, especially the empiric reconstructive approaches of (7.2) the Documentary Method from the perspective of Bohnsack and (7.3) the inference analysis of the language use from the perspective of Kokemohr. (7.4) The research design of the investigation thus, includes qualitative data collection techniques and instruments. A further reflection on the process of the personal use and construction of the methods is stressed to provide a specific methodological scope for the investigation.

7.1 The Empiric Reconstructive Research Perspective of the Study

This study can be described as reconstructive research in education (Heinrich & Wernet, 2018) using an ethnomethodological framework. The *Social Re-*

search Glossary[100] provides a core definition of ethnomethodology. It describes it as "an approach within sociology that focuses on the way people, as rational actors, make sense of their everyday world by employing practical reasoning rather than formal logic." The ethnomethodology originated from the symbolic interactionism of Goffman. Also, Garfinkel developed ethnological experiments in his masterpiece: *Studies in Ethnomethodology,* first published in 1967.

In the preface of this work, Garfinkel claimed that "ethnomethodological studies analyze everyday activities as members' methods for making those same activities visibly-rational-and-reportable-for-all-practical-purposes, i.e., 'accountable' as organizations of commonplace everyday activities." Since the qualitative educational research was inspired by the social research, and especially anthropological ethnographical studies (Bohnsack, 2010a, p. 10) of schools, learning-teaching processes, and classroom interaction dynamics, ethnomethodological approaches were developed worldwide in educational research in the 20th century (ibid., p. 15). The popular reconstructive approaches, in this regard, include the ethnographic participative observation, oral history, and biographical analyses, which address the interaction-, the discourse- or the conversation analysis, as well as documentary interpretations, narrative interviews, and objective hermeneutic techniques of research (ibid., pp. 13-14).

The present study uses the methodological tradition of the culture and sociology of knowledge of Mannheim (Bohnsack, 2014, p. 11) and the social construction of knowledge of Berger and Luckmann (2005). It is based on the praxeological sociology of knowledge seeking to reconstruct a theoretical meaning in empiric material (sequential analysis of the Documentary Method) combined with a micro-analysis of the language use (from the perspective of an inference analysis) in the tradition of biographical *Bildungsprozess* research (Kokemohr, 1989; 2007a; 2018; 2019).

7.2   A Perspective of a Sequential Analysis of the Documentary Method

Reconstructive educational research not only seeks to understand practical life phenomena in educational worlds from an objective and verifiable hypothesis-oriented (Bohnsack, 2014, pp. 16-22) research framework but rather

100 *Social Research Glossary*, Quality Research International, see: http://www.quali tyresearchinternational.com
https://www.qualityresearchinternational.com/socialresearch/ethnomethodology. htm#ethnomethodologicalexperiment

from an interpretative framework of the collective social practical life in the sense of *habitus*. Inspired by Mannheim's sociology of knowledge, Bohnsack (2010a, p. 21) assigns to the Documentary Method the aim of "reconstructing the implicit knowledge that underlines everyday practice and gives an orientation to habituated actions independent of individual intentions and motives" (ibid., p. 20). Because it endeavors to reconstruct the implicit knowledge orienting our actions, Bohnsack (2018, p. 220) describes the Documentary Method within the theoretical framework of a "praxeological sociology of knowledge."

Developed from these traditions in the 1980s, it is well-known in educational and social research in Germany (Bohnsack, 1983; 1989; 2013; 2014; 2017; 2018) and internationally (Bohnsack et al., 2010). As a reconstructive approach to qualitative research, the Documentary Method thus, attempts to reconstruct, at the second level, the collective methods of actions, thereby answering the question of how (implicit meaning) actors collectively construct meaning in their everyday actions rather than answering, at the first level, the question of what these motives and functions constituting the explicit meaning is. The distinctive interest in reconstructing the "what orientations" and especially the "how orientations" in empiric material (group discussions, interviews, narrative interviews, pictures, and films) in the sense of Nohl (2010, p. 195), is central to the Documentary Method. It depicts the sequential approach to reconstructing the explicit and the implicit meaning. It is a distinction generating detailed concepts, notions, and terminologies in the vocabulary of the documentary, which has considerably evolved in Bohnsack's conception and its reception and criticism.

7.2.1   The Diction of the Documentary Method and the Concept of SCBs

The diction of the Documentary Method appears to be significant for describing the distinctive features of the actors' SCBs depicting and orienting their everyday life activities. One of the basic conceptual distinctions handled by the Documentary Method is between communicative and conjunctive knowledge, which can be reconstructed in empiric material (Bohnsack, 2018, p. 206). The author of this work considers the distinction relevant for his perspective of describing, on the one hand, social structures, meaning the different roles which he designates as the social backgrounds of the actors. On the other hand, it is relevant for the cultural dispositions, the implicit collective ways or manners of thinking, and the actors' acting, which comprise the cultural background. It is a distinction depicting two different types of knowledge objects of the reconstruction of the Documentary Method. However, it is not a rigid distinction, for SCBs are connected in everyday

practice. For this reason, the use of the generic term SCBs is preferred, which, in the sense of the praxeological sociology of knowledge, constitutes the background to the formation of both the communicative and the conjunctive knowledge.

7.2.1.1 Communicative Knowledge (Scheme of Orientation)

From the sociology of knowledge and the Documentary Method, Communicative knowledge consists of knowledge depicting the general and the communicative level of understanding reality.[101] Bohnsack (ibid., p. 206) illustrated this with the example of "the concept of the reality of 'family.'" He submitted that "relatively independent from our belonging to different milieus and even cultures, we are familiar with the reality of the family on a general or *communicative* level" (ibid.). It is the level of the family as an institution with institutionalized roles of members guiding their actions. The sort of knowledge that generally builds up traditions, religion, and culture is termed by Bohnsack as "theories about a reality," that is, for example, the reality of the family. Bohnsack found a synonym for this "general" character of communicative knowledge in Schütz's concepts of "anonymous and standardization" (ibid., citing Schütz, 1962, p. 6), entailing an "aspect of the constructs of the first degree" (2014, p. 218).

The second degree of communicative knowledge, in this perspective, consists of "our theorizing in everyday life, in our common-sense-theories" (Bohnsack, 2014, p. 220). According to Kokemohr, considering language use in *Bildungsprozesstheorien*, common-sense theories consist of a system of statements "backing" the world-self-relationship, as discussed in chapter 6 of this work. Taking after Schütz's model of social action, the praxeological sociology of knowledge conceives common-sense theories as consisting of intentions and motives of actors. Social phenomenology describes these as "subjective preconceived projects [of actors] in the sense of *in-order-to motives* to which action is oriented" (ibid., p. 218, citing Schütz, 1962, p. 19; 1967, p. 88 ff.). They have a "utilitarian" orientation for action and represent "motives" for everyday practice. In the example of the family above-mentioned, common-sense theories represent our knowledge about the family, which, in the present study, is related to the SCBs.

In other words, our knowledge about the family is built on different systems of statements backing different sociocultural contexts. These correspond to common-sense theories socially and purposely constructed to gear everyday actions. In this regard, the general understanding of family within the western SCBs (nuclear family) is different from an understanding of family within the SCBs context of Africa or some other cultures. It represents a

---

101 "Social reality", as Berger and Luckmann (2005) call it.

much larger and more open social institution (large family). Hence, common-sense theories are socioculturally related and constructed for everyday understanding and practice.

However, since the western common-sense theories are dominant frames of reference in the school discourse (official educational system), there could be a certain gap in the everyday practice of such a communicative knowledge, for instance, in the multi-social and multi-cultural context of Cameroon. Kokemohr (2018, 2002a, 1990, 1999) studied some cases addressing the limitations of the dominant mono-logical system of statements structuring school knowledge (common-sense school theories) in the everyday practice in Mbouo-Bandjoun (e.g., the concepts goat, family, and water, interpreted respectively in a biological versus a sociocultural and a small versus a large membership as well as biological versus symbolical or cultural).

Therefore, the quality rationale of teacher education might address how such a gap is acknowledged, discussed, covered, overcome, or reinvented in the everyday pedagogical practice within the practical experience of EP-ER and IPSOM-UEC. It is a research interest concerning the reconstruction of the actors' common-sense theories, which, however, does not give access to their everyday practice because "the intentions and motives of the actors are not observable, but rather the ascription of motives by the observers, the process constructing motives" (Bohnsack, 2014, p. 219). This descriptive stance concerns the reconstruction of the actors' motives and experiences throughout the development of the target projects' analysis at the level of the *what* content of interviews with RK and JBK (chapters 4 and 5). It reconstructs social and cultural orientation schemes to develop the target projects. The access to the everyday practice of the actors is attempted through the documentary analysis of their collective knowledge, for instance, the knowledge "resulting from [their] existence within the family, within its everyday life" (ibid., p. 220).

The present work corresponds with the interest in how participants act and interact in their everyday pedagogical activities in classrooms or on-campus (classroom discourse) and how teachers construct their discourse about becoming teachers (group discussion dynamics). It is the research interest surrounding how actors collectively construct their common-sense theories. Bohnsack calls this collective and subjective knowledge of the actors "conjunctive knowledge" (ibid.).

7.2.1.2 Conjunctive Knowledge (Conjunctive Framework of Orientation)

In contrast to communicative knowledge, conjunctive knowledge consists of the "implicit and tacit knowledge which guides our practical action" (Bohnsack, 2018, p. 206). In the example of the family, this depicts the knowledge

resulting from "our experience *within* the family, within its everyday practice." It serves as an orientation for practical action. According to Bohnsack (2010a, pp. 100-101), conjunctive knowledge "forms a sort of structure, by which action is oriented." It is automated knowledge that the actors possess without explicitly acknowledging it. Bohnsack distinguished a theoretical incorporated knowledge from a theoretical metaphorical knowledge (2018):

Incorporated knowledge is observable by the "representation of bodily movements in the medium of material pictures such as photographs and videography." In this regard, Bohnsack stressed that: "Pictures or images seem to be predestined as media for understanding a-theoretical or tacit knowledge." (ibid., p. 207)

Metaphorical knowledge is observable through the performance of interaction or talk portraying the mental images of the actors. Such mental image objects of a documentary reconstruction are found in "narrations and descriptions – that is to say, texts [of transcriptions]" (ibid.). (ibid., p. 207)

This knowledge is a shared knowledge acquired in practice by members of a group, for instance, the family. Bourdieu calls the *modus operandi* of action (the genesis of *habitus*), constituting a frame of orientation in the praxeological sociology of knowledge. It is also a collective frame of orientation constituting the shared backgrounds for an intuitive (immediate) understanding among the membership. That is, members "*understand* each other immediately" (Bohnsack, 2014, p. 222) because they share the same (collective) backgrounds of orientation. Thus, conjunctive, a-theoretical knowledge is described in the diction of the Documentary Method as pre-reflexive, incorporated and automated or implicit, tacit, metaphorical, and conjunctive. The collective knowledge, however, is called *habitus*. It is the knowledge constituting the conjunctive frame of the orientation of the actors' everyday practice. Thus, conjunctive knowledge is acquired by experience in everyday practice. It is the intuitive knowledge of the actors themselves.

The Documentary Method is, therefore, concerned with the reconstruction of such a collective frame of orientation or experience (*habitus*) "primarily in the medium of *conjunction* and *habitual concordance*" (ibid., see also Bohnsack et al., 2002; Bohnsack and Nohl, 2003; and Bohnsack, 2010c). In other words, it concerns the explication of the hitherto implicit knowledge of those being observed. This study is the task of reconstructing social and cultural background features, orienting the participants (in a group discussion, classroom interaction, or in an international educational colloquium) in their everyday practice. It investigates how sociocultural backgrounds guide the actors' everyday practice of the reform pedagogy in classrooms, on-campus, or school life. This is, thus, an interpretative analysis of how actors construct their understanding of the target pedagogical reform projects and how they act and interact interculturally in the process of the projects.

The present study uses the sequential analytical approach of the Documentary Method and the inference analysis of language-use.

7.2.2 Sequential Analytical Approach of the Documentary Method

According to Bohnsack and Nohl (2014/2013, p. 325), the differentiation between the communicative and the conjunctive knowledge "corresponds in research practice to the differentiation between formulating and reflecting interpretation."

7.2.2.1 Formulating Interpretation

The formulating interpretation work consists of reconstructing "what has been said, depicted, or discussed, what has become the topic of discourse" (Bohnsack, 2010a, p. 110). Therefore, the researcher's task is to formulate what the participants explicated in their discourse. The reconstruction of the communicative knowledge developed by the participants is methodologically organized in the "topical structuring" of the text (transcript) and the "detailed formulating interpretation" (ibid., p. 115).

However, the present study opts for a thematic summary of "the explicit meaning" displayed in the transcripts. The paramount, subordinated, and sub-subordinated topics are not structurally distinguished but rather summarized "in full sentences and expressed in the researchers' own words" (Nohl, 2010, p. 204), including direct citation of the participants' utterances from the transcript. It is, therefore, a methodological choice to reconstruct the essence of the communicative knowledge in summary instead of reconstructing its topical structure by providing paramount topics (PT), subordinated topics (ST), sub-subordinated topics (SST), sub-sub-subordinated topics (SSST), and related thematic details in the manner attuned to the Documentary Method, as illustrated in Bohnsack 2010a, (pp. 115-16). It is, thus, a choice of writing in bloc for concision.

7.2.2.2 Reflecting Interpretation

The reflecting interpretation is a step of analysis that addresses how participants construct their discourse and how they act or interact in their everyday lives. According to Bohnsack (2014, p. 225), the question to be asked is: "How, that is in which (different) framework of orientations is the same topic dealt with by other groups or by other individuals?" Therefore, and regarding Bohnsack's interrogation, dealing with the question of "how" consists of empirically examining a framework of orientation of a case compared to

other cases. Such an exam consists of a reconstruction of the "organization of discourse," of talk and group discussions displaying an implicit a-theoretical knowledge present in narrations and descriptions, which Bohnsack differentiated from argumentations concerned with the "theorizing about practical action of those under observation" (ibid.). Hence, the task is to reconstruct different modes of discourse organization representing sociality and interaction references among the individuals displayed in those narratives.

Bohnsack (ibid.) distinguished three modes of discourse organization: (1) The parallelizing mode, where the participants increase and promote each other. (2) The oppositional mode, where the participants are "diametrically being against each other and talking at cross-purposes," and (3) the antithetic mode, where the participants "systematically romp the other, but also a mode of seeming to be against each other, in which the participants encourage each other to present more and more appropriate depictions" (ibid.). The interest in reconstructing the modes of discourse organization is to access the participants' shared conjunctive space or experience, that is, the collective orientations in practical life. It is interested in reconstructing the participants' *habitus* or their practical framework for orientation.

The reflecting interpretation is supported by the micro-analysis of language use struggles in the sense of an inference analysis, seeking, on the one hand, in-depth analysis and interpretation of the participants' practical framework or orientation. On the other hand, it goes beyond the *habitus* reconstruction of dealing with features of a more complex discourse organization depicting a possible transformation of *habitus*, meaning the change of the SCBs reference of world-self-relationship.

7.3 The Perspective of the Inference Analysis

As a discourse analysis approach, Kokemohr (1989, p. 338; 2001; 2002b, 2003, 2014, 2020) developed the inference analysis based on Sperber and Wilson's inference theory of understanding. According to Kokemohr (2003, p. 152, own translation): The "[i]nference theory thematizes processes of deductive understanding, by which elements of narration, report, representation are put into relation." The inference theory, in the tradition of a hermeneutic interpretation of the text, conceives understanding as a "process in which a listener perceives what he is given to understand as information and transforms it into meanings by relating it to possible contexts and by processing both in deductive operations" (Kokemohr, 1989, p. 340, own translation). The present study uses an inference analysis for a micro-analysis of the language use, and an in-depth analysis of pedagogical interactions, narrative biographies, or group discussions, according to Kokemohr.

7.3.1 The perspective of the Micro-Analysis of Language Use Struggles in Narratives

The study uses ethnomethodological perspectives of empiric reconstructive and interpretative research to handle the above-mentioned methodological interrogation. Kokemohr's empirical studies of the projects in Mbouo (Kokemohr, 2007a) and his international research in Taiwan and China (2018) provide exemplary methodological approaches to the present study of the sociocultural backgrounds of the participants. The study of language use struggles in empiric narratives consists of a micro-linguistic analysis, especially an inference analysis (Kokemohr, 1989; 2018; 2019), which reconstructs ubiquitous and singular processes in a discourse (text).

Processes of both a ubiquitous and a singular inference can be found in narrative forms of speech and conversation, in life history narratives, but also sequences of descriptions, argumentations, discussions, or teaching-learning processes. Since linguistic signs are bound to the contexts of use and interpretation, according to Kokemohr, there is often a practical struggle of language use within the intercultural, international pedagogical discourse, in discussions, and cooperative theoretical and practical educational reform endeavors. It is a practical struggle because of the efforts, the concessions, and the openness the different intercultural and international participants must make to overcome misunderstandings due to their sociocultural differences. It is a struggle for mutual understanding, for a participative engagement in such intercultural, crosscultural, and transcultural activities and interactivities in the cooperative endeavors of teacher education reforms.

It is also a linguistic struggle to overcome sociocultural differences of actors, getting them to act/interact toward a "mutual understanding" and hereby constructing a kind of a "third place," as Bhabha (2011, also reviewed by Babka et al., 2016).) called it. The variety of the SCBs of teachers, learners, trainees, administrative staff, and international researchers could come into play in pedagogical, didactic, and educational discourses. Features of such struggles could be identified in transcripts of narrative interviews (discussion with RK, JBK), group discussion (talk with five college teachers, 2017), classroom discourse (lesson of MT, 2017), forum meetings (see Hassana, 2013) and in some international research discussions (colloquium in IPSOM, 2008).

A micro-analysis of language use struggles is used in addition to a sequential analysis of the Documentary Method in the perspective of Bohnsack's approach (2010; 2018), as introduced above. It is interested in linguistic elements central to depicting the organization mode of discourse. Such micro-linguistic elements of the language use coordinate, subordinate, oppose and synthesize a discourse. It is an inference analytical approach for

an in-depth understanding of everyday language use in pedagogical interactions.

7.3.2 Inference Analysis of Pedagogical Interactions, Narrative Biographies, and Group Discussions

According to Kokemohr (1989, p. 40), in the pedagogical discourse, inferential processing of information (*Informationsverarbeitung*) does not automatically lead to an educative confrontation (*bildende Auseinandersetzung*) of information to contexts of meaning (*Bedeutung*).

In Kokemohr's understanding, an educative confrontation emerges "when a learner perceives information as a paradigmatic moment of another system of meaning and transfers the contextual processing into the transformation of a given system of meaning" (ibid., p. 40, own translation). In other words, the processing of meaning in general, and in a pedagogical sense, includes processing a piece of information with contexts of interpretation (contextualization) in deductive mode (deductive operations) as well as habitual dispositions (*habituelle Dispositionen*), which, according to Kokemohr "belong to individual cultures or social systems and can socially be acquired" (ibid., p. 41, own translation). Foaleng (2005, pp. 140-141) after Kokemohr also portrayed these respective processes as distinctive inferential Modi depicting either a stabilization process of established world-self relations or a questioning process of such stable framework of reference leading to a possible emergence of new meaning or "interpretation."

In many of his intercultural comparative studies of pedagogical situations, Kokemohr (2001; 2014; 2018) methodologically sketched these respective inferential modes in terms of (1) a ubiquitous inference (*ubiquitäre Inferenz* or *Deduktionsdisposition*) and (2) a singular inference (*singuläre Inferenz* or *Deduktionsdisposition*). Within EEC pedagogical reform projects in Mbouo-Bandjoun, these inferential modes are depicted as deductive dispositions of *sens unique* (unique meaning) and *sens divers* (diversity meaning) of a pedagogical discourse (Kokemohr, 1990; 1998; 2002a; 2014). Semantic parallelism was used as a practical and communicational perspective of notional/conceptual contextualization of the somehow "hermetic" concepts of ubiquity and singularity. What do ubiquitous and singular inferences methodologically consist of in the interpretation of a pedagogical discourse?

### 7.3.2.1 Ubiquitous Inference Process in the Pedagogical Discourse

Kokemohr (1989, p. 341, own translation) portrayed ubiquitous inference as "the deductive disposition by which individuals relate information to contexts so that these contexts are not modified by the information but are held in

undecided suspense." In this sense, a ubiquitous inference stabilizes both a system of statements (information) and a dominant frame of reference (context of interpretation), backing the world-self-relationship. In Kokemohr's words, ubiquitous processing of information encompasses a subsumptive character through the contextualization process: "[M]any existing contexts will be subsumed under an information," which, thanks to the "undecided suspense," remain stable (ibid., p. 341). Furthermore, this suspense helps the decoder (the learner in a pedagogical interaction) to juxtapose many contexts under the same information without modifying both the information and these contexts. In other words, "the contexts are given as existing one aside from the other simultaneously, as having the same values and as something the narrator can dispose of without making any categorical difference between them" (Kokemohr, 2001, p. 9).

Ubiquitous patterns of reference, as Kokemohr described them, help protect the narrator's existing world "against the outer world" (ibid.). Such patterns are identifiable in language use in time, space conjuncts, and other rhetoric devices depicting a ubiquitous process of meaning construction as "a simple sequence of events" that can be subsumed into the existing social world. These include, for instance, time additive patterns (such as and then; and then), validating language devices in group discussion (yes; of cours; also; as; as he said), or simple sequential discourse connectors (first; then; and; before; after; during; or), ruling a ubiquitous discourse which suits an established social world. A protective "world of a group of friends" is a world of the family in the case of Albert (Kokemohr, ibid., p. 9), as he treated the information why he decided to study mathematics at the University of Hamburg.[102] The figure below presents Kokemohr's topographical representation of a ubiquitous discourse organization.

---

102 In an international communication at the University of Taiwan, Taipei, March 23, 2001, Kokemohr used the example of case studies to introduce an inference analysis as a qualitative methodological approach of micro-analysis in biographical research. The example compares biographical cases of two mathematics students at the University of Hamburg, Albert and Willi, to empirically and methodologically illustrate ubiquitous and singular inferences. Responding to the interviewer's question why they decided to study mathematics, the two respondents constructed different discourses referring to different contexts of interpretation, which, in the case of Albert, fit "categories" of his "personal world". On the contrary, Willi developed a comparative interpretation of mathematics and economics, opposing them and using a spontaneous metaphor of "made making edifice" to refer to the creative character of mathematics.

*Figure 16*: Subsumptive character of ubiquitous inferential patterns of discourse
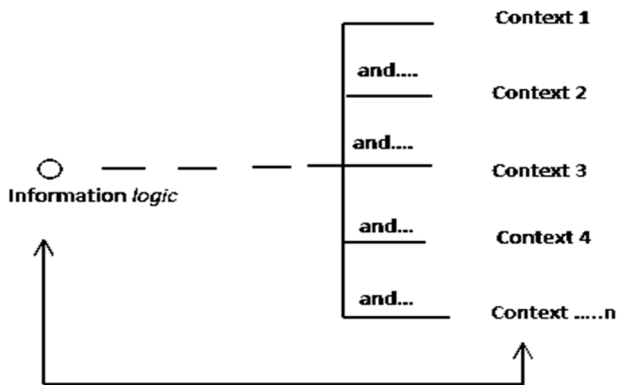
(Source: Kokemohr, 1989, p. 341)

The figure above simplifies ubiquitous inferential patterns (and; and; and) and does not represent a ubiquitous inference structure of biographical narrations. Other sequential additives, concessive and causal prepositions, such as: first, then, also, though, however, nevertheless, so, thus, hence, therefore, etc., are often used as ubiquitous inferential patterns of a narrative.

The study of features of language use, as mentioned earlier, depicting patterns of a ubiquitous inference in narratives, helped to reconstruct the social worlds of the respondents and pedagogical interaction protagonists in a biographical interview (chapters 11), classroom situations (chapters 8 and 10) and group discussions (chapter 9). For instance, the discussion with Monsieur Paul (MP) and Monsieur Teba (MT) in chapter 9 depicted an "*arranger*" mode of argumentation, putting together different contexts to interpret a piece of information (contexts of school, family, village, and town). Another typical example in a pedagogical discourse could be a linear didactic orientation of a lesson, given a pedagogical objective or a competency, as discussed in the chapters above dealing with the pedagogical reform ideas sustaining the EEC projects in Mbouo-Bandjoun.

7.3.2.2 Singular inference process in the pedagogical discourse

Unlike the linear orientation and the stable character of ubiquitous processes, a singular inference, in the sense of Kokemohr (1989, p. 342), depicts: "The deductive disposition by which information is related to contexts in such a way that a certain context is emphasized and possible others negated. Through special conditions, singular inference in figures can lead to emergent

210

understanding processes in which information and context are transformed" (own translation). Kokemohr here portrayed a singular inference as a contrasting process of a discourse construction; it is a process of negating, opposing, and criticizing contexts, which, under certain conditions, can open a new context. In Kokemohr's words, "the contrast forces the discourse to let emerge a metaphor opening another universe, another discourse" (Kokemohr, 2001, p. 13). In this sense, comparing Albert and Willi's biographical narrations, Kokemohr stressed that "whereas Albert's narration is ruled by a simple pattern of time (and then; and then), Willi's narration is ruled by rhetoric figures of contrasting fields of experience" (ibid, p. 12), that is the fields of mathematics and political economy studies.

Singular inference processes can lead to the transformation of both information and contexts of interpretation. A typical rhetorical figure significant in this transformation or emergence of a new figure of world-self-relationship is a metaphor. As "linguistic and cognitive phenomena, metaphors are important in singular inference processes" (ibid, p. 13). According to Kokemohr (ibid.), they " may be taken as the nucleus of a whole new concept of the world." In the case of Willi, it is the metaphor of "mad-making edifice," which is used to describe the transgressing character of "the universe of mathematics" as a universe beyond the "normal world of everyday life." Therefore, a "singular inference is a process in which people react to (for them) new kinds of statements that cannot be classified according to their acquired system of statements and its basic figure, such as the linearity of human history, and require a different basic figure, such as the complexity of history" (Kokemohr, 2019, p. 63, own translation). Kokemohr (1989; 2002b; 2021) used the following figure to portray the structure in a discourse depicting a singular inference.

Figure 17: Structure of a singular inference process of the contextual processing of information.
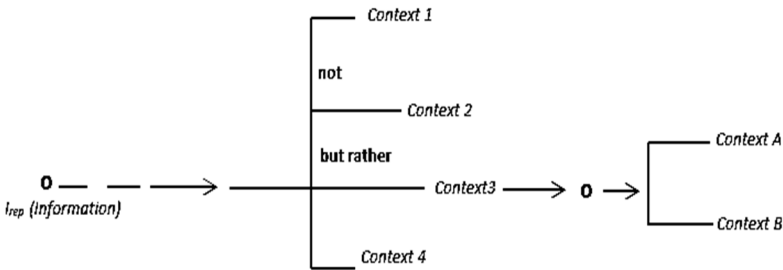
(Source: Kokemohr, 1989, p. 342)

The figure presents different contexts of different orders compared to the figure above, portraying ubiquitous inference processes, which deal with different contexts of the same order. Instead of the time logic (*and then – and*

then – and then) associating different contexts to construct an understanding of information, it is rather the controversial, opposing, or contradictory logic (not; but rather) breaking the linear logic sustaining a world-self-relationship.

On the one hand, this study uses the approach of inference analysis to reconstruct and interpret how a linear structure of narrative discourse is construed. According to Kokemohr (as quoted above), the typical linear structure of discourse consists of "lining up" different contexts to interpret a piece of information or a problem by the narrator. Analyzing the ontological frame of reference of a narrator's interpretation of information entails identifying and interpreting the *habitus* of action (the informants' collective or conjunctive space of experience). An inference analysis of ubiquitous processes is here taken as a complementary practical approach to analyzing the frame of the orientation of a discourse in the manner attuned to the Documentary Method. It analyzes features of sociocultural contexts backing up the narrators' interpretation of information or a pedagogical problem and maintaining social harmony or an established world-self-relationship.

On the other hand, and from the theoretical perspective of *Bildung* as a transformative process, the study is interested in possible contrastive structures of a discourse construction opening new frames of references to the narrators' interpretation of information or a problem. It is a methodological interest in identifying and analyzing how the informant deals with contingencies and uncertainties of their sociocultural backgrounds when interpreting a piece of information or a problem in pedagogical situations. Therefore, the study analyzes singular inference processes of a discourse construction in narrative material in the perspective of reconstructing how the respondents develop "new conceptions of the world to cope with new experiences" (Kokemohr, 2002b, p .8) beyond their established world-self-relationship, that is beyond their SCBs constituting their dominant frames of reference, beyond their *habitus* of social world construction.

The research method approaches and subsequent analytical stances discussed in sections (7.2. and 7.3.) sustain the following research design of the study.

7.4   Research Design

The reconstruction of the SCBs of the participants involved in cooperative pedagogical reform projects in Mbouo-Bandjoun was triggered by the following research questions: What are some of the features of the sociocultural backgrounds of the actors present in their everyday life activities at ER, IPSOM, and UEC? How were/are these features significant in shaping how the participants interact during teaching-learning processes? In other words,

how did/do the actors' SCBs shape the institutional, social, and classroom "realities" in the projects? How significant are the teachers' SCBs for the quality of their education and professionalization? The study reconstructs the historical backgrounds of the projects to provide a systematic setting for discussing the pedagogical principles of *interaction, sens divers,* and *responsabilité réciproque* as fundamentals of this project. It, furthermore, aims at identifying, describing and interpreting features of the SCBs characterizing the different actors of the project to identify and interpret the roles and functions of these features in shaping the everyday life "realities" of the project. This section describes the population and sampling techniques of the study. Moreover, it presents the fieldwork research periods, the data collection methods, and the composition of the empirical material analyzed and interpreted.

7.4.1   Population and Sampling Technique of the Study

Two categories of samples were drawn from the study population. The first category consisted of the main sample for qualitative analysis and interpretation of empiric narratives from real-life pedagogical situations in EP-ER and autobiographical narratives of the teachers of EP-ER and trainees of IPSOM-UEC. The second category includes a secondary sample consisting of administrators, experts of the EP-ER, IPSOM-UEC projects, and intercultural/international participants in a follow-up colloquium at IPSOM in 2008. The table below gives an overview of the samples used for this study. A description of the sampling techniques follows it.

Table 5: Composition of the sample of the study

Categories	Samples	Contexts	Number and identity
1st	Group class 4, ER	Class conference in	43 pupils + 1 teacher (T: 44)
	Group class 6, ER	Biology lesson	18 pupils + 1 teacher (T: 19)
	ER teachers	Group interview in	2 teachers
	A group of College-teachers	Group interview	4 former trainees of UEC + 1 biology teacher (T:5)
2nd	Projects' managers	Biographical interviews	2 actors are considered "founders" and "experts."
	Intercultural and international participants	Follow-up colloquium session at IPSOM	2 German scholars, 1 Indian scholar, 14 Cameroonian scholars, 15 trainees (T: 32)

(Source: author)

7.4.1.1 Main Sample of the Study

The main sample comprises a class conference session in CE2 (class 4) and a lesson in CM2 (class 6) in the ER of Mbouo. The enrolment was around 43 pupils in CE2 and 18 pupils in CM2. The pupils were not interviewed, but rather the classes were observed in classroom settings, and the interaction was recorded in audio, video, and photo. These two classes were chosen because of the research interest in the professional autobiographical backgrounds of the two teachers at the ER. The teacher of CE2 had been trained by the CERP project during the pilot experiment in EP (1990-1995) and was considered a "multiplicator" of the philosophy of diversity meaning in education (*sens divers* approach of teaching-learning). The experienced colleague of CE2 had coached the teacher of CM2. Being open-minded and curious, he gained professional expertise through collaborating with his experienced colleague who worked with the *sens divers* approach. The two teachers became close friends in the process of this close collaboration. Due to his commitment to working with this approach and his experience as a former headmaster of a primary school, the teacher of CE2 assisted the Director of ER in organizing the working groups according to the approach of the *sens divers*.

Thus, these two teachers were chosen as the first category for this study. They were interviewed in 2016 and shared their experiences working with the *sens divers* approach. Considered to be experts of this approach in ER, the author of this study conducted a group discussion on the meaning of *arranger*, structuring the discussion in the class conference in CE2. Their pseudonyms were respectively Monsieur Paul (MP) and Monsieur Teba (MT). This main category of the participants also belonged to a sample of five secondary school teachers (college teachers). Four of them had been trained according to the approach of *sens divers* at IPSOM and UEC and are now teaching in a private college in Bafoussam. This common professional background motivated the decision to conduct a group discussion in 2017 during the author's field research stay in Cameroon. These former students of UEC represent the four didactic specializations[103] of the IPSOM/FSE; this was also noteworthy for studying their autobiographical and collective sociocultural backgrounds. The fifth teacher was interested in sharing experiences and asked to join the group interview. Thus, she was considered a comparative sample for the qualitative reconstruction of autobiographical narratives of teachers trained at IPSOM and UEC. These participants were given pseudonyms in the transcript of the group interview.

---

103 English, French, history and geography didactics and didactics of mathematics.

7.4.1.2 Secondary Sample of the Study

The second category of samples consisted of two administrators/experts considered to be significant actors in developing the projects in Mbouo. The study assumed that their autobiographical narratives and stories could support the projects' literary and archive-based reconstruction. Furthermore, their personal histories and professional interests were assumed to inform about the conjunction of different sociocultural backgrounds in international cooperative pedagogical reform projects in Mbouo. They were used as secondary samples to reconstruct the institutional development of the projects in Mbouo from their perspective as the main strategic actors (academic and political) of the target projects. They were not anonymized for this historical implication of their narratives, although an abbreviation for their respective names (RK, JBK) was used.

The secondary sample was composed of participants in an international follow-up research colloquium at IPSOM and Germany. A preliminary sample used to introduce the problem of the sociocultural backgrounds comprised participants in an international follow-up colloquium at IPSOM in 2008. The colloquium included researchers from the University of Hamburg, the Ruhr University of Bochum, the University of Yaoundé, trainees, and the administration staff of IPSOM. Organized within the framework of the follow-up research program of IPSOM, it addressed the challenges and perspectives of the three pedagogical reform principles advocated in this private teacher-training college. The diversity of the backgrounds of the participants in this colloquium was a selection criterion for its transcript and the significance of its analysis as a preliminary sample of qualitative empiric material to introduce the problem of the sociocultural backgrounds in the quality of teacher education in the experience of the project IPSOM. In other words, it was a sampling criterion for the representativity of participants in the study within an intercultural and international cooperative pedagogical reform project. However, this sample was not included in the main sample of this study because it did not meet the criteria of representativity of pedagogical actors of teaching-learning processes constituted by teachers of EP-ER and trainees of IPSOM-UEC.

7.4.1.3 Field Research

The main fields of the investigation consisted of the ER of Mbouo, the campus of IPSOM-UEC, and a private secondary school in Bafoussam (COLEEDUC of Bafoussam). Additional contexts of research included Germany and Yaoundé. Three field research visits to these institutions were made between 2015 and 2019.

During the author's graduate studies at UEC between 2010 and 2013, he worked as an assistant coordinator of the project *Forum hebdomadaire* in UEC. He was responsible for the organizational management of the project. The project had then been a terrain and object of research for his master's work, which thematized the project *Forum hebdomadaire* as an instrument for the re-dynamization of the foundation principles of IPSOM and UEC. During the scientific and organizational follow-up, he gathered documentation constituting the archives of the project and reconstructed some archives of the EP-ER and IPSOM-UEC. This encompassed audio, video, and photo records of classroom observations, forum sessions, biographical interviews, training sessions, reports, administrative meetings, school visits, seminars, and colloquium sessions from 1986 to 2012. They also comprised transcripts of some of the recorded empiric data. Only the material collected between 2011 and 2012 was used for the master's thesis. The rest, constituting part of the archives of UEC, was used to reconstruct the history of the target projects for the research for his doctoral work. Other archives were collected from Kokemohr's home office.

In preparation for his doctoral studies in Hamburg, he did some research on the ER of Mbouo in 2016. It consisted of discussions and experiences shared with teachers and its administrative staff. These encounters comprised a group interview with Monsieur Paul and Monsieur Teba, a biographic interview with Monsieur Gregoire, and a group discussion with Monsieur Pit and Monsieur Ben. Only the group interview with Monsieur Paul and Teba was transcribed for a biographical analysis and interpretation preceding the analysis and interpretation of their classes: the class conference of MP and the lesson of MT. This limitation was because classroom situations involving the two participants were used as empiric data for this study. Therefore, investigating the biographical trajectories of MP and MT could provide comparative insight to understanding the role of their respective sociocultural backgrounds on the quality of their teaching practices.

Between August and September 2017, the author could conduct interviews with ER teachers to investigate additional questions resulting from his initial analysis of Monsieur Paul's class conference video and Monsieur Teba's lesson. Thus, a group discussion (two ER teachers and the author) was conducted on September 5, 2017, in the new UEC conference room, after observing Monsieur Teba's class on the properties of water. Some classroom situations were also video-taped to confront the first analyzed data in this framework (class conference, lessons of Monsieur Teba). In this regard, he visited the College of Ethics of Education COLEEDUC of Bafoussam, where he observed (filmed) two classroom situations of two former students (English teacher and history-geography teacher and EC) of the Faculty of Education Sciences (FSE).

During the break, the author met with two other former students (a mathematics teacher and a French teacher) from the FSE and a teacher from the natural sciences (SVT) for an improvised pedagogical corner to share and discuss issues of the first days of the new school year 2017-2018. The two lessons observed (English in the 3rd grade and citizenship education in the 2nd grade) served as a framework for sharing this subject. These observed and recorded lessons were not used for this study since they constitute a diagnostic evaluation session or entertaining sessions for the students at the beginning of the school year. Therefore, they could not adequately represent the classroom interaction dynamics to display the impact of the participants' sociocultural backgrounds on the quality of teaching and learning interactions.

The last field research was in 2019. It was aimed mainly at literature research on teacher education reforms in Cameroon. It took place at the University of Yaounde from February 18 to March 11, 2019. This field research trip helped the collection of texts, organization charts, programs, projects, and publications on the reform of teacher training at the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* (ENS) and the Faculty of Education Sciences (FSE). During this stay in Cameroon, the author organized a conference with 30 college teachers (former trainees of IPSOM and UEC in COLEEDUC). The activities of this conference were videotaped. However, they were not considered for this book. Only protocols of the participant observation during the workshops were used to comparatively support the analysis and the interpretation of the transcript of the group interview with five of those colleagues in 2017.

7.4.2   Data Collection and Composition

The study used qualitative data collection methods comprising narrative interviews, pictures, and archive documents.

7.4.2.1   Methods of the Data Collection

The data was collected using the qualitative method of biographical interviews in educational research (Kokemohr & Koller, 1995; Koller, 2017, p. 154), meaning as a direct participant observation (Malinovsky in Laburthe-Tolra, et al., 2003) as a trainee and as a trainer, audio/video-recording everyday life activities, such as seminars, classrooms activities, forum debates, visits of educational officers, university committee meetings, celebrations, students' book defenses, and photographs. Methods of interviewing included qualitative autobiographical narrative interviews as presented by Schütze (1983). The interest in narrative interviews lies in reconstructing the processual structures of a biography (ibid., p. 283). Therefore, the study addressed

the participants' experiences within and during the EEC pedagogical reform projects in Mbouo as expert participants (Cruz Ruiz, 2016, pp. 191-92) involved in the projects or experienced actors trained in the projects.

The investigation triangulated narrative interviews with group discussions in the validation discussion on the participants' experiences, classroom observations, or biographical experiences. These technics were used in the perspective of the Documentary Method to elicit narrations, descriptions of the participants' conjunctive experiences, elaborations, and argumentations from the interviewees. Since a further research interest was put on pedagogical interaction dynamics, classroom observations and recordings were carried out. The study, thus, used audio-video recordings and photography to collect this empirical data.

(a) Expert Interviews as Empirical Support for a Reconstruction
    of the Historical Backgrounds to the EEC Pedagogical Reform Projects
    in Mbouo

Ruiz (2016, p. 191, paraphrasing Bogner and Menz, 2009, pp. 64-67) described "three forms of expert interviews" in her dissertation:

> (1) [an] exploratory expert interview which is used in a still little-known field of research; (2) the systematizing expert interview, which involves the reconstruction of "objective" knowledge in a particular field; and (3) the generating theory expert interview, which aims not only at the special implicit knowledge of the expert but, also, the action and the interpretation implicit in the knowledge that is acquired with practice.

This study uses the latter form of an expert interview with a more empiric reconstructive analysis orientation. This form of expert interview concerns biographical interviews with RK and JBK as significant actors in the development of pedagogical projects in Mbouo.

The general understanding of a developmental cooperative project is that of a linear well-planned, and objective assessable enterprise. Unlike this view, the historical and thematic reconstruction approach used in this study highlights the nonlinear character of EP, IPSOM, and UEC pedagogical reform projects. RK suggested: "I can provide important information" about the projects' backgrounds as an experienced observer and a determinant stakeholder. We then arranged an encounter on March 7, 2017. The discussion lasted almost two hours. It was not initially planned as an interview but rather as information sharing. However, the author asked permission to record this talk for further exploration. It was only later when having listened to it many times, that the author realized the benefit of considering it as both an information resource and as scientific data to be analyzed in his book for getting historical information as well as in-depth complex structures of power relations throughout the development process of cooperative projects in EEC.

Consequently, he transcribed the tape for this purpose. However, as RK spoke fluent German, he could not accurately grasp all said. Hence, RK edited the final version of the transcript.

As far as the interview with JBK was concerned, two German pedagogical internees at ER (Jenny and Michaela) conducted it on September 20 and 21, 1999. The author received the transcript from Kokemohr's archives and got permission to use it in his work. From the structure, questioning techniques, and the content of this material, it was noticeable that the interviewer intended to better understand the history of the cooperative project from the point of view of JBK in the presence of RK because JBK's point of view was completed, corrected or improved from RK's punctual intervention in the interview. The decision to use both materials in this study was motivated by the resemblance in content, narrative process and thematic structure: autobiography, the description of phases of the project, and the description of the conflicts within the project. Moreover, the roles of JBK and RK in the projects were/are determinant, as they were two of the main actors from both cooperative partners: Nord (UHH, EZE Germany) and South (EEC-Cameroon).

(b) Real-life Classroom Praxis

Two real-life classroom situations were observed and audio/video-recorded in 2015/2017, using a single camera, audio-recording devices, and a smartphone. These included a class conference session in class 4 and a lesson in class 6 at ER.

Class conference of Monsieur Paul (MP): The material consists of a transcript of a video recorded during a visit of pedagogical information sharing of guests from an in-service teacher-training program of the Church Education Board in 2015 at the ER. The sharing program consisted of visiting some selected classes in two secondary church schools, at the ER, and the faculty of education of the UEC. It comprises four scenes of the class conference session in class 4, which are taken alongside other scenes in the institutions mentioned above to report on the target event in the author's duties as a person in charge of the faculty of education tuition services at UEC. This video was chosen as empiric material because it may display significant conjunctive spaces of experiences (Bohnsack, 2010a) of the group class in the context and the process of the pedagogical reform activities at ER.

The lesson of Monsieur Teba (MT): In September 2017, MT offered to visit his lesson. Since it was the first week of the school year, few classroom activities were going on. Most activities were organizational and administrative, even though Monsieur Teba offered a short class. The lesson was observed and video-recorded with a camera and a smartphone. Some pictures of the classroom settings were taken with a smartphone.

(c) Group Interviews and Group Discussions

Discussions with teachers who had benefited from the research and training programs during the projects in Mbouo were purposely designed as the author was preparing to leave Cameroon in April-May 2016 for his doctoral studies in Germany. Initially, he wanted to discuss a focus group with at least five teachers involved in the ER and IPSOM-UEC programs. Due to the difficulty of gathering them simultaneously, he opted for a single and a pair interview, depending on their availability. Then he could negotiate an interview with MP and MT in April 2016. This interview was audio and video-taped, and the sections about the participants' autobiography were used to triangulate their autobiographical stories with their pedagogical activities at the ER. Another group interview used in this study consisted of a meeting with five college teachers in a private secondary school in Bafoussam during his field research stay in Cameroon in 2017. It was an open discussion about school and their personal experiences of becoming teachers. Due to excessive noise[104] during the meeting, the first part of the video recording could not be transcribed. The second part was transcribed entirely and used to analyze the biographical trajectories of private schoolteachers.

During a short research stay in Mbouo in September 2017, he further discussed with MP and MT to investigate some typical expressions displayed in MP's class conference video-taped during a visit of guest colleagues from Bamenda (see the chapter on MP's class conference). The discussion was audio and video-recorded using a single camera and a smartphone. The record was transcribed entirely and analyzed as comparative empiric material for further interpretations of the expression "nous allons arranger," displayed in the class conference of Monsieur Paul.

(d) Video-extracted pictures and photos of class conference settings

Video-extracted pictures were used in chapter (8) to support and illustrate the analysis of features of interaction, setting, and the classroom environment. The technique of screen picture-taking was used to extract pictures from a video scene. Therefore, pictures were extracted from Monsieur Paul's class conference session video, recorded during a sharing visit by colleagues from the ISTT-P program of the PCC[105] of Bamenda in ER Mbouo. Pictures used to support and illustrate the analysis of classroom settings and learning environments in Monsieur Teba's lesson (chapter 10) consisted of photos taken

---

104 It was during a break and students were playing in the school yard not far from the meeting room.
105 ISTT-P: In-service Teacher Training Program. PCC: Presbyterian Church in Cameroon

by smartphone during the lesson in 2017. Other classroom pictures from other schools in Bafoussam and Douala were further utilized as comparative materials supporting the interpretation of those analyzed classroom settings and interaction dynamics.

The video-extracted pictures and the photos used in this study did not reflect the Documentary Method procedures of picture interpretations. They were rather and only analyzed as supportive and illustrative material to the transcripts of the recorded narrative material.

7.4.2.2 Composition of the Data

The initial data for this study is hard-core evidence of empiric social worlds collected over ten years (2006-2016) at ER, IPSOM, and UEC. Other sources of information include the archives of ER, PSOM, and UEC, which the author helped reconstruct as part of his part-time research task in the institution during his master's studies. This work did not analyze all this data. It addressed only a sample of the following qualitative material: two expert interviews, two group discussions, two classroom situations, and one colloquium discussion. The study triangulated various other empirical data, mainly archives, pictures, and video-extracted pictures, used throughout the work (from the introduction to the conclusion). It is a methodological strategy used to retrace the history of the target projects from the narrative perspective of the participants to reconstruct features of the participants' sociocultural backgrounds displayed in those narratives and to analyze possible triggers of potential change processes of a more open teacher education perspective in the sense of *Bildungsprozess*. The table below gives an overview of the composition of the study's data.

The following table presents three forms of material used in this study: transcripts of audio-video records, pictures and video-extracted pictures of pedagogical settings, and archives. This data was gathered using the Documentary Method and the Inference Analysis described in sections 7.2 and 7.3 above. Five transcripts of audio and video records constituted the main empiric data for studying the participants' sociocultural backgrounds and their significance for the quality of teacher education in Cameroon. Pictures and video-extracted pictures were used to illustrate the pedagogical settings and support the analysis and interpretation of classroom interaction dynamics.

Table 6: Overview of data used in this study

Audio-video records					
	Narratives	Description	Qty	Chapters	Rationales
Transcripts	Classroom situations	Class conference of MP, 2015	01	Chap. 8	Main empiric data for the study of SCB and its significance for the QTE
		The lesson of MT, 2018	01	Chap. 10	
	Group discussions	G.I. MP and MT, 2016	01	Chap. 11	
		G.D MP and MT on the term "arranger", 2017	01	Chap. 9	
		G.I. with 5 college teachers, 2017	01	Chap. 11	
	Biographic interviews	Interview with RK, 2017	01	Chap. 5	Secondary empiric data for a literary and empiric reconstruction of the history of the target projects in the "founders" narrations
		Interview JBK, 1999	01	Chap. 5	
	Campus situations	Colloquium IPSOM, 2008	01	Introduction	Empiric introduction of the study
Pictures		Photocollage of classroom settings	15	Chap. 8;10	Illustrative support for the inter-pretation of the transcripts
		Video-extracted pictures of classroom settings (photocollage)	06		
Archives and official documents					
Archive Texts	Archives	Archives RK, 1986-2011		Chap. 1;3;4;5	Literary reconstruction of the history of the target projects
		Archives CPF, ER, IPSOM, UEC, 1990-2016			
	Texts	Policy documents on education, 2019		Chap. 3;4;5	Literary review of the teacher education in Cameroon

(Source: author)

7.4.3 Dealing with the Language Complexity and Methodological Decisions

This research project has dealt with the problem of language complexity. French, German, and English constituted the languages of the material and the literature sources, doctoral studies, and dissertations. The author of this

study had to make methodological choices about language use during his doctoral studies and the book writing process.

The interviews were conducted in French, except for Kokemohr, in German. The observed and recorded pedagogical situations were all in French. These resulting empiric data were transcribed in the original language (French or German). Only transcripts in French were used in their original form without translations. However, some phrases, sentences, and word items were translated into English for the coherence of the analysis. Original German concepts, notions, terms, and citations were used before the English translation in brackets. These strategies are aimed at the language unity of the work and language originality of the material, especially regarding the analysis and interpretation of French material transcripts. The translations were realized with the help of electronic programs, such as Deepl.com and Google Translator. However, they were re-edited manually to come closest to the original texts. Therefore, and in the sense of Koller W. (2011, p. 98), the translation of these materials, the citations, or language items could be considered as a preliminary "analysis and synthesis process[106]" (own translation) of the original data. Translated citations are followed by mentioning "own translation" in brackets to signal this interpretative dimension of the translation processes (ibid., p. 117) developed throughout this book.

Other factors of language complexity included studying in German, writing in English, and analyzing French material. English was less utilized in everyday academic practice, considering the high German language exposure. Though English could be used for presentations during doctoral colloquia, seminars, and conferences, the practical language of discussion was German. Moreover, most of the literature used in the study was German. Consequently, the working language of this doctoral work is German. The author started his studies with B1 German language proficiency, insufficient for effective academic research.[107] Additional language exposure to improve his German proficiency was sought daily in academic discussions and work. The drawback was that he developed thinking in the academic German language and permanently struggled with the French material and the appropriate English language structures and vocabularies in writing this book. Therefore, the doctoral studies were a constant struggle of language use and a challenging journey of studying in German, analyzing French materials, and writing a book in English.

---

106 The original German term used by Koller W. (2011) is: "Übersetzung als Analyse- und Syntheseprozess."
107 Since the author writes this book in English, it was not compulsory to have an excellent German language proficiency. The B1 level was sufficient for the everyday communication but limited for academic interaction. Therefore, at the beginning, it was difficult to cope with the language challenges in academic life. The author gradually learned working with the academic German language.

This chapter described the study's methodological framework, the research methods used, the analytical approaches, and the personal struggle in dealing with the constant challenge of the language complexity in this book. It reconstructed a methodological journey within the socio-constructivist theoretical framework of qualitative research (Berger and Luckmann, 2005). Hence, the study was placed under ethnomethodological considerations of reconstructive research, triangulating the Documentary Method (Bohnsack, 2010; 2018), the inference analysis (Kokemohr, 1989, 2001, 2020), and the interpretation of language use struggles from the empiric data. The research methods included narrative interviews, group discussions, participant observations as a student and an assistant lecturer in UEC, archive research, and comparative resources, such as pictures and video-extracted pictures. It also dealt with sampling challenges (due to the diversity of categories of the participants), the selection of data from a large amount of a diversity of empirical worlds collected, and the challenge regarding the complexity of language use during the studies in the book. As empirical qualitative research with a micro-analytical stance, this work preferred the approach of the summary and the discussion of the findings to comparative typologies applied to the Documentary Method.

8 Empirical Analysis and Interpretation of the SCBs of the Actors Involved in a Class Conference Session in Class 4 of Monsieur Paul (MP)

This chapter analyzes the transformative educational dynamics in the case of a class conference session in class 4 at the ER of Mbouo-Bandjoun. It attempts to do so from an interactional pedagogy in decision-making in everyday-life classroom activities. The project is transformative in the sense that it seeks to transform the authoritative classroom management, the top-down decision-making education, and the traditional frontal classroom to encourage the learner's creativity and the responsibility in decision making and problem-solving from a passive learner to an active/interactive creative learner perspective of classroom settings. It attempts to investigate how the pedagogical setting of a class conference contributes to the construction of interactive community decision-making (democratic) at the primary school level. Moreover, it is a close look at how the class as a community, comprising learners (girls and boys) and teachers, constructs decision-making responsibility and creativity to solve concrete everyday classroom problems.

The chapter analyzes the transcripts and pictures of the class conference. It investigates how participants of the class conference interact to construct a decision-making process according to the pedagogical principles of the diversity of meaning, interaction, and reciprocal responsibility. It uses the sequential structure of analysis of the Documentary Method, distinguishing between (8.1) formulating interpretation and (8.2) reflecting the interpretation of the target transcript. These interpretations are discussed afterward to reflect (8.3) the significance of SCBs of class conference participants in shaping the classroom action/interactions.

8.1 Formulating Interpretations

The video depicts four scenes: (1) The entry of the guests and the faculty team into the classroom (00:10 s); (2) The welcome of the guests and the arrangement of the class conference setting (00:15 s); (3) The briefing of the guests on the circumstances of the class conference (00:41 s), and (4) The unfolding of the class conference (07:38 s). The guests and the faculty team wear black jackets; the teacher wears a blue uniform, and the pupils wear blue and pink uniforms, with some wearing a sweater on top. The guests sit behind the class; the teacher and the pupils sit in a rectangularly shaped set-

ting near a blackboard in front of the class. The tables are empty. Only the pupils' bags and working tools lie on the tables.

In the third scene, the teacher introduces the event's purpose within the school context and explains how the class conference is designed. Then he presents the problem the class conference deals with (lack of brooms in the classroom) to the guests. The class conference starts with the teacher greeting the class and then asking a question concerning the topic of the discussion: "We have no more brooms. What can we do to provide the classroom with some?" The rest of the discussion goes around the pupils suggesting solutions to the problem of the lack of brooms and the teacher monitoring and moderating the discussion stages, reformulating the pupils' suggestions, and summarizing the final resolutions discussed.

8.2 Reflecting Interpretation

8.2.1 Contextual Formalities of a School Visit and Sharing Information

The transcript of the video can be divided into two phases: the formalities before the class conference (entry of guests, setting the class conference, briefing of the guests on the circumstances and the topic of the class conference) and the proper unfolding of the class conference. It is worth analyzing these formalities before the class conference because they may display cultural features surrounding the act of "visiting and sharing" within the institutional education context. In this perspective, the author will try to use the metaphor of the guests wearing black costumes, the *habitus* of the school uniform, and the features of the protocol that can be identified in the target material. How can this *habitus* influence the process and the results of the class conference and the teacher education reform in Cameroon?

The ceremonial phase of the event can be represented in two instances: clothing and protocol discourse introducing the circumstances of the class conference. Picture 1 shows the guests entering the classroom. One notices that they all appear in formal and ceremonial clothes from their dresses: black suits, white shirts, and shiny black shoes. This image contrasts with that of the visited class (picture 2), where the pupils and the teacher wear the same fair-blue color uniforms (although some pupils wear sweaters of different colors on top of their uniforms). While picture 1 shows a ceremonial and formal clothing culture (culture of black suits), characterizing the administrative image displaced in public offices (here in the context of the school administration), picture 2 presents a culture of uniforms in school with an im-

age of the teacher wearing the same fair-blue colored shirt as the pupils. Questions are: What is the philosophy of uniforms in schools? What is the role of a good appearance (look) in public consideration?

Figure 18: Photo collage, clothing codes, and culture in Cameroonian education (picture 1 left and 2 right)

(Source: author's material)

The Cameroonian context of dress codes and school uniforms is controversial because it displays different practices, according to the different school sub-systems (francophone and anglophone), the distinction between public and private schools, and the different levels of the schools. According to the two different educational sub-systems, it seems that a school uniform is not mandatory in francophone primary schools, although the little ones in pre-primary schools may wear special jerseys (most often yellow) for security reasons. In secondary schools, however, school uniforms and dress codes are binding. In most universities and high schools, students are not bound to a special uniform but are supposed to follow a certain behavioral code of conduct (the *codes de franchises universitaires*), which constitute decent clothing morals.

As far as the anglophone sub-system is concerned, a school uniform is mandatory both at the pre-primary and secondary levels of education. It is often noticeable that girls and boys have short haircuts, which is not the case in the francophone school context. No uniform is mandatory at the university level. Even though, in practice, some professional colleges may adopt a special study or internship uniform. In most private schools, a school uniform is mandatory, whether confessional (Catholic, Protestant, Muslim) or laic schools (schools belonging to individuals). The distinction also concerns sub-systems and the level of the studies. The use of shirts by teachers in class-rooms is also observable in all these cases. This shows that dress codes and school uniforms are institutionalized in the Cameroonian educational con-texts and probably in many other African countries, where school systems

227

(western systems generally) were developed after the colonial educational heritage, as addressed in chapter 3 of this work.

What is noticeable in this paragraph about clothing in the school context is that a uniform is a mark of social distinction in Cameroonian educational settings, which might find its roots or corresponding practices in real social life contexts of family and village associations and professional corps, signifying a strong sense of belonging to a group (inclusion) which distinguishes itself from other groups (distinction).

In the context of the visit to the class conference of MP at ER, one could identify three different forms of dresses, distinguishing three different participants: the pupils wearing a uniform (blue shirt and shorts), the teacher wearing a blue shirt, and the guests (most wearing black suits). According to Bourdieu (2010, p. 164), one may see these dressing forms as habituated "distinctive signs" in the presence of visiting guest colleagues. MP explicitly referred to this context when he introduced the motive of the session of his class conference to the guests.

Excerpt 1:From the transcript of the class conference session in class 4 of MP

> Participants: E: Enseignant ; É(n): un élève n ; Ée(n): une élève n ; É.n.i: voix d'un élève non identifié ; É.en.i: voix d'une élève non identifiée ; C: classe
> Vidéo scène 3: durée 00:41 s (l'enseignant introduit les circonstances de la conférence de classe)
> **E**:Euh les activités// ce qui fait que euhhhh les journals muraux n'ont pas été remplis parce que déjà le lundi euh les enfants n'étaient pas à l'école, euh, mardi, euh il y avait très peu d'activités à l'école, et hier, vous le savez bien, il y avait assomption. Euh, c'est pourquoi, nous allons// j'ai pensé qu'on pouvait juste vous présenter, euh … la manière de le faire/j'ai pensé qu'on pouvait présenter euh / juste présenter//.

MP developed a teacher's protocol-oriented discourse explaining to the guests what is going on in school. This rather protocol-oriented introductory discourse displays the vocabulary of justification: "ce qui fait que", "parce que", "vous le savez bien", "c'est pourquoi". The teacher explains why the everyday innovative activities are not visible in school with this procedure. This suits the image of the visiting guests' expectations from the host partner: witnessing pedagogical reforms in the visited school. The subsequent lexical features confirm the attempt to match these expectations: "juste vous présenter", "juste présenter" (just to present). The act of "juste présenter" appears like a "theatricalized" performance for the guests. It is worth further investigating the "normal" class conference at the *Ecole de Référence* to provide a framework for comparison.

Moreover, the way the class conference is presented to the guests by the teacher suits the image of justification, which looks more like a "neglection of responsibility" than a purposeful topic presentation. The teacher points out to the pupils the problem of a lack of brooms in the classroom: "ils ont égaré

tous les balais", "il serait interessant qu'ils nous dissent comment ils peuvent, euh//…", although he tries to introduce the reciprocity of the responsibility in searching for solutions to the problem: "comment nous pouvons faire pour en//pour nous en procurer." This fits the image of an official school inspection rather than a friendly institutional experience like sharing. The teacher plays his role as an "inspected teacher" rather than a "visited teacher."

8.2.2   Interaction Dynamics in the Class Conference

The author will now reflect on two aspects of the class conference interaction dynamics: the setting of the class conference as a precondition of a conducive convivial interaction and interaction chains.

8.2.2.1   Disposition of the Group Class during the Class Conference

The pictures below, extracted from the video, depict the disposition of the pupils (40) and the teacher in a large rectangle in front of the class next to the blackboard.

Figure 19: Photo collage, classroom setting during a session of a class conference (picture 3 left: whole group class; picture 4 right: zoom of group class)

(Source: author's material)

The pupils sit on stools, and the teacher is on his chair. The pupils left their tables and carried their stools to join the teacher and form a rectangular class conference setting. Picture 3 shows two settings: behind the pupils are tables depicting how pupils sit in small groups in a "usual" class; in front, the group forms a large rectangle as a typical (?) class conference setting. The formation in a rectangle (surely initially thought of as a circle) gives the advantage of facing one another, as can be seen in picture 4, the teacher being one of the members in the rectangle (circle?), which is an equal seating position*, although the teacher has a chair and the pupils have stools. This and the

fact that the pupils join the teacher in his position (in front of the class) can provide a convivial discussion conducive to free interaction, thus fulfilling the class's vision as a community corps. The principles of interaction, diversity of meaning, and reciprocal responsibility are pedagogical frames for orientation, backing the dynamic of the class conference as practiced in ER.

Excerpt 2: From the transcript of the class conference session in class 4 of MP

> E: Euh, les amis, bonjours!
> C: (tous ensemble) Bonjour, monsieur.
> E: Euh, le conf/la conférence de classe aujourd'hui va euh// nous allons parler/nous allons parler des balais. La fois dernière, depuis cette rentrée nous n'avons plus/presque plus de balais dans la classe. Alors déjà qu'est-ce que nous pouvons//comment pouvons-nous faire?

The teacher opens the discussion using a metaphor of friendship and familiarity: "Euh, les amis, bonjour!" (Hello, friends, good morning!). Translating this unusual French sentence structure into English is difficult. The grammatical structure "Euh, bonjour, les amis" is inverted ("euh, les amis, bonjour"). Translating this inversion into English is problematic due to the definite plural article "*les*" (the). "Euh, friends, good morning" sounds odd. This is the reason why the author prefers omitting the article (*the*) as in "friends, good morning."). The teacher considers the pupils "friends," not personal friends. He does not say: "Euh, mes amis, bonjour!" but rather uses the definite article "*les*" to refer to the pupils. The kind of friendship he refers to seems neutral: the pupils are "*les amis*" but not "*mes amis*" in the teacher's view. It is a kind of distant, impersonal friendship. Later, during the discussion, he will use the term "les camarades" (mates) to refer to the pupils maintaining the impersonal style introduced by the definite article "*the*." One may describe the teacher's utterance: "Euh, les amis, bonjour!" as his ritualized didactic technique of addressing (greeting) the pupils in a class.

Contrary to the teacher's impersonal and informal friendly address, the pupils respond by calling the teacher "monsieur": "Bonjour, monsieur!" (Good morning, sir!), maintaining the distance between them. The statement is grammatically and structurally correct (normal structure) compared to the teacher's utterance discussed above. This could be interpreted as representing the socially constructed reality of distance between teachers and pupils in the Cameroonian school context.[108] This situation could be observed in different classrooms (primary, secondary, and even university) if one investigates further.

---

108 This can surely apply to other institutional contexts as well, even though not to within the present study, but it is still interesting because it is an investigation of a social/cultural phenomenon.

However, the hypothesis here is that, despite the formal character of the pupils' address to the teacher, the teacher's utterance still carries its presupposition, modifying the distance between him and his pupils. This is further intimated in using the "inclusive" first personal pronoun plural "*nous*" (we): "nous allons parler", "nous n'avons plus", "qu'est-ce que nous pouvons// comment pouvons-nous faire?" (We will talk …; we do not have …; what can we//how can we do?). The setting above-discussed and this friendly introduction (though impersonal and informal) of the discussion by the teacher appear like a conviviality assurance for a subsequent free interactive class conference. The question is: How does MP organize the interaction during the class conference?

8.2.2.2   The Roles of the Teacher in the Class Conference

From the description mentioned above of the class conference settings, the position of the teacher appears identical to that of the pupils in class, providing equal opportunities for sharing. The setting depicts a shift from the classic frontal classroom setting. The teacher is seated next to his pupils as a group member. This portrays a shift from an authoritative position of the teacher to a more communal one. Analyzing the vocabulary he uses in the discussion (friends, mates, we) highlights the "intended" change of the teacher-centered class and the traditional roles of the teacher (master, provider, supervisor) towards a learner-centered class dynamic and the moderating role of the teacher. In this class conference case, the teacher seems to play this moderating role in a "sympathetic manner" (using friendly vocabulary to address the pupils).

Teacher's role 1(TR1): The teacher formulates the problem to be discussed

Excerpt 3: From the transcript of the class conference session in class 4 of MP

E: Euh, le conf/la conférence de classe aujourd'hui va, euh// nous allons parler/nous allons parler des balais. La fois dernière, depuis cette rentrée nous n'avons plus/presque plus de balais dans la classe. Alors, déjà qu'est-ce que nous pouvons//comment pouvons-nous faire? (Les élevées lèvent les doigts pour répondre.)
E: Oui, qui voulait dire déjà quelque chose? (Il pointe le doigt à un élève.)
É1: Nous pouvons arranger d'autres, monsieur.
E: Arranger d'autres. Oui, monsieur. (Donnant la parole à un autre élève.)
É2: Nous pouvons arranger d'autres et celui qui perd le balai on écrit son nom.
E: Oui, on peut arranger d'autres et on essaie un plus, euh, de discipliner la situation//euh, l'utilisation. Qui dit autre chose?
Ée1: Il faut avoir un chef de classe.
E: Pardon?

Ée1: Il faut avoir un chef de classe pour surveiller les balais.

E: Il faut que le chef de classe règle la situation. Oui. (Désigne le doigt à un autre élève.)

É3: Si/s/ si quelqu'un part il perd le balai maintenant, on écrit son nom à lui et il/il vient demain à l'école on le punit.

E: Humhum, oui. (Désigne le doigt à un autre élève.)

The same problem discussed during the class conference is formulated in two different ways concerning the different addressees. Regarding the guests, the teacher states the problem in terms of its agents ("Ils ont égarés tous les balais de la classe"), whereas he introduces it in terms of its consistency or content about the group conference ("nous n'avons plus/presque plus de balais dans la classe").

Problem formulation 1 (F1) in a class visiting context:

//ils ont égaré tous les balais de la classe et peut-être qu'il serait intéressant qu'ils nous disent comment ils peuvent, euh, nous//comment nous pouvons faire pour en/pour nous en procurer.

The use of personal pronouns in this extract shows the distinction between the discourse participants in the teacher's utterances.

*they have misplaced all the brooms

It is difficult to identify indices of people (they) to whom the teacher refers and to whom he attributes the responsibility (here the fault) of misplacing the brooms in the classroom. There is no mention of specific names or generic references, such as "pupils," "learners," "students," or "colleagues." However, due to the presence of three different kinds of people in the classroom who are identifiable in the video scenes 1 to 3 (guests, teacher, pupils), and because the teacher is addressing this problem formulation to the guests, one can only deduce that "*ils*," as a reference, designates the pupils. Thus, he indicates the agents of the problem, emphasizing this aspect (they misplaced the brooms) rather than the content of the problem itself (there are no more brooms in the classroom).

*it would be interesting if they tell us…

In the second part of F1, the teacher uses a new personal pronoun, "us" (indirect object), referring to him and the guests sitting behind the classroom since he addresses this phrase to the latter. Since "*they*" (the pupils) have misplaced all the brooms of the classroom, "*they*" (the pupils) are responsible for telling "*us*" (teacher and guests) how "*they*" will solve the problem "*they*" created. In other words, the pupils are responsible for losing all the brooms. Consequently, the teacher and the guests expect them to tell them how to handle the

problem they created. This loss or lack of brooms in the classrooms is neither the responsibility/fault of the teacher nor that of the guests.

*how they can ah//what can we do to …

The last element in F1 is that the teacher suddenly changes his speech form. He moves from "*they*" (the pupils) to "*we*" of a second type, not referring this time to him and the guests concerning a possible action (can) to be performed regarding the problem of a lack of brooms in the classroom. This sudden but hesitating ("ah//what can we do to") transition of problem orientation displaces a subsequent contrast to the sphere of the relationship of the teacher to the guests (more of officiality) and the sphere of the relationship of the teacher to the pupils in the context of the class conference.

Problem phrasing 2 (F2) in the proper class conference context

Euh, le conf/la conférence de classe aujourd'hui va, euh// nous allons parler/nous allons parler des balais. La fois dernière, depuis cette rentrée nous n'avons plus/presque plus de balais dans la classe. Alors déjà qu'est-ce que nous pouvons//comment pouvons-nous faire?

In F2, there is a predominant use of the first personal pronoun plural "nous" (we) as compared to F1, characterized by the usage of "*ils*" (they). However, the transition from "*they*" to "*we*" in the teacher's discourse is not "so natural" since the normative expectation is still present in his language use: "Euh, conf/the class conference today goes uh//we're going to talk …." There is a move from an "objective attempt of phrasing" to a "subjective phrasing." Both phrasings are routinized practices that can be observed in most teaching situations in Cameroon and surely in many teaching situations in general. The teacher starts the lesson (the discussion) with statements such as: "La leçon d'aujourd'hui porte sur; nous allons aujourd'hui parler de" (The lesson of today is about; today we're going to talk about).

Returning to the predominant use of "*we*" in F2, "*we*" refers to teacher and pupils because this phrasing (F2), in the unfolding context of the proper class conference, is in the center of the discourse: "We are going to talk; we will talk; we no longer have; what can we? how can we?" This personal pronoun is the subject of declarations (talk, have) and interrogations (what can? how can?). While the declaration states the content of the problem (lack of brooms in the classroom), the interrogations invite action and a procedure for dealing with the problem. The subject "*we*" is fully engaged in both concerns, even though initiating the discussion from the teacher's perspective. The use of "*we*" in F2 seems to show an inclusive responsibility (teacher and pupils) towards the problem in contrast to the use of "*they*" vs. "*we*" in F1, which is characteristic of the attribution of the responsibility to external agents ("*they*," the pupils). Therefore, one could interpret this as a shift of responsi-

bility from the sphere of officials (top instance rejecting the responsibility of a problem to the lower instance of pupils) to the sphere of a real-life class conference (co-responsibility of the upper instance of a teacher and the lower instance of pupils). F2 seems, thus, to confirm (at least considering this shift and this stand of the target material) Dewey's claim of "moving together as a group" as well as the pedagogical reform principle of a reciprocal responsibility in the ER.

Now, one should look at how far this "apparent normative" claim might relate to the interaction of the class conference on the treatment of the target problem. In other words: Does the discussion process in the class conference confirm or contradict this claim? How could this teacher's role as a discourse initiator portray the inclusion-exclusion dynamics in the discourse organization and the actors' school interactions? How inclusively and exclusively could a speech start be constructed in a class discourse? These questions are further discussed to reconstruct the discourse structure and organization in the discussion transcript with MP and MT in this section's subsequent paragraph (3).

TR2: Talk distributor and discussion organizer through reformulation, paraphrasing, interjection, and exclamation techniques.

The teacher organizes the distribution of the talk ("Oui, qui voulait dire déjà quelque chose?" (il pointe le doigt à un élève)) (Yes, who already wants to say something? (he points at a pupil)). In the video, he uses the technique of finger-pointing to neutrally distribute the talk without calling the names of the speakers. The pupils raise their fingers to speak and stand up to give their contribution once pointed out by the teacher, as seen in pictures 5 and 6.

The teacher rephrases the speaker's utterance by paraphrasing or commenting on it. Then he triggers or elicits the pupils' talk by either an interjection inviting them to repeat the utterance ("pardon?") or by a simple exclamation to consider what a participant says ("hummhumm"). These roles organize the interaction between the participants (individuals), the information and its context of interpretation. The rephrasing and commenting roles of the teachers provide a contextual interpretation of information generated by the individuals. The setting of the group in a circle or a square allows a face-to-face interaction among all the participants. The structure of interaction does not appear to be so different from that of a "normal" or "typical" setting in a "normal" or "typical" Cameroonian classroom or a frontal teaching-learning classroom in general: a *sens unique* structure of interaction.

Figure 20: :Photo collage, an overview of class conference settings

Picture 5: teacher pointing a pupil among those who rose up fingers to ask the talk

Picture 6: the pointed pupil standing up to say her opinion

(Source: author's material)

Figure 21: Photo collage, frontal classroom setting and teacher-students interaction mode of sens unique

(Source: author's material)

8.2.3 *"Arranger" process of decision making in the unfolding of the class conference*

So far, the analysis has concentrated on external factors (setting, visiting context, protocol, and problem formulation) regarding the internal discussion process taking place in the class conference. The author also provided a first contrasting analysis of the teacher's phrasing of the problem to be discussed, addressing the guests and the class conference. He observed that there is a shift of phrasing (F1-F2), displaying features of two instances: the external

upper sphere of officials (instance of guests in suits and the teachers excluding themselves from the responsibility of the problem to be discussed) and the internal lower sphere of the class conference (instance of real-life activities of the teacher and the pupils in the classroom with an inclusive responsibility towards the problem). The latter analyses are based on the target transcript and the first video scenes and photo extracts (photos of scenes 1-3). The contrasting phrasing of the problem according to the different positions of the teacher (either he positions himself towards the guests or he tries to be part of the class conference) shows how complex a context it may be in real life when considering the practicability of an assumption, such as "moving together as a group." It is worth investigating further this complexity, based on an interaction concerning the problem of the class conference, especially with the focus on the pupils' contributions to the construction of a solution to the problem of the lack of brooms in the classroom.

The first contributions of the pupils towards solutions to the problem of the lack of brooms in the classroom can be summarized in the dilemma of the action of "*arranger*" and the "normative" terms "*il faut*" and "*chef*" displayed in this material. It is difficult to understand what the pupils mean by "*arranger d'autres*", "celui qui perd le balais on écrit son nom" and "il faut avoir un chef de classe". The teacher might implicitly share this meaning. This appears to be a homologous conjunctive space of experiences implicitly shared by the class conference (comprising teacher and pupils). They understand each other regarding what these terms and expressions mean without the need for a further explanation. This implicit understanding of common sense probably implies the shared language backgrounds of the culture here, the Ghomálá language spoken in Mbouo. To further investigate the expression "arranger" aspect, a discussion with MP and MT two years after the class conference will be analyzed. What do these terms and expressions mean within the context of this transcript?

Synonyms of the verb "*arranger*" in French include "ranger," "fixer," "disposer," "prendre des dispositions," "organiser," etc.[109] Possible translations into English are "to arrange," "to fix," "to fix up," "to tidy up," "to set," "to settle," "to dispose of," and "to form." Which one of these synonymous terms could better reflect the idea behind "nous pouvons arranger"? The transcript does not help answer this question because none of these terms are used even in the reformulation attempts of the teacher. He repeats "*arranger*," just as the second pupil says "*arranger*." This is repeated exactly in subsequent contributions of the pupils and the teacher in subsequent lines of the transcript, despite the rephrasing of the problem by the teacher, giving no room to a textual (transcript) study of synonyms of "*arranger*." The textual

---

109 https://www.google.de/search?q=traduction&rlz=1C1JZAP_frDE736DE736&oq
=trad&aqs=chrome.0.69i59j69i57j35i39j0l3.3156j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UT
F-8

(within the transcript) and the contextual (within the video) complex sense of "*arranger*" seems to be even more confusing, coupled with the indefinite pronoun "*d'autres*" (others). To what do "others" refer? What could "arranger d'autres" mean in this situation of the present class conference? In phrasing the problem, the teacher mentions "balais": "nous n'avons plus/presque plus de balais*"*. Thus, "others" might refer to the "brooms," but it could also refer to something else if further development of the point in the material is considered. It might mean a normative framework that could help reconstruct the whole process in this situation.

The author's interpretation of "*others*" in this material comprises both references to the "brooms" mentioned in the text and the complexity of the problem. "*Arranger d'autres*" (S1) could here refer to the attempt to solve the problem of the lack of brooms (Pb1) in the classroom. Moreover, the coordinating conjunction "*et*" (and) in the E2's proposition ("É2: Nous pouvons arranger d'autres et celui qui perd le balai on écrit son nom.") appears to introduce the future problem of a loss of brooms. Here again, the structure: problem – the solution is visible. E2 clearly states an additional future problem with a related solution proposition. In other words, "arranger d'autres" is good; even more, the future[110] loss of brooms (Pb2) might be solved by writing down the name of the person responsible for the loss (S2).

Table 7: Possible orientations of the problem-solving process in MP's class conference.

	Problem 1	Solution 1	
Interpretation 1	"Nous n'avons plus/presque plus de balais." (We have no more/almost no more brooms.)	"Nous pouvons arranger d'autres." (We can arrange for others.)	Time (present)
			"et" (and)
	Problem 2	Solution 2	
Interpretation 2	"Celui qui perd le balais." (Whoever loses the brooms.)	"On écrit son nom." (His name will be written down.)	Time (present)

(Source: author)

The coordinating conjunction "*et*" (and) in this case introduces an attempt to reestablish the normative and hierarchical instances in this situation (disciplinary norms to be sustained by the instance of the "*chef de class*"). This interpretation could be supported by the recurrences of normative devices used by the teacher and the pupils in the target material. "Celui qui perd le balai, on écrit son nom" and "il faut avoir un chef de classe". As such, "arranger d'autres" is understood with the norm "*on écrit son nom*". This means that the discipline of the class is rephrased by the teacher, "Oui, on peut arranger d'autres et on essaie un plus, euh, de discipliner la situation//euh, l'utilisa-

---

110 Although the verbs are in the simple present tense.

tion." With this reformulation, he confirms that "*arranger d'autres*" is understood as: "discipliner la situation//euh, l'utilisation", hence, to the norm. It, thus, seems obvious that Pb1 comes with the proposition of the need for a class chief: "Il faut avoir un chef de classe monsieur." The pupil here recalls the "normal" social context, dominated by the culture of the chief as an instance of a resolution to problems of the social life.

Although the class conference is intended to set a commonplace or the group as an instance of decision making, the reality constructed by the participants of the class conference takes them back to their usual (*habitus*) normal hierarchical decision-making process structured around the chief as a commonly/socially legitimate high instance organizing community harmony (Foaleng, 2005, pp. 12; 25; 150; De Latour, 1998, pp. 137-86).

It is worth returning to the statement "Celui qui perd le balai on écrit son nom," which precedes the need for a class chief because it can help understand this need. The statement comprises two acts: "misplacing the brooms" seems to motivate "writing a name." The teacher rephrases them by introducing the term discipline: "On essaie un plus, euh, de discipliner la situation//euh, l'utilisation," to clarify what is meant by the pupil who uttered this statement. Here, the rules consisting of the school discipline and the classroom management are recalled. "*On écrit son nom*"[111] sounds like a punishment resulting from the displacement of the brooms. Later, another pupil adds more context to what constitutes this disciplinary technique. The explanation rather comes from the teacher in a generic term: "Discipliner la situation/l'utilisation" (to keep discipline/the situation, the usage).

It is worth mentioning that, in the teacher's rephrasing, the object of the discipline changed from "*celui*" ("the one") (whoever), "*son*" (his), to "*la situation/l'utilisation*" (the situation/the usage). It shifts from a personal pronoun designating an agent to common nouns. However, the subject "*on*" in the statement remains the same ("on essaie de discipliner"), maintaining the anonymity of the disciplinary instance and the person under discipline. While the pupils point out the latter in their responsibility regarding the misplacement of the brooms, the teacher avoids responsibility issues and talks about

---

111 From the author's own experience as a student in a private bording secondary school in North Cameroon (in the 1990s), he can understand the context of "on écrit son nom" in relation to disciplinary measures in schools. He happened to have been a chief of a dormitory section and one of his duties was to report stubborn students in a book designed as "cahier de consigne" set to dissuade them from disturbing the peacefulness/quietness of the dormitory, which are considered preconditions to a successful learning environment as contained in most of the Cameroonian schools' motto: "discipline, work, success". The same book was also kept by class chiefs in classrooms or in the dining room. He recalls this personal experience just to illustrate the global frame of understanding of "on écrit son nom" within some Cameroonian schools regarding disciplinary issues.

the context of the discipline (la situation/l'utilisation). The teacher seems to construct a world of discipline centered on context and action, defining responsibility management and undermining agents. One knows little about whom the teacher is addressing on discipline.

On the contrary, the pupil's conception of "*discipline*" relates to measures taken against a potential agent who could misplace the brooms. In the transcript, a pupil introduces his clarification of the point with a condition ("*si*"- if), defining a potential circumstance of a loss of brooms (whoever loses the broom, his name will be written down and when he comes tomorrow, he will be punished).

Whatever the perception of the pupils and the teacher, it seems obvious that considering the high recall of a disciplinary dimension of the problem of the lack of brooms, the subsequent contribution highlights the need for a normative institution that guarantees the discipline in the classroom: "Il faut avoir un chef de classe, monsieur." "Il faut" as a normative expression coupled with the high hierarchy instance of class chief characterizes the paradigm of normativity in this discourse. The participants can understand the implicit messages constructed around "*on*," referring to a diffuse and impersonal agent object. They prove to understand the presuppositions in each other's statements (Ducrot, 2010). Their statements are interrelated. This means that each statement is drawn from the presupposition contained in the other, either in terms of an interrelation of a cause-effect consequence or an interrelation of an implicit-explicit meaning.

Considering a problem, the participants of the class conference construct their common social reality (culture) of "*arranger*" as a mode of community decision making structured around the norm ("On écrit son nom."), the hierarchy ("Il faut avoir un chef de classe."), impersonality in the center of the action ("*on*" agent of most common actions, diffuse responsibility), the proper problem ("Comment allons-nous faire?"), an impersonal individual action following the norm ("Chacun doit arranger"), an individual action of a possible concrete contextual action ("Il peut partir/il peut descendre; il coupe; il arrange") and, finally, a responsible individual action following the society at large, represented by the grandmother ("*Je* pars chez ma grand-mère, je reviens, j'arrange"). The hierarchy (the teacher) legitimates the latter ("très bien"). Therefore, the participants seem to share common normative living worlds orienting their activities/interactions in the classroom. The worlds of a normative collective understanding organize the social life in the village town Mbouo and classroom life.

How did/do such features of the sociocultural backgrounds of the participants of the class conference influence their interaction, the orientation of their problem solving, or the decision-making discourse?

8.3 Significance of the SCBs of the Participants of the Class Conference in Shaping the Classroom Action/Interactions

The class conference session on the problem of the lack of brooms in class 4 displayed some features of the sociocultural backgrounds the participants share. On the one hand, these include the conjunctive interaction space consisting of questions and answers, teacher and individual pupils. It is an interaction orientation typical of Cameroonian classroom discourse, a frontal orientation. This practice frame is structured around habituated hand-raising rituals, standing up to talk, and a teacher monopoly of speech. Although the physical transformation of the classroom setting (pupils and teacher sitting in a rectangle facing each other) induces participation, the interaction dynamic remains overall *sens unique* oriented (teacher – pupils), whereby the teacher has the role of problem phrasing, questioning, reformulating the pupils' contributions and distributing the talk.

On the other hand, the class conference actors constructed an "arranger" process of problem-solving and decision-making that handles other aspects of the problem, meaning subproblems that became central in the discourse. These include the normative organization of classroom life, consisting of the reproduction of the hierarchical social structure of power in the figure of the "*chef the classe*" (see also Kokemohr, 2014, p. 68) and the social punishment portrayed by the metaphor of "*on le punit*" (he will be punished) used by the pupils in the class conference. The problem of reestablishing the harmonious normative organization of class 4 is expressed as "*il faut*," notably "Il faut un chef de classe."

This second interpretation of the "*arranger*" solution (here as a system of problem-solving) helped to shift the focus from the concrete problem of a lack of brooms to that of social order that the participants in their interaction portray to be more important because the problem of the lack of brooms hides the problem of the necessity of re-establishing the social order, that is the hierarchy in the classroom ("*Il faut un chef.*"). The pupils, therefore, highlight the urgency to "*arrange*" the situation to prevent individual punishment (social exclusion). The social dynamic of inclusion-exclusion is structured by a diffused presence of some normative force orienting the individual behavior and the collective practice. Its diffused character makes it more redoubtable than when it is an overt regulation or a rule. It is "diffused" since the norms are implicitly understood in everyday language use, such as "*il faut*" "*on.*" However, it is explicated in the figure of the chief as the only instance explicitly mentioned. The other instances of "*je,*" "*tu,*" "*moi,*" and "*toi*" are embodied either in the group dynamic of "*nous*" or in an indefinite instance of "*on.*" Therefore, the system of "*arranger*" adopted to handle community problems

(classroom problem of a lack of brooms in the case of this class conference) sustains an orientation toward social harmony, an orientation of "*nous*" instead of "*je*," "*tu*." Facing the threat of the norm, the "*nous*" becomes an "*on*" and the norm "*il faut*."

Therefore, the participants of the class conference interact using their sociocultural backgrounds to treat the problem of the lack of brooms in the classroom, including each other in the "*nous*" instance of community, deferring to the hierarchy of the chief. The outcomes of the "*arranger*" system of problem-solving or the "*arranger*" orientation of decision-making are summarized by MP at the end of the session.

> E: Oui/oui, disons d'ici le vingt-un nous pouvons voir avec/avec les fêtes nous pouvons voir comment chacun fasse/euh fait les efforts pour en apporter. N'est-ce pas? // C: Oui, monsieur. // E: Je crois que pour aujourd'hui, euh, nous en avons terminé.

The community instance of "*nous*" has the responsibility of making the group members ("*chacun*") act and conform to the decision of bringing sticks to the classroom for a collective realization of the technical action of fixing up the brooms. In the end, there is no explicit order assigning each one to bring the sticks necessary for fixing up new brooms. The final decision is rather put in the form of "*arranger*," that is, a "we-responsibility" of including each member of the group into the process of the execution of a "community-arranged decision" of affording sticks and fixing up new brooms together. It is a "*nous*" frame of orientation to decision-making and problem-solving processes, construed and sustained by the participants' SCBs (connected with a separation of sphere). For instance, pupils in the class conference referred to various social worlds with subsequent social classification. The realm of "*village*" appears to interfere with the realm of "*city*" in the same geographical space: that of the missionary station of Mbouo.

The family backgrounds were distinguished according to the professional occupation of the parents (professional workers in the church services of the hospital, schools were distinguished from those of farmers). This also informed about the composition of the family (large families = farmers; small families = service workers of the church). Furthermore, this distribution informed the difference in approaching a problem at school, namely the lack of brooms in Monsieur Paul's class 4, discussed in the target class conference. While pupils from a farming family tend to solve the problem in a solidarity mode (by implicating grandmother, father, mother, or other relatives = social capital), those from working families use the money to buy the brooms from the local market rather than make them by themselves (economic capital). Therefore, MP's class conference session displayed various sociocultural and economic backgrounds accounting for different social, cultural and economic capital forms.

Children from farming families (rural, large families) tended to possess more social capital than those from professional workers (urban jobs, small families), who, on their part, dispose more economic capital than the former. The pedagogical implication was the difference in the acquisition of cultural capital in school. Pupils with rural backgrounds (*village*) tend to use their social capital to acquire cultural capital (education). Meanwhile, those with an urban background (*city*) preferred to use economic facilities to acquire learning material necessary to acquire cultural capital.

Therefore, the habitus, the frame of orientation of the "arranger" mode of problem-solving, was distributed according to the separation of sphere, especially the social space of family, village, city, school and church (Bohnsack, 2018, p. 207). Even though these spheres appear to be to some extent foreign to each other (the opposition family – school, or village – city), they seem to function according to the same mode of "arranger" as a harmonizing process. The conjunction of those separated spheres is possible thanks to the "solidarity" impulse implicit in the collective dynamic of "*nous pouvons arranger*." Therefore, the "*arranger*" mode of problem-solving or decision-making was preferred to the "*il faut*" approach of normative accountability.

The chapter analyzed a session of the class conference in class 4 at the ER to reconstruct interaction dynamics in problem-solving and decision-making. It investigated how the process developed by the participants depicts a shift or a transformation of interaction dynamics in the classroom, and, especially, how the decision-making process in the class conference consists of a communal decision-making process contrary to a top-down teacher authority of classroom governance. The analysis highlighted a classroom *habitus* framed by the practice of a questions-and-answers pedagogical interaction, observable in the participants' activities (raising hands, standing up to talk, always addressing the teacher).

Although this features a *sens unique* interaction orientation, the class conference was participative and productive. The pupils spoke freely, and some defended their opinions. They were engaged and felt included in the decision-making process to reflect on solutions to the problem of the lack of brooms in their classroom. They constructed a bipolar orientation of problem-solving, consisting of a technical "arranger" system (how to fix up sticks into brooms) and a normative social system emphasizing a holistic dimension of the lack of brooms in the classroom. This latter orientation consisted of "arranger la situation," that is, the causes of the problem ("Celui qui perd le balais.") and its governance ("Il faut un chef de classe."). These orientations informed a more important problem that the participants seemed to have addressed than the one posed. It is the fear of social exclusion (the fear of punishment in the case of the classroom), backed by a diffused force of normative order sustaining social order and harmony.

A further question is: How do these problem-solving orientations reflect the sociocultural backgrounds of the group regarding the social environment of their school ER in the context of Mbouo-Bandjoun? This question triggered the author's interest in going back to Monsieur Paul and acquiring more insight into an interesting system of "*arranger*," implicit in the social practice of decision-making and problem-solving.

9 Group Discussion with MP and MT: How Could "*Arranger*" Reflect the actors' SCBs in the Group Interaction and the Communal Decision-Making Process?

To get further insights into what is happening in this target class conference, the author of this work went back to MP and his colleague MT. He wanted to further investigate their understanding of some recurrent terms and expressions, like: "*arranger*," "*on écrit son nom,*" and "*il faut,*" displayed in the transcript of the class conference of MP in class 4 above-studied. The discussion he had with them on September 5, 2017, one day after the class resumed in Cameroon, was organized around these three terms to search for their contextual meanings. Thus, MP is considered in our discussion (2017) to be an expert informant. MT's lesson (on the theme "water" in CM2 class) happened to have also been video-recorded after MP's class conference in 2015 and was repeated in 2017 (even though with different pupils) before this target discourse.

The two lessons are also studied as comparative materials to analyze the actors' biographies/cultural backgrounds displayed in the classroom settings. MT stands for MP's "collaborative" colleague regarding working with the pedagogical principles of *sens divers*, *interaction* and *responsibilité réciproque* at *Ecole de Référence.* Both are close to each other as colleagues and friends. Beyond the school context, MP appears to be a very good Bamiléké social context interpreter because he had played this role in the project of *Ecole Pilote* and later at *Ecole de Référence*. Therefore, he appeared to be the right person to be addressed.

This chapter uses the analytical structure of (9.1) formulating and (9.2) reflecting interpretations, including a reflection capitalizing on these interpretations to highlight (9.3) the significance of actors' SCBs in shaping the group discussion as well as in structuring problem-solving and decision-making practices "typical" to the Bamiléké society.

9.1   Formulating Interpretation

The discourse is organized around four themes: the different contextual meanings of the term "*arranger,*" the term "*on écrit son nom,*" the term "*il faut,*" and the decision on the follow-up techniques. The term "*arranger*" is interpreted by the respondents in three contexts: (1) the context of "ils disent,

ils veulent dire fabriquer", (2) the "contexte linguistique", and the (3) social context of the Bamiléké society. Meanwhile, the expression "*on écrit son nom*" is reconstructed by the respondents following the structure "qui, où, pourquoi?" (who, where, why).

9.2 Reflecting Interpretation

9.2.1 *"Arranger" as a technical process: "ils disent, ils veulent dire fabriquer"*

The respondents call upon three contexts of interpretation to report on the pupils' intentions in using the term "*arranger*" to solve the lack of brooms in their classroom. One of the reported intention techniques is the use of the indirect speech "ils dissent, ils veulent dire que."

Excerpt 1: From the transcript of the group discussion with MP and MT

> Participants: I: Interviewer; MP: Monsieur Paul; MT: Monsieur Teba
> I: Je voudrais un peu revenir, euh/euh/euh, sur la/la conférence de classe de MP que j'ai filmée et que j'ai commencé à analyser. Il y a un mot qui est ressorti et qui/et qui nous a, euh/en tout cas qui a un peu focalisé notre attention. Il y avait dans l'entretien le mot "arranger", "on va arranger". Il était question de balais et::://
> MP: et les enfants disent qu'on va arranger. Hmm, hmm, oui (sourire) //
> MT: Hmhm (sourire)//
> I: Il y a ça. Je ne sais pas comment est-ce que vous comprenez, euh/euh, ce terme?//
> MP: ehe/ehe/ehe (rire: 03 s). Non "arranger" ici, bon c'est leur niveau, ils disent qu'ils veulent, euh ils/ils doivent en fabriquer. Que chacun doit/doit en fabriquer. Euh/euh (sourire). C'est ce qu'ils/ c'est ce qu'ils veulent dire, …//
> MT: (sourire) Ils veulent dire qu'il faut en fabriquer. Euh/euh, puisqu'ils sont punis et qu'on leur a donc dit que/les camarades leur ont donc dit que …//
> MP: Euh/euh, oui. Non, ce n'était pas une punition. C'était/il y avait un manque et puis il fallait discuter pour voir comment s'en/euh/comment s'en acquérir. Voilà, et puis ils ont ensemble pris la décision que chacun apporte son …//
> MT: fabrique un balais …//
> MP: Oui, apporte …//
> MT: Apporte sa/apporte leur part. Ils disent qu'on va arranger (sourire)//
> MP: Apporte sa contribution (sourire) d'une manière ou d'une autre (rire). //
> I: Hm, parce que euh/euh, ce terme "arranger" quand on voit un peu au niveau du dictionnaire, c'est vrai qu'il y a un synonyme aussi "fabriquer"//
> MP: Oui/oui.

The discourse opens with an explanation of the interviewer's interest in MP's class conference, in which the word "*arranger*" in the expression "*on va arranger*" has drawn his/their attention. In the context of the class conference "Il était question de balais et," MP reacts spontaneously, completing the sentence "et les enfants disent qu'on va arranger. Hmm, hmm oui (sourire)." (and the children say they will fabricate some. Hmhm yes (smile)." MT smiles simultaneously with MP about this complementation. The informants were asked how they understand the term "*arranger*." MP's first answer to this question is a loud laugh. What do these reactions signify here? Why do MP and MT react like this to the question of "How do you understand the term '*arranger*'"? What does the fact that they both simultaneously react with a smile/laughter after MP's utterance "and the children say, we are going to arrange" mean? Why does MP even laugh in his attempt to answer the interviewer's question while MT keeps on smiling?

According to Plessner (1970), laughter and crying represent explosive reactions to catastrophes or crises. They both represent corporal reactions to circumstances where a person has no words or gestures to express how or what they feel or think. We laugh or cry only in situations where we cannot do otherwise.

> You only laugh and cry in situations with no other reaction. In other words, for someone who considers a word, a picture, a situation in such a way that he must laugh or cry, there is no other reaction, even if others do not understand his humor, consider it silly or maudlin, find other forms of behavior appropriate. For the laughing or crying person, the situation in question concerns the effective impossibility of suitably reacting otherwise (Plessner, 1970, pp. 149-150, own translation from the German text)

While laughter is associated with fascinating, surprising, amusing, and irritating situations (joy, enjoyment, fun), one cries in situations where one is moved, touched emotionally, or shocked (suffering, pain, drama).

On the contrary, a smile is a silent gesture or mimic. Through its distant character, a smile gains meaning as a means and expression of communication. One shares a smile for understanding common knowledge about something and contrastive situations such as triumph and loss, superiority and embarrassment, and humility. A smile is a reaction to a situation and, at the same time, confirms that the situation is handled so that its connection is further locked. Plessner, paraphrasing Buytendijk, stated that: "Smiling is the introduction to laughter, the expression of joy, to the apt phrase that its paradox is the tension of a muscle group, which tension is experienced as relaxation of an active resting position" (ibid., pp. 181-185, own translation). So, how does this depiction of Plessner apply to the conjunctive performative performance of smile that the participants in the group discussion share about the interviewer's input?

9.2.1.1 Possible First Reading of the Sharing of a Smile

Let us return to the corporal reactions of MP and MT towards the expression "*nous allons arranger*" and the subsequent comprehension demande in excerpt 1 above.

> MP: Et les enfants disent qu'on va arranger. Hmm, hmm oui (sourire) // MT : hmhm (sourire)
> MP: And the children say they will fabricate some. Hmm, hmm, yes. (smile)//
> MT: Hm hm (smile)

MP and Teba share the same facial expression (a smile) regarding the complementation: "The children say; they will fabricate some." This additive information to the interviewer's remark, "It was about the brooms and" is what triggered the simultaneous facial expression of both. What could have motivated the smile*?*

Table 8: The insiders vs. the outsiders' character of smiling

World of the insiders (MP and MT – vous/you), shared laughter + "ils dissent … ils veulent dire … ici … que."	World of the outsiders (the interviewer and research colleagues: I/we). Immanent question about ["arranger"]?
Share common understanding/knowledge, share a spontaneous simultaneous smile, share an implicit consideration of the others as not belonging to the same world, are interpreters of their world, seek to explain their world to "outsiders."	Seem external to the world of the insiders. Therefore, appear excluded from the insiders' collectively shared knowledge, lack of understanding the insiders' common-sense backgrounds, "find" this lack is interesting (in the sense of the interviewer's immanent question), seeking to get to the insiders' world (by being interested in their comprehension of "nous allons arranger").

(Source: author)

Either the interviewer's interest in such an expression is funny, or it sounds funny. Whatever the case, both share the same common knowledge about the "nous allons arranger" situation. Moreover, their smile serves to express this shared understanding. Their simultaneous facial reaction could be addressed to the interviewer supposedly not sharing this basic common understanding/knowledge of such a context. They find it funny that the interviewer does not understand such an obvious expression. This could be seen in the video as they turn to each other while smiling. This first reading of MP and MT's smile may be simplified, representing two worlds: the world of the insiders (MP and MT about the context of "*nous allons arranger*" and the world of the outsiders (the interviewer and his research team or colleagues "*nous*").

The consequence of this position could be that, as MP and MT smile simultaneously to the interviewer's interest in the expression "*nous allons arranger*" or to the expression itself, they prove to identify themselves with this expression as belonging to their world; a world that the interviewer does

not yet have access to and which they are willing to share. They prove to be confident and tend to have control of the discourse. At least, they start this discourse with confidence, humor, joviality, and amusement. They feel relaxed to start the discussion with the interviewer. The smile here refers to MP and MT vis-à-vis the interviewer in starting the discussion on the feedback on MP's class conference session in 2015. The smile characterizes, as such, their attempt to secure their insider expert relationship regarding "*arranger*" by excluding the interviewer, considered to be an outsider, at least as someone "supposedly" lacking the common cultural background to "*arranger*." Their smile could also be interpreted as a self-redirected reaction embedding a sense of diversity in their own internal world perception or questioning the plurality of meaning of their own world.

9.2.1.2 Possible Second Reading of the Performance of Sharing a Smile

The relaxed, jovial and confident position (introduced by the smile) is broken by the overt question of the interviewer: "How do you understand this term?" triggering an explosive reaction (*laughter*: as a first intuitive explosive behavior, probably towards an unanswerable situation or an uncomfortable one). A subsequent reading of these reactions could be studying the respondents' position about what the children/pupils said regarding "*arranger*." In other words, could MP's laughter pertain to his uncomfortable position considering his inner world of belonging to the culture of "*arranger*" and, at the same time, distancing from it regarding what the children/pupils say about this world? How do MP and MT position themselves vis-à-vis the children/pupils as far as the questioned context of "*arranger*" is concerned?

> ehe/ehe/ehe (rire: 03 s). Non "arranger" ici, bon c'est leur niveau, ils disent qu'ils veulent, euh ils/ils doivent en fabriquer … (ehe/ehe/ehe (laughter 03 s). No, "arranger" here, it is their level, they say that/they want to say, euh they/they must fabricate some).

The *laughter* takes over the smile. This moves from a passive to an explosive reaction, giving the informant (MP) no more room to express a mimic behavior. His *laughter* is the ultimate reaction to the interviewer's question because it stands for a catastrophic end of all mimics (Plessner 1970, p. 185). MP laughs at the situation of "*arranger*" concerning the "children" (pupils) from whom he finds it difficult to distance himself. He stands in-between his position as an interpreter of the pupils' minds and his proper position (interpretation) toward "*arranger*." Whereas the interviewer expects him to share his comprehension of "*arranger*" (how do you understand this term?), MP stands at the same time for the voice of his pupils (they say we will organize some). This unpleasant, uncomfortable in-between position may have motivated this shift from a passive distance-controlled reaction (*smile*) to an explosive un-

controlled distance reaction (*laughter*). The laughter is a natural intuitive reaction because MP finds no other answer to the situation (his comprehension vs. his pupils' comprehension he must interpret).

After this spontaneous explosive reaction to the target question, MP regains confidence and becomes serious again: "Non '*arranger*' ici, bon c'est leur niveau, ils disent que ils veulent dire euh ils/ils doivent en fabriquer." "*Non*" is a strong position moving from humor to serious matters. "*Non*" helps him to open the room "*ici*" for a context interpretation (context of the pupils). Therefore, "*arranger*" is related to "*ici*," which refers to "okay, it is their level." This context of "*ici* = bon, c'est leur niveau" serves to locate the interpretation of arranger as meaning "en fabriquer," using reporting speech devices "ils dissent, ils veulent dire que," which characterize MP as standing for the voice of the "children" (the pupils in the class conference). "*Non*" introduces the choice of the monsieur to report on his pupils' understanding rather than on his understanding of "*arranger*" and understanding what the interviewer's question directly and addresses (How do you comprehend this term? Different, for example, from: How do you interpret what the pupils mean by the term "*arranger*"?). Thus, this appears to be a third world: the world of the children/pupils introduced with "ici, c'est leur niveau …" "*Non*" is, thus, meant to set the world of the teachers apart from the world of the pupils (levels of comprehension, one of the teachers for example).

To come out of this uncomfortable position (as an expert interpreter, an insider's world), MP develops the strategy of: "Non, ici c'est leur niveau," introducing the children/pupils' world. He reads his pupils' minds and attributes "nous allons arranger" to their expression of the clear meaning of "en fabriquer." "*Arranger*" means "*fabriquer*" at this level of the children/pupils and regarding the brooms. However, his use of "ils doivent" does not reflect his interpretation of the pupils' minds but rather introduces his personal view on the backgrounds of "*arranger*" that is tightly linked to "obligation" to a "must." Indeed, this brings him back to the difficulty of reporting on his own[112] experience of "*arranger*" and what his pupils say. It is also clear that MP interprets "*on*" ("on va arranger") in "*ils*" (they) ("ils doivent en fabriquer"). It is a clear cut from an impersonal diffuse agent "*on*" to an identifiable agent "*ils*," referring to the pupils but not comprising himself in the responsibility and obligation of the action of "en fabriquer" (fabricate some). The use of "*non*" helps MP to set his clear, serious, and strong position towards the situation of "*on va arranger*" as a situation of: "*ils doivent en fabriquer*" (they must fabricate some). He makes it clear that "*arranger*" does not only mean "en fabriquer", but also includes its obligatory character in "ils doivent en fabriquer; que chacun doit/doit en fabriquer", although he attrib-

---

112 For example, at the level of the adults or the teachers that he later depicts in the discourse.

utes this meaning and intention to the "children" (the pupils): "ils dissent, ils veulent dire que, c'est ce qu'ils veulent dire" (they say, they want to say that, that is what they want to say").

MP further uses the "*non*" technique to confirm his position as an expert interpreter of the context (class conference) and the situation of "*nous allons arranger*" about the children discussing strategies to solve the problem of the lack/loss of brooms in their classroom. He does so because he must recall the context of "*nous allons arranger*" to correct his colleague's interpretation of the motives behind it: "Non, ce n'était pas une punition. C'était/il y avait un manque" (No. It was not a punishment. It was/there was a lack of). "*Arranger*" in this context of lack means "to make his contribution in one way or another" (implying regardless of the process of this contribution as could indicate the laughter reaction of MP).

Figure 22: MP's reconstruction of what his pupils mean by nous allons "arranger"

> "On va arranger" (We will fabricate some)
>
> 1) "Non, ici, bon c'est leur niveau" (No, here, well, it is their level)
>
>   "Ils dissent, ils veulent dire que" (They say, they want to say that)
>
>   "Ils doivent en fabriquer" (They must fabricate some)
>
>   "Chacun doit/doit en fabriquer" (Each must/must make some)
>
> 2) "Non. Ce n'était pas une punition. C'était/il y avait un manque" (No. It was not a punishment. It was/there was a lack
>
>   "Chacun apporte sa contribution" (Each one makes their contribution)
>
>   "d'une manière ou d'une autre (rire)" (in one way or another (laughter))
>
> 3) "Voila." (That is it).

(Source: author)

9.2.1.3   MT's Position in the Discourse Elaboration

Let us now study MT's contribution to MP's reconstruction of "*nous allons arranger*" in the pupils' minds.

> MT: (sourire) Ils veulent dire qu'il faut en fabriquer. Euh/euh, puisqu'ils sont punis et qu'on leur a donc dit que/les camarades leur ont donc dit que …//(…)// fabrique un balais..// (…)// apporte sa/apporte leur part. Ils disent qu'on va arranger (sourire)//.

MT adheres to this strong position of MP ("*en fabriquer*") regarding what the children mean by the expression "*nous allons arranger*." He smiles at MP before using the same reporting device "*ils veulent dire*", even though reintroducing the impersonality/ confusion concerning the agent of the action: "qu'il faut en fabriquer", which he further interprets as "puisqu'ils sont

punis". For him, "ils doivent en fabriquer" meaning "il faut en fabriquer" is interpreted based on punishment after the loss of the brooms: "puisqu'ils sont punis". MT's interpretative task is complex because he must (so to speak) read his colleague's mind (share his understanding, his point of view) to imagine the situation in which the "children" (pupils) found themselves (using his own experience of classroom settings as a teacher in this school) and then state his view on the matter; a complexity which exposes him to contradiction and correction from his colleague. As such, he finds himself in a complex position of insider (sharing MP's world), interpreter of the situation MP and his pupils are in (class conference context of "*arranger*"), but also an outsider to this context.

Table 9: MT's complex position as an insider, interpreter, and outsider

Insider	Interpreter	Outsider
MT is a colleague of MP; He shares the same space of experience of "ici"; He shares his understanding of "nous allons arranger" (smile); He agrees with his view of " ils disent, ils veulent dire en fabriquer" (smile).	MT reformulates his colleague's interpretation (ils veulent dire qu'il faut en fabriquer …) ; He interprets the context, motivating the pupils' "arranger" (puisqu'ils sont punis).	MT is subjected to a correction by his colleague MP (Non, ce n'était pas une punition); He is informed by his colleague about the "right" context of arranger (c'était/il y avait un manqué).

(Source: author)

9.2.2 *"Arranger" Within the Socio-Linguistic Context of the Family and the Village*

Excerpt 2: From the transcript of the group discussion with MP/MT

I: Mais "arranger", "est-ce que ce terme-là ne reflète pas un peu, euh, le contexte même?" C'est-à-dire, est-ce que ce n'est pas euh …// **MP**: linguistique // **I**: Oui, le contexte linguistique. Est-ce que ce n'est pas une traduction du contexte linguistique? **MT**: De la langue? // **MP**: Oh, oh, bon // **MT**: Si, parce qu'on dit en langue que **"niapte"** // **MP**: Bon! // **MT**: Mais là aussi …// **MP**: Non, non, disons que n'est-ce pas// non, non, non/non non, je pense que/je ne crois pas que ce soit/qu'on puisse aller jusque-là. Parce que c'est un/c'est// d'abord il faut dire qu'ici on a à faire aux enfants du village. C'est-à-dire que/qui euh/pour la plu/pour au moins jusqu'à maintenant malgré que nous soyons dans cette salle/dans une zone assez scolarisée, jusqu'à maintenant, euh euh, reçoit, euh, au moins 15 à 20 % reçoivent leur premier mot en français plutôt à l'école. Donc, euh, donc, c'est les mots qui sont utilisés en famille. Puisque nous avons à faire à des parents à niveau assez, euh, pas/pas assez élevé, euh euh, c'est-à-dire le/le niveau linguistique en français// bon et puis on dit// on essaie de parler, puisque chacun veut parler le français à son enfant. Mais le langage difficilement/le lan-

gage est soutenu. // **I**: Hm, hm // **MP**: Donc, l'enfant très souvent, prend ce mot/ euh attend../ il enregistre ces mots là qu'ils euh. // **MP**: Oui, disons qu'ils transportent à l'école, euh euh, intactes. Donc, maintenant c'est dans la plus part de temps pendant les moments de/ par exemple de, euh, de quoi de neuf le matin/ euh, des moments où, euh de/ attend…/ pendant les petites discussions hmm/ nous nous trouvons des part/de temps à autre des petits moments pour clarifier. Puisque nous sommes proches de la/de cette société, quand il le dit, on comprend de quoi il veut parler. Parce que c'est des mots parfois quand ils utilisent, si tu es étranger à la société tu n'y comprendra rien …// **I**: Exactement, c'est pour ça qu'il faut revenir là-dessus pour qu'on…// **MP**: Et alors, donc, nous profitons de ces moments-là pour leur dire voilà ici ça se dit comme ça. Parce que on est dans cette situation si. Donc, ça se dit comme ça et donc et progressivement ça change. Hm hm. Progressivement ça change. // **I**: Non, c'est..// **MP**: Vous allez vous rendre compte que/euh de près vous allez vous rendre compte que au cours moyen 2, quand vous travaillez avec eux ce n'est plus la même chose. Même si de temps à autre il y a des mots comme ça qui filent, ce n'est plus autant intense qu'encore à notre niveau là-bas. Voilà. **I**: Hm // **MP**: Hm, hm // **I**: Hm, hm, ah! C'est ça que nous on n'a pas très bien compris le contexte. C'est pour ça que je reviens un peu avec ce terme "arranger". Donc, vous avez expliqué que ça vient de/de de contexte familial, social et …// **MP**: c'est vrai qu'il y a beaucoup de mots **"**arranger ici. Il y a aussi le mot **"**arranger", ça veut dire aussi "négocier" (rire à l'éclat) // **MT**: (sourire) // **MP**: Mais/mais il ne s'agit pas de ca ici. Euh, "négocier" devant la police par exemple. (rire). Mais ce n'est pas le cas ici quand même. Euh euh, ce n'est pas le cas, c'est "en fabriquer d'autres". Euh, euh //

9.2.2.1 "Arranger" as a Translation of "niapte" from Ghomálá into French

On the one hand, the discourse in this extract is constructed around the question "Est-ce que ce n'est pas une traduction du contexte linguistique"? (Isn't it a translation of the linguistic context?). MT understands this question as dealing with the language, which is the context of the Ghomálá language. In this sense, he directly translates "arranger" from French into Ghomálá: "Si, parce qu'on dit en langue que 'niapte.'" The pupils in the class conference interpret the linguistic context of the use of "arranger" at the first level to embody the attempt of a translation from language A (Ghomálá) to language B (French). In this transcript, it is rather the translation of "arranger" by MT from language B (French) into language A (Ghomálá).

Pupils' translation from Ghomálá into French

MT's translation from French into *Ghomálá*
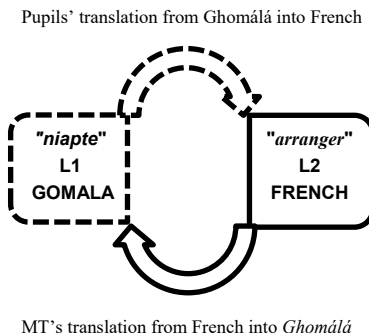
The following is a WhatsApp note from MT on January 30, 2018, as the author asked him for further a language explanation of "*arranger*" in the Ghomálá language.

> Il faut arranger: "A pouon ghe pe niapte."
> Il faut que tu arranges: "A pouon ghe o niapte."
> Il faut que nous arrangions: "A pouon ghe pieu niapte."
> Arranger/négocier: "niapte"
> On va arranger: "pe gho niapte"

There are five structures of construction of the verb "arranger" ("niapte") in this text:

(1) il faut + arranger: "*a pouon ghe + pe niapte*";
(2) il faut + que tu arranges: "*a pouon ghe + o niapte*";
(3) il faut + que nous arrangeons: "*a pouon ghe + pieu niapte*";
(4) arranger/négocier: "*niapte*";
(5) on va + arranger: "*pe gho + niapte*".

In these five structural constructions with the verb "*arranger*," the finite verb forms in Ghomálá are as constant as their infinite verb form "*niapte*." There is neither a change in tenses nor subjects (number). Moreover, the equivalent structure to "il faut" (a pouon ghe) is also constant in both (1), (2), and (3), even though the presence of the subordinative conjunction "*que*" introduces the subjunctive mode. Also, it is noticeable in this text that the particle "*ghe*" changes into "*gho*" in (5) "pe gho niapte" ("on va arranger") in comparison to the infinite form in (1), (2), (3). What can we learn from these structural differences (French and Ghomálá) regarding what is meant by "on va arranger" of MP's pupils in the class conference? One is that, in the text, the verb "*niapte*" in Ghomálá is an infinitive, regardless of the structure of the sentence. Only the particle "*ghe*" changes into "*gho*," according to the tense type

(here, future tense). Regardless of the agents and the circumstances (time circumstance) of action, "*niapte*" remains an infinitive "*niapte*." Another issue is that this infinitive character of the action "*niapte*" might portray its importance in real-life conversations within the context of the Ghomálá language, revealing the stability of this language.

In this view of the stability of the active verb "*niapte*" in the Ghomálá language (infinitive), one finds that the language transfer and the interference move within the school context as they come from two different worlds: the world of the French language in school and world of the Ghomálá language at home and the village. While the former is finite (allowing changes in the verb form, according to the persons and the time circumstances), the latter is infinite (constant/stable infinitive verb form, regardless of the persons and the time circumstances). It is worth analyzing how this complexity of the language transfer and the interference operates in MP's explanation of the complex socio-linguistic contexts at the *Ecole de Référence.*

9.2.2.2 The Complex Socio-Linguistic Contexts at ER

On the other hand, MP provides a complex picture of the social background "arranger" derived from ("Bon! Non, non, non."). He uses "*ici*" to introduce the broad complex source of "*arranger*" within the school context in opposition to "*jusque là*" related to the first interpretation of MT reflecting the level of translation. In an argumentative mode, MP explains the context of "*ici*" as referring to the quality of the French language in the village, in the family, and its transfer to the school context. According to MP's interpretation, it is not a matter of translation from Ghomálá into French; it is rather the problem of the quality of the French spoken in school, which suffers from the village and the family's versions of it.

MP develops an argumentative explanation of language transfer and interference in second language acquisition. The socio-educational context of the language use comprising the village, families (low quality of French) versus the school/a sufficiently educated area (high quality of French) appears to be depicted by MP as significant in understanding the use of the word "*arranger*" by his pupils in the class conference. The learners "*take*" words from the family within the village context, then "record" these words, and finally "*carry*" them "*intact*" to school.

Table 10: The logic of the argumentative explanation of MP's speech

"Here, one has to deal with children from the village."	That is
"At least 15 to 20 % of them learn their first French words at school."	So
"These are words which are used in families."	For
"We have to deal here with parents with a low-quality French."	Therefore
"Children take, record, and transport these into school."	Now
"We find time to clarify."	Since
"We are close to society; we understand what the children mean."	So
"We tell them that here it is said like this."	And so
"It changes progressively."	That is it
	It is true that
Many words for "arranger" exist here. There is also the word "arranger," which means "négocier" (laughter)" to negotiate in front of the police, for example." (laugher)	But
"It is not the case here. It means to fabricate others."	…………..

(Source: author)

However, as one of the two official languages in Cameroon,[113] the French language benefits from a large population of users in the West Cameroon region, just like in the other seven French-speaking regions. Its quality varies from urban to rural areas, reflecting the importance of national languages used in the latter. MP depicts a complex picture of the language reality in his school situated in a semi-urban area (Foaleng, 2005), which (despite it being "une zone assez scolarisée") still comprises at "least 15 to 20 % of pupils who hear their first French word in school". This argument shows that French is not the first language (L1) in the village and within families. It is a second language (L2), the Ghomálá language being the first/or mother tongue/native language (L1).

The distinction between L1 and L2, foreign language and official language, native language and mother tongue (Belibi, 2006), is very complex within the multi-lingual context of Cameroon,[114] whether within the French- or the English-speaking regions (Bikoi, 2008). This complexity of a language distinction might also be found in its form and the quality of the content (in terms of both accuracy and fluency). MP seems to describe in his discourse the complex language context (ibid.) in Cameroon, especially in his school context of Mbouo-Bandjoun (semi-urban area). He goes beyond its simple description to present how they handle such a socio-linguistic complexity

---

113 Bilingualism: French and English
114 Existence of more than 284 languages. See the statistics in https://www.ethnolo gue.com/country/CM and https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/what-languages-are-spoken-in-cameroon.html

(MP and his colleagues, as mentioned in the discourse "*we*") in the real-life pedagogical context to impact a progressive change according to the gradual movement of the pupils from one class to another: "au cours moyen 2".

The progressive change he refers to does not appear to be complete; he rather portrays it regarding its form ("*ce n'est plus la même chose*") and intensity ("*ce n'est plus autant intense*"). MP's depiction of the progressive change in the French language quality in school contexts might be interpreted as progressive changes in the pupils' sociocultural backgrounds related to their linguistic backgrounds from the family, the village, and the street form of the language to a grammatically correct form of the language in schools. MP seems to portray the role of the teachers in monitoring these progressive transformations of the pupils' linguistic backgrounds from class 1 (SIL) to class 6 (CM2). It is a progressive diminution of language interference and transfer from L1 to L2, meaning from a family, local and village language (Ghomálá) to a school language (French). The child/pupil is caught in-between the village context of the Ghomálá language use, the family context of Ghomálá, and the informal French language use as well as the school context of the French literacy acquisition.

Figure 24: The complexity of the language transfer and the interference in a semi-urban school context
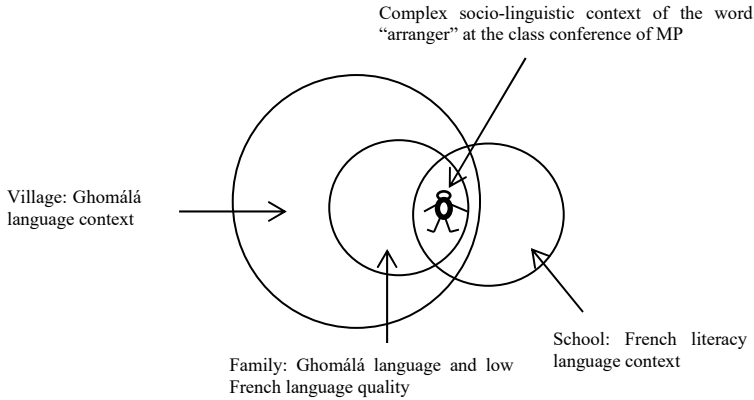
(Source: author)

The child (pupil) at the primary school level is confronted with language use challenges (communicative competence in Ghomálá and French) and language learning challenges (French syntax, grammar, and vocabulary). While the challenges of language use entail their struggle to translate their communicative competence from L1 (Ghomálá) into L2 (French), challenges of language learning consist of French communicative and literacy competencies. As a fluent communicant in Ghomálá, the child/pupil comes to school

with little French language competencies acquired in the family context, which consists of a socioculturally colored French concerning morphemes and phonemes, often using the syntax structure of Ghomálá for French. Therefore, the pupils in the class conference use "*arranger*" (implying the SCB of the holistic orientation of problem-solving) instead of "*fabriquer*," consisting of a technical process of problem-solving. How can these linguistic challenges inform decision-making and problem-solving sociocultural orientations within the Bamiléké society and the Cameroonian multicultural, multi-linguistic context? What does "*arranger*" mean within the Bamiléké everyday communication contexts?

9.2.3 "Arranger" in the Bamiléké Society

Excerpt 3: From the transcript of the group discussion with MP/MT

[…] **I**: Ok, et euh, dans la société même qu'est-ce que ça veut dire le mot "arranger" dans la société quand on utilise au niveau social. Vous avez parlé de "négocier" tout à l'heure. // **MP**: Oui. // **I**: Qu'est-ce "arranger dans le contexte Bamiléké, qu'est-ce que ça veut dire?" Puisque vous avez parlé des familles et …// **MP**: Oui, oui. ç/ça//… écoute, euh. Bon (rire). Parce que tout à l'heure j'ai parlé par exemple du contexte policier. Oui, mais il faut dire que parfois je pense/ je/je je pense que la société Bamiléké est par excellence, euh une société de corrompus et de corrupteurs (air sérieux et voix calme). Parce que / … (04s) parce que la négociation est là et/et donc, ce mot/ce mot revient régulièrement/ il y a de (s'adressant à MT) petits business (rire) euh des affaires à la chefferie/ les affaires dans tous les sens (rire) …// **MT**: Oui, on dit "arrangeons". C'est justement dans ce sens que …// **MP**: Mais (rire rire rire) // **MT**: Et puis on a pris l'habitude de dire que, à (…) on dit que "arrangeons" pour dire que/ ca rejoint (…) qui dit que "mieux un mauvais arrangement qu'un bon procès …// **MP**: Oui, oui (rire) qu'un bon procès // **MT**: Dès qu'il y a un problème entre// surtout ici en pays Bamiléké/ on dit "arrangeons, arrangeons quand même", pour dire négo …// **MP**: négocions // **MT**: négocions. On peut négocier jusqu'à/jusqu'à faire des échanges de monnaie. Euh (rire en se tournant vers MP) // **MP**: Oui (rire) // **MT**: On dit on s'arrange. On négocie la situation pour que ça n'aille pas au-delà. **MP**: Hm, hm (toujours avec l'air souriant) // **I**: Là il a parlé du contexte de/ par exemple négocier au niveau de la /de la chefferie/ c'est comment ? Bon ! ça se comprend comment? …// **MT**: Quand on dit arrangeons …// **I**: Ce n'est pas forcément économique ou/ou corruption, ou autre chose. Vous avez parlé de l'harmonie …// **MT**: Oui, l'harmonie entre/qu'il y ait l'harmonie au lieu que nous nous explosions/ que nous nous fâchions/nous nous explosions, au lieu qu'on aille devant les tribunaux, on essaie d'arranger que ça reste entre nous/qu'entre/entre nous. Qu'on répare l'erreur qu'il y a entre nous/entre nous. Que ça reste là. // **MP**: Hm, hm // **MT**: Quand c'est très compliqué, si nous étions à deux c'est trop compliqué, on peut à la limite chercher un ami de/une personne de confiance qui vient donc parfois/comme ici les gens parfois puissent aller dans les chefferies/chez le

chef de quartier quand entre eux ça été un peu/on évite que ça prenne d'autres tournures. Oui, c'est un peu ça … (02s) négocions. (sourire)//

MP tries to develop an argumentation constructed around the subcategories of "arranger": corrupt(ion)/negotiation to the question of what "arranger" in the Bamiléké context means. MP conveys his thought about "arranger" within the Bamiléké context: "Sometimes … I think the Bamiléké society is par excellence a society of corrupt people." Then, he tries to justify this using the cause-conjunction "because" and the result-conjunction "therefore." Moreover, MP attempts to illustrate his opinion using the comparison to "small business." MT agrees with his colleague on the issue, and he provides further development of it in real-life situations, a development which is agreed to as such by MP.

Table 11: Simplified structure of MP/MT's discourse organization

Organization of the discourse	Typical language use
Opinion (MP)	"Sometimes I think the Bamiléké society is par excellence a society of corrupt people."
Argumentation cause-effect (MP)	Because / (04s) because the negotiation is there • Therefore, this word/word comes back regularly / • E.g., there is (looking at Monsieur Teba) small businesses (laugh) uh business at the chieftaincy/business in every way.
Work reformulation (MT) Validation and elaboration	"Better a bad arrangement than a good trial."
Elaboration	• Let's negotiate • Making money exchanges • We get along • We negotiate the situation so that it does not go beyond • Harmony, instead of exploding/getting angry/exploding, instead of going to court, we try to arrange that it stays between us. • When it is very complicated, we can ultimately go to a friend/a trusted person
Relativization	• (Although) people sometimes can go to the chieftaincy/ the head of the quarter.

(Source: author)

This argumentation is organized conjunctively (a ubiquitous inference) either by the interviewees who support each other, uttering a simple "yes," "hm, hm," or by some shared gesture, such as looking at each other, turning to the colleague, sharing a smile, or laughing. The support is displayed in repetitions, additions, or comments on what the colleague says. The discourse sounds to take place in a friendly atmosphere of laughter and smiles, which again could portray a one-voice speech, or, as Bohnsack (2010, p. 108) called

it, a "homologous pattern of experience" developed by the two interviewees in a closed sphere of insiders (we, between us). They share laughter and smiles to express the uncomfortable situation in which they find themselves presenting the antagonistic character of the "arranger," also implying corruption and negotiation. Recurrent laughter and smiles in this discourse could also be a motive for the struggle of talking about sensitive/sensible (like a confession) topics or social realities that are antagonistically accounted for as corruption (negative?) and negotiation (positive?).

Figure 25: Problem-solving framework of orientations: informal community process of "arranger" vs. the formal trial process
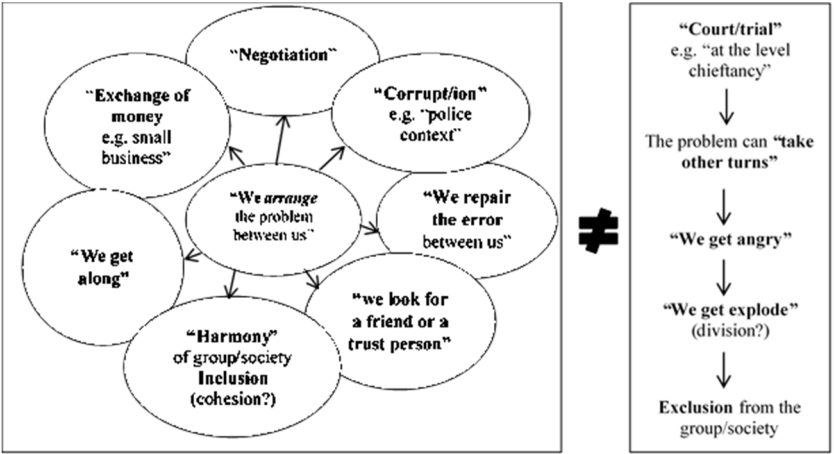
(Source: author)

The thematic structure of this discourse looks like an antithetic development of the social context of action/interaction in the Bamiléké society on problem-solving. The organization of the social relations in the Bamiléké society, structured around the dichotomy between inclusion and exclusion, leaves room for interpretation. The diagram above portrays a simplified attempt at reconstructing this dichotomic social structure of relations.

There are two different and parallel processes in problem-solving, portrayed by the system of "arranger" as opposed to the system of "court/trial." While the first system is organized around two action/interaction frames, negotiation/corruption, which somehow correlate, the former being a form of the latter and the latter being the product of the former, as argued by MP, the second portrays authority instances of the social life regulation (chieftaincy and chief of the quarter).
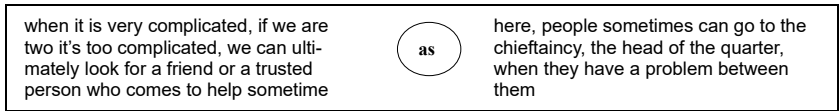
While the process of "arranger" (here, the preferred process by the interviewees) is aimed at achieving harmony within the social group or between

the actors (ubiquitous inference), the court/trial process (here, avoided process) can "take other turns" leading to division, explosion, and anger within the group (singular inference). Furthermore, the opposition between "arranger" and "court/trial" processes of problem-solving is introduced by the antithetic adjunct instead of (blend of antithetic with replacive).

> MT: Oui, l'harmonie entre/qu'il y ait l'harmonie au lieu que nous nous explosions/que nous nous fâchions/nous explosions, au lieu qu'on aille devant les tribunaux, on essaie d'arranger que ça reste entre nous/qu'entre/entre nous. Qu'on répare l'erreur qu'il y a entre nous/entre nous. Que ça reste là. (harmony instead of getting angry, exploding; instead of going to court, we try to arrange that it stays between us, let us repair the error that exists between us. That it stays there).

The term instead introduces a deliberate choice of a positive goal/outcome (harmony: unity and inclusion resulting from an "arranger" process) as opposed to a negative consequence (explosion, anger resulting from a court/trial process). In other words, rather than "exploding" and "getting angry" (leading to the social exclusion), people in the Bamiléké society prefer to "get along," to arrange any problem between them, for it should not "go beyond," it shouldn't "take other turns." The comparison mode (still in an antithetic form) introduced in the following clarifies the position of the people regarding preferred instances of solving a complicated problem between them.

Figure 26: Antithetic mode of comparison using "as"

| when it is very complicated, if we are two it's too complicated, we can ultimately look for a friend or a trusted person who comes to help sometime | **as** | here, people sometimes can go to the chieftaincy, the head of the quarter, when they have a problem between them |

(Source: author)

On the one hand, "very" introduces the intensity and complexity of a problem in society. It is followed by the subsequent positive action to overcome the mutation of a problem in society. The use of "we," conditionally ("if") involving the speaker and a protagonist ("we are two") could inform about some specific identifiable agents involved in a conflict, which "is too complicated." These we-agents "ultimately look" for a third person, who might be "a friend or a trusted person" who could intervene to avoid the problem taking other turns. All seems to be done (or better "arranged") internally in a "we"-form to preserve harmony. On the other hand, if the problem is complicated, a normative instance is referred to. This normative frame of orientation is described as "people sometimes can go to the chieftaincy/the head of the quarter when they have a problem between them." However, this latter orientation is not a social habitus (it is limited to "sometimes" meaning occasionally) because people avoid the problem taking other turns, "on évite que ça prenne d'autres tournures. Oui c'est un peu ça (02 s) négocions (sourire)".

9.2.4 Normative Backgrounds in the Group Discussion with MPMT

Excerpt 4: From the transcript of the group discussion with MP/MT

I: Oui, il y avait aussi l'expression euh/euh "on écrit son nom" …// **MP**: On? // **I**: "on écrit son nom" // **MP**: Oui // **I**: hm/hm // **MP**: Oui // **I**: Donc, celui qui part/qui perd le balais on écrit son nom. // **MT**: Celui qui prend le balais …// **I**: Celui qui perd le balai on écrit son nom. // **MP**: On écrit son nom où? …// **MT**: Celui qui prend/peut être c'est celui qui prend le balai …// **I**: Non, je reprends exactement ce qui est/ce qui est dans/dans/dans …// **MP**: Ah, oui, ah oui, ah oui, celui qui perd le balai on écrit son nom. On écrit son nom pourquoi? On écrit son nom où? Parfois il faut l'écrire sur le plan/euh sur le …// **MT**: Tableau // **MP**: Sur le journal mural // **MT**: Journal mural // **MP**: Euh, hormis le journal mural, euh de/de plus en plus euhm (…) un angle, nous avons créé un angle du tableau où parfois on note/les enfants viennent noter certaines choses hormis le journal mural. Il écrit, pourquoi? Ce/ce nom qu'il écrit permet de se rappeler et d'en/et d'interpeller celui qui l'a égaré. // **I**: Hm/hm // **MP**: Et qu'est-ce qu'on fait de lui? Est-ce que on le pardonne? Est-ce que peut-être il a euh/euh il a égaré dans une situation, euh, pas très/disons dans le cadre réel du travail. Parce que dans le cadre réel du travail par exemple au moment où il ballait il peut déposer, le temps de décaler, ça se perd. // **MT**: Ou un autre camarade peut ramasser. // **MP**: Un autre camarade ou le chef de classe le ramasse. Mais est-ce qu'il a pris/peut être il est rentré chez lui ça c'est autre chose. // **I**: Hm/hm // **MP**: Et là, on écrit son nom donc pour comprendre d'abord ces choses comment ça s'est passé. Et/ euh l'inviter à réparer la faute si c'est nécessaire. Oui. // **MT**: Bon, c'est pour ne pas/pour compléter …/c'est juste pour rappeler. C'est-à-dire lorsqu'on note/écrit le nom veut dire "noter son nom quelque part". // **MP**: Hm/hm // **MT**: S'il faut le dire terre à terre, "noter son nom quelque part" ça sert à se rappeler. Puisque en classe, il y a beaucoup d'autres choses à faire …// **MP**: A faire. // **MT**: Lorsque le nom est noté quelque part au journal mural, par exemple, si le Maître, pendant son travail n'a pas, par exemple été vigilent, ne se rappelle pas je peux dire, un autre camarade, un autre élève dit "Monsieur, on avait noté le nom de tel au tableau pour avoir euh jeté/ ou bien pour n'avoir pas ramené le balais qu'il a/ qu'il a pris." A ce moment, le Maître va créer une brèche pour que lors de la journée le lendemain en classe/ou bien une brèche pendant la journée pour qu'on essaie d'en discuter pour voir/trouver la solution. // **MP**: Que l'autre (…) c'est plus visible/ plus visible pour tous // **MT**: Oui … […].

9.2.4.1 The Expression "On Ecrit son Nom"

In terms of additional expressions, the interviewer introduces this section of the discourse with MP and MT from the class conference, which needs to be clarified ("Oui, il y avait *aussi* l'expression euh/euh, on écrit son nom.") "*Aussi*" here seems to make the junction between what is to be discussed ("*on écrit son nom*") and what had earlier been discussed ("*nous pouvons*

arranger"). MP, interested in the subject "*on*," questions the expression mentioned by the interviewer. The interviewer repeats the expression to answer MP's question about "*on*." This repetition seems sufficient as an answer, for MP says "*oui*"/yes. However, the interviewer recalls the whole expression providing more information on its contextual use ("Donc, celui qui part/qui perd le balais on écrit son nom"). Recalling the whole sentence context of the expression "*on écrit son nom*" makes room for MT for questions of the choice of the verb ("*perd*" or "*prend*") in terms of an attempt of doubt ("*peut-être*"). The interviewer says that he cites directly from (*dans/dans/dans*), introducing the source of information.

Then MP attempts to answer subsequent questions he associates with clarifying the expression "*on écrit son nom*." Where and why writing someone's name drives the questions of the context clarification used by MP, whereas the answer to the where-question is put straightforward, designating places "sur un plan, le journal mural, un angle du tableau" (on a plan … the wall news … in the corner of the board). MT adheres to MP's indication of places "*on écrit son nom*." He repeats and completes what MP has said (i.e., "le tableau"). There is a little elaboration on these locations. The need for further elaboration concerns the question of why "*on écrit son nom*." First, MP designates two reasons for writing a name: reminding and calling on the person who misplaced the brooms. Then, he raises some questions concerning the responsibility of the misplacement of the brooms: What does one do to him? ("Qu'est-ce qu'on fait de lui?"); should one forgive him? ("est-ce que on le pardonne?").

MP then analyzes the consequences of the two reasons mentioned, considering two different situations: the real-life working situation of the classroom (school) and the situation of "Mais est-ce que il a pris … il est rentré chez lui." (Has he taken the brooms to his house?). Both MP and MT exemplify the misplacement of the brooms in a real-life working situation to justify the subsequent action to be taken regarding the agent accountable for this misplacement.

The examples include: "While cleaning, he might have put it elsewhere; it might have gotten lost, a classmate could have taken it, or the class chief has taken it." In these cases, the interviewees seem to attribute the responsibility of the misplacement of the broom to other instances than the person who worked with it (it might have gotten lost, a classmate or the class chief could have taken it). However, it is a different case, a different issue if a pupil took the broom home: "Il a pris/peut être il est rentré chez lui, ça c'est autre chose." (If he took it home with him, that is another story.). In this case, MP seems to attribute the responsibility for the misplacement of the broom to the pupil himself: "*et là on écrit son nom, donc*" (And therefore, his name will be written down.). The name is written down either for a further investigation on how things happened or for the repair of a broom.

The discourse constructed by the interviewees is organized in one agreed line, just the same organization as in the case of "*arranger*" above. MP sets the orientation of the argumentation ("On écrit son nom, pourquoi? On écrit son nom, où?"). He then starts developing it. MT leads the discourse orientation by repeating MP's statements or completing them. Completing a sentence can be done in two ways: either in a short expression, like a single word or by taking over the development of the argumentation in a whole paragraph, searching MP's agreement of this development from time to time. Such an argumentation completing a paragraph is introduced by an expression of agreement, such as:

In excerpt 4: Bon, c'est pour ne pas/pour compléter /c'est juste pour
In excerpt 3: Oui, on dit arrangeons. C'est justement dans ce sens que

The verb "*completer*" (to complete) preceded by the purpose conjunction "*pour*" (for) and followed by the expression "*c'est juste pour*" (it is just for) underlines an agreement in this discourse. It looks like a speech technique to avoid a contradiction ("*pour ne pas*"). And considering the MP's ubiquitous argumentation, this technique proposes a further development by providing an illustration, explanation, or further elaboration of the initial argument. This structure is equivalent to excerpt 3 ("*c'est justement dans ce sens que*"). The expressions "*it is just*" and "*in this sense*" depict a typical agreement line developed by MP and MT in this discourse.

This can be observed in many discourses developed in staff meetings, pedagogical seminars, colloquia, or political talks. A reference to the former argument lines of argument or idea from a former speaker (in most of the cases, this speaker is the chairperson or a person who explicitly or implicitly has the role of an expert like in the case with MP about the class conference) and works according to the pedagogical principles of *sens divers* at the *Ecole Pilote*). Examples of popular common phrases of talk, in general, are: "comme l'a bien dit tel"; "dans le même ordre d'idée que tel"; "pour renchérir à ce qu'a dit tel"; "pour ajouter de l'eau au moulin de tel" ("as X has said; in the same line with X; to add, adding, or in addition to what X has said").

The examples mentioned above constitute typical features of a ubiquitous inference in real-life speeches or common-sense discourses, where members or actors of a society tend to fit or suit a place in a globally organized structure of society. It portrays the character of inclusive features of social structures. In the present case of the discourse with MP and MT, the interpretation of "*arranger*" as a system of harmonious acting seems to confirm how both organize their interaction in agreement, which can be interpreted as an interaction system of "*arranger*." In other words, MP and MT seem to unconsciously or consciously develop a one-line argumentative explanation of what "*on écrit son nom*" might mean in the context of the target class conference at the *Ecole Pilote*. They construct a discourse around the reflexive questions of

who, where, and why "*on écrit son nom*." That is, who writes the name, where, and why. They call upon their conjunctive knowledge of everyday pedagogical practices to answer these questions.

(1) Qui écrit le nom? – On, il, le chef de classe.
(2) On écrit son nom, où? – Sur le plan, tableau, sur le journal mural, un angle du tableau.
(3) Il écrit pourquoi? – Se rappeler et d'interpeller celui qui l'a égaré, pour comprendre, l'inviter à réparer la faute si c'est nécessaire.

These detailed answers of the teachers (MP and MT) prove that the pupils in the class conference orient themselves to the established rules in class to deal with classroom problems. They share the conjunctive space of experience of the classroom setting within the ER that has become a base for their interaction and problem-solving. It is the sociocultural background of the "chef de classe" responsible for writing names of deviants, for example, "celui qui perd le balais" (in a plan, on the board, at a corner, in the wall journal). It is a background of "rappeler et interpeller, réparer la faute" that the pupils know as punishment ("*on le punit*"). While the pupils speak of punishment, the teachers use the euphemism "rappeler, interpeller, inviter à réparer la faute" to depict reasons or actions following the act of writing the name of a pupil who might have misplaced the brooms.

It could be argued from the discussion above that MP and MT conjunctively (ubiquitously) construct an interpretation of both the pupils' minds about the expression of "*on écrit son nom*" and the contexts or motives of that expression within the pedagogical practice in ER. They share homologous backgrounds of the pedagogical practice that direct their discourse in classroom situations. The analysis has also shown how the participants' different sociocultural backgrounds (individual and collective) shape reform endeavors in pedagogical practice. It is a confrontation between the established pedagogical *habitus* (or better routines) and prospective reform ideas and approaches. More concretely, even though the teacher may intend a transformative process in a lesson (for instance, a shift from frontal interaction dynamics to a more participative and learner-centered interaction), the pupils or the teacher himself will perform according to old habits without "consciously" noticing it. The quality of teaching and learning does not, therefore, rely on how successful the "intended" reform (or change, transformation, innovation) is at the end of the lesson, but rather on the process itself that allows a participative interaction, competitive frames for orientations, criticism, and solidarity in the conduct of the lesson process. According to the reform intention, a shift, change, transformation, or innovation emerges throughout the interaction process and develops from the established frame for orientation, which is from the participants' individual or shared sociocultural backgrounds.

The expression "*il faut*" is also used to express imperatives of actions regarding the problem of the lack of brooms in class 4. The questions are: How do MP and MT, as experts of the sociocultural contexts of the village town Mbouo interpret the expression "*il faut*"? How can their interpretations inform the normative framework structuring everyday life within real-life pedagogical situations or in the general sociocultural contexts of the ER?

9.2.4.2 The Expression "Il Faut"

Excerpt 5: From the transcript of the group discussion with MP and MT

I: Euh il y avait aussi l'expression "il faut" qui revenait. "Il faut un chef de classe", il faut arranger, il faut/il faut dans toute la transcription. Il y avait aussi cette expression. Qu'est-ce que ça veut dire "il faut?" (…03s). Parce que comme j'écris en anglais, quand j'essaie de traduire "il faut" en anglais, je ne trouve pas les mots. // **MP**: Hm/hm // **I**: Par exemple, et qu'est-ce que ce terme "il faut" là, euh/euh, quel/quelle valeur ça a dans ce/dans la bouche des enfants ou dans ce contexte de/de résolution de problème? // **MP**: Bon! (souffle) // **MT**: Moi, je pense que ils veulent dire seulement "il faut" par exemple quand il dit, euh, il faut qu'il prenne aussi comme eux là, "il faut que **MP** me donne son/son portable" (prend le téléphone portable de MP posé sur la table et le montre). // **I**: Hm/hm // **MT**: C'est/c'est une façon d'exprimer "le besoin de". // **MP**: Il devient nécessaire …// **MT**: Euh/euh c'est une nécessi/nécessité // **MP**: Que là …// **MT**: Il y a nécessaire de/ il y a nécessaire de. Et ce (…) il y a nécessaire que nous puissions élire ou choisir. // **MP**: Oui/oui // **MT**: Un chef de classe. Il y a nécessaire que nous puissions pourvoir la classe en …// **MP**: Jm/hm // **MT**: En balai, par exemple. Il y a nécessaire. // **MP**: Oui // **I**: Hm/hm // **MT** Ehe, nous avons le besoin, il nous/il nous faut (rire) pour le dire comme eux aussi, il nous faut, on a besoin de, il y a nécessaire. // **I**: Il y a nécessaire // MT: Hm // **I**: Hm/hm, donc, ce "il faut" là, c'est plus euh/euh la nécessité …// **MP**: Oui, la/la/une manière d'exprimer la nécessité …// **MT**: Une manière d'exprimer la nécessité // **MP**: Hm/hm // I: Hm/hm, donc, c'est plus la nécessité que l'obligation? // **MT**: Non // **MP**: Ce nest pas le même/ c'est la bas c'est dans le cadre de le/la la nécessité // **MT**: La nécessité // **MP**: Hm, c'est-à-dire …// **MT**: Si, c'était l'obligation ça devrait être "il doit". // **MP**: Eh/eh, par exemple quand il dit il faut choi/il faut choisir un chef de classe. Peut-être on peut sentir que/qu'une certaine obligation, mais c'est beaucoup plus que la classe en a besoin. // **MT**: En a besoin. Avant bon ça peut devenir obligatoire, mais ça va de la nécessité. // MP: De la nécessité. // **I**: Hm/hm,"il faut que le chef de clase règle, il faut avoir un chef de classe, il faut/il faut/il faut" …// **MT**: Il faut mettre/il faut choisir un che/ c'est-à-dire qu' il y a nécessaire d'avoir/ il y a nécessaire d'avoir, il y a la nécessité de chef/d'un chef de classe. Et ça devient au moment où on applique/ça devient une obliga/obligation. // **MP**: Bien sur // **MT**: Mais il faut encore qu'on étudie son …// **MP**: Ses dires pour qu'on soit capable de décider. //

"*Only*" ("*seulement*") and its ubiquitous character

Although there were many attempts to reformulate the initial question by the interviewer, it did not seem to trigger an impulse from the interviewee MP, who still reacted with a single-word exclamation, "*Bon*!" followed by an exhalation. This silent reaction towards the initial interview question seems to have rather triggered MT to explain the expression "*il faut*": "Moi, je pense que." In most of the above-analyzed transcript extracts, MP frames the discourse, thus, leading the thematic discourse agreed on by MT, who develops this frame by repetition and complementation. In this present excerpt, MT (considering the passive reaction of MP) takes the turn to lead the thematic orientation of the process of explanation an argumentation: "Moi, je pense qu'ils veulent dire seulement il faut," "Moi, je pense que" here introduces MT's opinion, thought or interpretation of "Ils veulent seulement dire" He uses the reporting technique MP developed in his attempt to explain what his pupils in the class conference mean by "Nous pouvons arranger d'autres, monsieur."

MT's interpretation seems limited, exclusive, and restrictive in the sense that "*seulement*" (only is a focusing, limiting, exclusive and restrictive adjunct) indicates the exclusive and restrictive and limiting feature of the meaning of "*il faut*" as "*il faut*" and nothing else, "Moi, je pense qu' ils veulent dire seulement 'il faut.'" In other words, "*il faut*" means only "*il faut*" as a first opinion statement of MT, which, thus stated, needs no word substitutions for its primary sense. In this view, MT "think[s] that they want to say only [simply] 'il faut,'" which portrays a tacit knowledge that, in the context of the class conference and surely based on a shared homologous frame of experience, is collectively communicative. The author of this work would like to analyze the position of "only" as a focusing, limiting, exclusive and restrictive adverb, considering the grammatical provisions of Quirk et al. (1973, p. 212). According to the authors, "in speech, a nucleus on the lexical verb gives an unambiguous interpretation when only and also stand before the lexical verb" (ibid., p. 212).

(1) MT: /Ils veulent dire seulement/ il faut/.
     /They want to say *only*/ "*il faut*"/. ("*Il faut*" is what they want to say, nothing else).

(2) MT: /Ils veulent seulement/ dire il faut/.
     /They want *only* /to say "*il faut*"/. (To say "*il faut*" is exclusively/restrictively what they want (?).

(3) MT: /They *only* /want to say "*il faut*"/. (They exclusively/restrictively want to say "*il faut*" (?).

However, in the written form, the position of "*only*" in a sentence (as in the example mentioned above: they only want to say "*il faut*") seems ambiguous because it can either focus on "*want*" (did nothing else than want), "to say" (wanted nothing else but to say) or "*il faut*" (to say nothing else but "*il*

266

faut").[115] The part focused on in MT's sentence seems to be "*il faut.*" Considering the reporting character of MT's utterance ("they want to say"), it seems more complex than limiting the interpretation of "*only*" according to either its position in the sentence (about the lexical verb in speech), the speech intonation in context, or its position in the written form. "Moi, je pense qu'ils veulent dire" characterizes this reporting (interpretative) speech of MT. It seems more ambiguous to interpret his use of "*only*" as limiting exclusively and restrictively the focus on the pupils' intention as they use "*il faut*" recurrently in dealing with the problem of the loss of brooms in the classroom.

By attributing the meaning "*il faut*" to the expression "*il faut*," MT appears to highlight the homologously (ubiquitously) shared frame of experience or, at a certain point, the culturally shared backgrounds underlining the context of communication in MP's class conference and the collectively shared tacit knowledge underlying communication situations MT is part of. As common sense and homologous frame of experience, "*il faut*" is only understood as "*il faut*" nothing more, nothing less. This repetition of the verbal phrase "*il faut*" to explain the expression "*il faut*" portrays a technique of spontaneously presenting reality (explanation), used by MT as a first reaction to the interviewer's question. As tacit, homologous, or common knowledge, the expression "il faut" does not need to be explained. It exclusively and restrictively stands as it is for what it is: "*il faut.*" This limitation appears to be composed of a collectively shared body of a homologous, presupposed, and collective cultural background to which "*il faut*" belongs concerning the language in a context of communication.

This is what Kokemohr (2017, pp. 6-7) after Everett (2010; 2013) called "the syndrome of a paradigmatic, experience- and situation-saturated interaction of language and way of life, grammar, culture and social exchange," which he sketched in a model of relationships between words, statement systems, and common-sense sentences. "*Il faut*" as well as "*on écrit son nom*" and "*nous allons arranger*" compose, in this sense, common-sense sentences and expressions used in the real-life school context and certainly also in social communities of the Ghomálá language as statements of practical communication.

---

115 This is a transposition of the structure of Quick and Greenbaum's chapter on the ambiguous position of the focusing limiting adverb "only" in the written form in relation to the lexical verb. Contrasting the interpretation of the adverb "only" used in speech to the written form, they argue that: "But in the written form, this position remains ambiguous, since (for example) only can have as its focus phoned (did nothing else but phone), Mary (phoned nobody else but Mary), or today (on no other day). However, in practice they usually make it clear which interpretation is required (Quick et al. 1973, p. 213).

(a) "*Il faut*" is interpreted as "the need of," "a necessity"

The ubiquitous interpretation of "*il faut*" as only meaning "*il faut*," character-izing it as a common-sense expression, is further exemplified by MT to re-produce the sentence structure of the pupils: "Par exemple quand il dit, euh, il faut qu'il prenne aussi comme eux là, il faut que MP me donne son/son port-able" before he states his interpretation of "*il faut*" as "a way of expressing the need of." The example displays the use of both an additive "*aussi*" (also) and a comparative "*comme*" (like) to illustrate the common sense of the ex-pression "*il faut*" in everyday-life communications present in the world of the children (the case of MP's class conference) as well as in the world of the adults (MT and MP with the example of the mobile phone). The simultane-ous use of "*also like*" and the reproduction of the "*il faut*" structure in MT's example might portray this expression as identifiable in everyday life dis-course, regardless of age.

The example used by MT to illustrate that "*il faut*" only means "*il faut*" also seems to serve as a transition of an attempt to attribute a content mean-ing to the expression "*il faut*" in real-life communication. He describes "*il faut*" in this view as "une façon d'exprimer le besoin de" (a way of express-ing the need). The expression here seems analog to a speech art or style ("a way of") used in real-life communication settings, such as the class confer-ence or MP's mobile phone example. MP quickly reacts to this description of "*il faut*" as a way of expressing the need by providing a synonym: "il devient nécessaire" ("it becomes necessary"). MT then abandons his concept of "the need of" to adopt his colleague's synonymous concept he presents as "c'est/c'est la nécessité" ("it is a necessity"). MP makes a deictic indication: "que là" ("that here"), which his colleague completes with "il y a nécessaire" ("it is necessary"). The whole sentence then reads "que là il y a nécessité" ("that here it is necessary"). The discourse between the two participants[116] is also constructed around a ubiquitous inference: an agreed-on line of dis-course construction. "Il faut" is only "il faut," a way of expressing the need.

(b) "Il faut": need of/necessity versus obligation

> **I**: Hm/hm, donc, ce "il faut" là c'est plus euh/euh la nécessité …// **MP**: Oui, la/la/une manière d'exprimer la nécessité …// **MT**: Une manière d'exprimer la nécessité // **MP**: Hm/hm // **I**: Hm/hm, donc, c'est plus la nécessité que l'obligation? // **MT**: Non. // **MP**: Ce n'est pas le même/ c'est la bas c'est dans le cadre de le/la la nécessité // **MT**: la nécessité.

---

116 As is comparable to the above discourse on "arranger" and "on écrit son nom".

The interviewer struggles[117] to introduce a singular inference (an antagonistic mode) in the discourse in his attempt to sum up: "Hm/hm, donc ce 'il faut' là, c'est plus euh/euh la nécessité," before he is interrupted by the interviewees maintaining their ubiquitous inferential interpretation of "*il faut* as only *il faut*," therefore as a way of expressing "the need of," "the necessity": "il nous faut, on a besoin de, il y a nécessaire." As he finally succeeds in completely unfolding his sentence, summarising the discourse and introducing a dichotomy in the interpretation of "il faut" as "the need of," "the necessity," and as "an obligation," he is faced with a no: "non // c'est pas le même." The "*non*" uttered by MT followed by "c'est pas le même" of MP excludes the interpretation of "*il faut*" as the expression of an "*obligation*." This exclusion is further argued in conditional mode by MT whose argumentation is confirmed by MP as the only explanation of "*il faut*" in this context of a class conference: "Si c'était l'obligation ça devrait être 'il doit'". Here the participant presents a conditional argument to exclude the point that "*il faut*" might mean "*an obligation*":

> "Il faut" c'est dans le cadre de la nécessité, c'est la nécessité
> Si c'était l'obligation, ça devrait être "il doit"
> Or, c'est "il faut", donc, c'est la nécessité.

The interviewees construct this presupposed conclusion rather in a different mode, a mode of "maybe, but; good, but; of course, but."

(1) Peut-être (maybe) on peut sentir que/qu'une certaine obligation, mais (but) c'est beaucoup plus que la classe en a besoin. (Maybe one can feel a certain obligation, but it is much more that the class needs them [class chief]).

(2) Bon (okay) ça peut devenir obligatoire, mais (but) ça va de la nécessité. c'est-à-dire que il y a nécessaire d'avoir (okay, it can become obligatory, but it can become a necessity; that is, there it is necessary to have).

(3) Au moment où on applique/ça devient une obligation bien sûr mais il faut encore qu'on étudie pour qu'on soit capable de décider. (At the time one applies/it becomes an obligation; of course, but again, one needs to[118] study it to be able to decide.)

In (1), the participants use the argument of uncertainty (maybe) associated with the act of feeling a certain obligation ("on peut sentir une certaine obligation") to weaken the explanation of "*il faut*" as expressing "*obligation*." This weak argument is then contradicted (but) by a strong one (the argument of "need of") emphasized by "*beaucoup plus*" (much more). In this sense, the interpretation that "*il faut*" is much more than the need of a chief looks more

---

117 The author write "struggles" because he is interrupted by the respondents before he could have completed his sentence.

118 Here, "il faut" is translated in English into "one needs to", in an attempt to follow the participants' use and interpretation of this expression in this discourse.

certain than the obligatory feeling of maybe: "*peut-être, mais*" ("maybe, but" mode of argumentation).
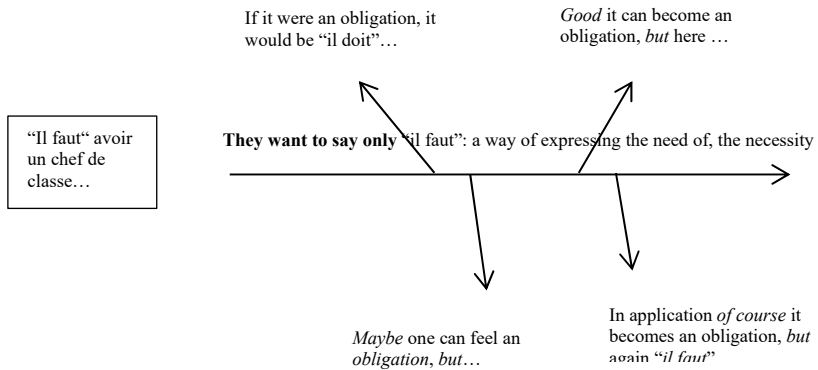
In (2), it is rather the argument of probability that the interviewees interpret as a limiting argument (weak): "ca peut devenir obligatoire" ("it can become obligatory"). Although there is an agreed feeling of the probability that "*il faut*" means an obligation introduced in (2) by "*bon*" (okay), it is rejected (but) in favor of its interpretation as a necessity: "*bon, mais*" ("okay, but" mode of argumentation). In (3), the opinion that "*il faut*" might also be interpreted as an "*obligation*" appears more certain and realistic than in (1) and (2). This can be justified by using the verb in the simple present tense without the modal verb "*can*." The change in the composition of the verb phrase "*to become*" seems to be conditioned by the temporal application of "*il faut,*" which displays its obligatory character. The use of "*to become*" in the simple present tense, without a modal verb, presents it as factual truth, a present deictic reality within the condition of its present application. This condition of the application sustaining the certainty of the obligatory character of "*il faut*" is acknowledged by the participants: "*bien sûr*" (of course).

However, the participants limit ("*mais/but*") this acknowledgment, indicated by "*of course,*" to another "*il faut*" condition of context to a decision about the obligatory character of "*il faut*": "of course, but again one needs to study … to be able to decide". Here, they construct a mode of argumentation of "*of course, but.*"

Overall, the interviewees first present, in the mode of a common-sense sentence, their interpretation of the expression "*il faut*" used by the pupils (children) in the class conference. In this sense, "*il faut*" signifies only "*il faut,*" nothing else. This common-sense sentence character of "*il faut*" is then exemplified, in the manner of the pupils (aussi comme eux), in the context of the usage of the adults: "Il faut que MP me donne son telephone portable." Second, the participants use the past tense conditional mode of argumentation to reject the idea of "*obligation*" in the expression "*il faut*": "Si c'était l'obligation, ça devrait être '*il doit*'" (If it were an obligation, it would be a must). They oppose the "*il faut*" necessity to the "*il doit*" obligation. Finally, MT and MP construct three types of inclusion-exclusion argumentations in the mode of an agreement rejection.

If it were an obligation, it would be "il doit"…

Good it can become an obligation, *but* here …

"Il faut" avoir un chef de classe…

They want to say only "il faut": a way of expressing the need of, the necessity

Maybe one can feel an *obligation, but*…

In application *of course* it becomes an obligation, *but* again "*il faut*"

(Source: author's illustration after Kokemohr, 1999)

This construction is organized around the "*maybe, but*" mode to express the uncertainty of the obligatory character of "*il faut*"; the "*okay, but*" mode to express its probability; the "*but, then*" mode expressing the reject of these probabilities. And finally, MP uses the "*of course, but*" mode to admit this character. However, he links it to another "*il faut*" condition for a decision. In all these cases, the presence of "*but*" indicates the position of the narrator with regards to the dichotomy between the interpretations of "*il faut*" as expressing a need/necessity versus "*il faut/il doit*" expressing an obligation. This position looks like an argumentative rejection of the latter in favor of the former, maintaining the ubiquitous inference character of the discourse around the expression "*il faut,*" as presented in figure 27.

9.2.4.3 The Process of Following Up on a Decision

Excerpt 6: From the transcript of the group discussion with MP/MT

I: Et, donc, à la fin de la conférence de classe, il y a, eu euh/euh, deux décisions, la décision que chacun doit venir avec les brins, et l'autre décision par rapport au délai. Et comment vous faites …// **MP**: Par rapport au? // **I**: Au délai // **MT**: Délai // **MP**: Délai, oui, oui, hm // **I**: Donc, est-ce que ça s'arrête là? Comment est-ce que vous faites pour le suivi de cette décision?/l'application de la décision, est-ce que comment ça se …// **MP**: Oui, mais eux-mêmes, ils suivent la décision. Puisque dès, euh euh, ceux-là ont été presque tous égarés. Mais l'année passée, on a encore suivi une situation comme ça. // **I**: Hm/hm // **MP**: Mais quand ils prennent la décision, dès le lendemain, ceux qui ont/ce/ceux qui ont la disponibilité l'apportent déjà. Et ceux qui n'en ont pas/parce que il y en a qui le veulent/par exemple/je vais prendre l'exemple de médecin. Le médecin habite ici, mais il n'a pas la facilité/ autant de facilité pour trouver ce mat/le matériel qui va permettre

271

de fabriquer le balai. // **I**: Hm/hm // **MP**: Euh, plusieurs, disons plusieurs fois j'ai constaté il n'y a pas des balais/de/de parents qui préfèrent acheter. // **I**: Hm/hm // **MP**: Mais quand une telle décision est prise, le/mon souhait. Et c'est là où j'essaie d'être un peu, euh, dogmatique d'une certaine manière, c'est-à-dire que mon souhait c'est que ça ne s'achète pas. // **I**: Hm/hm // **MP**: Que chacun en/en fabrique et cela permet aux enfants de, euh/euh ceux qui n'en ont pas du tout, ceux dont les parents doivent plutôt acheter les autres les encadrent. C'est-à-dire que, quoi? Les autres vont chez eux cherchent le matériel, et même pendant la pause, on fabrique/on les aide à fabriquer les leurs. De telle manière qu'au moment où les gens présentent le travail, eux au délai euh imparti/ eux ils sont aussi réglo. Ehm/ehm // **I**: Okay, je vous remercie beaucoup. Je ne vais pas prendre plus votre temps puisqu'il y a les …// **MP**: Ils sont en classe // **I**: Il y a les activités en classe, ehe/ehe // **MP**: C'est ça // **I**: Donc, on va arrêter ici, peut être que si j'ai d'autres questions même par whatsapp …// **MT**: Même par whatsapp // **I**: Ou bien par mail, on peut/on peut s'échanger // **MP**: Oui // **I**: Merci beaucoup pour cet entretien.

This fifth extract from the discourse transcript with MP and MT consists of a concluding paragraph, "Et donc à la fin" (and thus, at the end). The interviewer refers to the final decisions during the class conference of MP to ask how these decisions were followed up or implemented: "Et comment vous faites comment est-ce que vous faites pour le suivi de cette decision?" (And how do you follow up on this decision?). To this question, MP responds by: "Yes, but they themselves follow up the decision" before he recalls an example of the previous year to illustrate this point: "Mais l'année passée on a encore suivi une situation comme ça." The problem he notices in the "last year" situation is the "possibility to get the material" to make the brooms. He connects this problem to the context example of the medical doctor who lives "here."[119] This, consequently, leads to parents preferring to buy the brooms for their children. In opposition to this preference, MP wishes that the children fix up the brooms by themselves in solidarity with supervision and help. He expresses this wish in "a certain way as dogmatic." This portrays his determination regarding the children to fix the brooms by themselves and not to bring ready-made brooms from home.

Let us come back to how the interviewer introduced the concluding discourse of the decision in this extract. The interviewer's impulsive question could be reconstructed like this: "Et, donc, comment est-ce que vous faites pour le suivi de cette décision/l'application de la décision?" (And how do you follow up this decision/the practice of the decision?). This impulsive question is phrased as an interpellation: "How do you follow up?". "You," a second person pronoun, could either refer to MP or the participants of the class con-

119 "Here" refers to the EEC missionary station, including the hospital with the worker accommodations, the ER and the teacher accommodations, the Collège Elie Allegret (EA) and its teacher accommodations and the Centre Polyvalent de Formation (CPF).

ference in general. One might read from this that "you" seems responsible for following up on the decision taken in the class conference. MP responds to the follow-up question with a "yes, but." It appears like an opposition between a "yes, you" could follow up the decision and "but, they themselves" follow up the decision. In the case of the "yes, you" reading, MP might identify himself in this "you" of following up the decision; thus, it could also be phrased as "yes, I" could follow up the decision. However, he seems to reject this interpretation of himself following up the decision taken in the class conference about the provision of the classroom with brooms underlining the children's responsibility: "But they themselves follow up the decision." With this "yes, but" speech technique, MP withdraws himself from the ubiquitous question of the interviewer and designs a new paradigm of responsibility taking in the classroom: a "they themselves" paradigm opposed to a "you/I" paradigm (teacher, in this case of MP, therefore I).

Table 12: Shift from a teacher- to a learner-centered paradigm of decision making or follow-up displayed in MP's speech.

yes	"you = teacher, MP (thus, I) could follow up the decision taken in the class conference (its practice).	but	"they themselves" (the pupils or children in MP's class conference) follow up on the decision/the practice of the decision.

(Source: author)

The "yes, but" speech technique, instead of reinforcing a ubiquitous argument like in the discourse on "il faut," rather introduces a new idea, a new perspective in opposition to the teacher's perspective following up a decision in the class conference. This seems to construct a shift from a teacher-centered decision making and follow-up to a learner-centered perspective of decision making and follow-up: "They themselves follow up the decision/the application of the decision." Therefore, the shift appears to be from a ubiquitous inference of the teaching-learning paradigm to that of singular inference of knowledge construction. The apparent shift discussed above could be reconstructed in MP's explanation of how "they themselves" (the pupils) follow up on the decision taken in the class conference. The recurrent use of the contrasting conjunction "but" in MP's speech might portray his position (here stated as a wish, which becomes an order) compared to the parents' preference of buying brooms for their children to take to school.

The conjunction "but" seems to contradict "some parents" initiative to take over their children's responsibility of applying the decision of "nous pouvons arranger d'autres" they made during the class conference. In this sense, MP is against the passivity of the pupils, which seems to be presupposed in the provision of brooms by the parents. Although some children (whose parents prefer buying brooms for them) do not have the "possibility" of getting the sticks to fabricate the brooms, the "solidarity" of the whole

group is appealed to help them be "réglo" with their responsibility of fixing up new brooms together with the classmates, thus, shifting the responsibility from the parents to the group. This "solidarity" of the group is, to some pupils who cannot get the sticks necessary to fabricate the brooms, constructed by MP as follows.

Table 13: MP's construction of the solidarity dynamic of the group

Les autres les encadrent. (The others supervise or coach them.)
C'est-à-dire que, quoi? (What does this mean?)
Les autres vont chez eux cherchent le matériel, et même pendant la pause on fabrique/on les aide à fabriquer les leurs. De telle manière qu'au moment où les gens présentent le travail, eux au délai euh imparti/ eux ils sont aussi réglo.
(The others go home, look for the material, and even during the break, one fabricates some/one helps them fabricate their own. In such a way that when people present the work, they, according to the timeline, too are "réglo").

(Source: author)

What might be called the "solidarity" of the group might be read in MP's explanation as "encadrer," which consists of "the others" going home, looking for [enough sticks for all] and during the break, together, with those who do not have the possibility of getting the sticks, they fabricate the brooms in such a way that everybody is "réglo" with the responsibility of presenting the results of the work. None should be left behind in this "solidarity" system of following up and applying the decision: "they, too, are *réglo*." "*Réglo*" is another way of saying "en règle," meaning to be in good standing: to meet the law (the regulations). In this context, the decision taken in the class conference constitutes a "norm" for which the participants are held accountable. The follow-up responsibility of the learners seems to be regulated in terms of work to be done at home, during the school break, and during the presentation of the results in class. The group supervises the whole process, including every member, helping each other fix up the brooms and getting each member to be "réglo" (on time) with the work's presentation. In this view, such a "solidarity" system is inclusive; therefore, it highlights the members' co-responsibility toward a decision taken in the class conference.

MP seems to construct an active and responsible group that strives for a common goal: providing the classroom with new brooms. In this construct, actions of external agents substituting the children (members of the group) are not welcome (excluded) to avoid a passivity of some members and a disruption of the group creativity. MP's construction of the pupils' responsibility of following up a decision portrays a break from the ubiquitous habitus of adults taking over the children's responsibility: teachers and parents deciding on their behalf. It is shifting from a sens unique (ubiquitous inference) teaching-learning process to a sens divers (singular inference) teaching and learning process. In this sense, MP excludes himself from the process of

following up and applying the decision in favor of his pupils' responsibility of acting in "solidarity" as a group: "Yes, but they themselves follow up the decision."

9.3 The Significance of SCBs in Structuring the Group Discussion and Informing on the Frame of Orientation of Problem-Solving or Decision-Making Practices

The group discussion about recurrent expressions used in the class conference of MP engages three participants: the interviewer, MP and MT, as above reconstructed. The latter two construct a line of argumentation that shows the expertise of the class conference's linguistic, pedagogical, social, and cultural contexts. MP and MT position themselves as experts in both their classes (thus, proving good knowledge for their pupils) and the social and cultural environment of the ER. They construct a discourse from an insider's view, that is, as teachers sharing the same sociocultural backgrounds, the backgrounds of the Bamiléké society. It is the division of spheres of being an insider or an outsider. The interviewer is implicitly regarded as an outsider to this background and does not share the same background of understanding of "presupposes" behind the system of "*arranger*" in the Bamiléké society, and especially not the complex backgrounds of the chieftaincy organization of social life, structured by a strong community dynamic of social practice. These constitute a common-sense system of statements, which MP and MT refer to interpret their worlds and the world of their pupils considered as being from the same SCBs.

Therefore, MP and MT can play the role of interpreters of their sociocultural worlds. However, insiders find it funny to play this role, for it is unusual to reflect on one's common-sense system. They respond to the impulse of the interviewer with a burst of laughter and a smile, which depicts their surprise about the fact that the interviewer did not understand what was obvious to them, namely what the pupils mean by the expressions "nous allons arranger d'autres," "il faut avoir un chef de classe" and "on écrit son nom." MP and MT explained the first expression encompassing different contexts of use in everyday life ("il y a beaucoup de mots '*arranger*' ici"). As experts of their worlds, they portrayed the contexts of "*négocier*," "*corruption*," "*marché,*" and "*harmonie*" to explain the different systems of "*arranger*" within the Bamiléké society. The depiction of these contexts was then used to support their interpretation of the pupils' phrase "*nous allons arranger d'autres*" within the context of the class conference treating the problem of the lack of brooms: "*Ils veulent dire fabriquer*."

Although MP and MT insisted that the pupils meant "*fabriquer*" when they spoke of "*arranger*," the pupils went beyond that technical meaning of "*fabriquer*" to raise attention to the holistic character of a concrete problem of a lack of brooms. By "*arranger*," they also meant to reestablish the classroom order and the harmony ("*il faut un chef de classe*"). And MP and MT further developed the system of "*arranger*" from the perspective of reestablishing social order and social harmony by distinguishing it from the court and trial system. Thus, " Arranger depicts a more diplomatic approach to a problem-solving and decision-making process, implying the group that is a community-oriented and -construed approach. It is community-oriented because it seeks to include the group members to maintain the social order and harmony: "*Que ça reste entre nous*." It is community-construed because members act in solidarity as a "*we*." They collectively include each other in problem-solving to avoid the chief's authority and the court, which implies consequences of exclusion, division, and social disaggregation and explosion.

"*Arranger*" is, thus, opposed to and preferred to the court/trial system of problem-solving. MP and MT elaborate on their SCBs as they argumentatively construct a conjunctive discourse about the pupils' minds and the system of "*arranger*." MP pedagogically (didactically) aims at and "*arranges*" a class conference setting, according to his SCBs as a Bamiléké, which is a community-oriented and construed approach to decision making and problem-solving. However, during the class conference session, the pupils also recall their SCBs as they use common sense statements of "*il faut avoir un chef de classe*" and "*on écrit son nom*" to raise attention to the normative framework of social life where the rules are conjunctively understood as an "*il faut*" imperative (interpreted as a necessity instead of an obligation) of social harmony. But why do the pupils in the class conference say: "*Il faut avoir un chef de classe*?" MP and MT interpret this pupil's demand of "*il faut avoir un chef de classe*" as an expression of necessity. Therefore, it portrays the necessity to re-establish the social order, the norm of classroom governance. As a micro-social organization, the classroom is, thus, calqued to the global social system of the power structure, organized around the figure of the "*chef*" in the Bamiléké society and most Cameroonian societies. In the Cameroonian school context, the "chef de classe" figure is as important as the "*chef*" in society. Most often, classroom order and harmony are assured by the "*chef de classe*" and his secretary ("*chef de classe adjoint*"). The two are under the teacher's authority, who might be described as "the paramount chief" of the classroom, especially in the traditional frontal teaching and learning framework where a teacher is the "*maitre*."

Hence, the pupil asking for a "*chef de classe*" raised a problem that was not the object of the class conference but which they considered a necessity for a sustainable resolution of the concrete problem of the lack of brooms in the classroom. In other words, the pupils used their conjunctive knowledge

about the organization of chieftaincy of society and the class to highlight a normative instance of a resolution to a problem and decision-making: "*un chef de classe*." The "*chef de classe*" is responsible for the classroom order and, therefore, for the management of the brooms and the punishment of a pupil who does not abide by the order ("celui qui perd le balais on écrit son nom"). The pupils then reflect the conjunctive frame of orientation generally characterizing the classroom settings in Cameroon, which consists of the "*chef de classe*" and the teacher as those responsible for decision-making and problem-solving, that is, responsible for the classroom order and harmony. While the teacher MP promotes communal decision-making and problem-solving processes in his class, his pupils take the class conference back to the established habitus of chef-oriented decision-making and problem-solving processes. While the teacher tries to introduce a transformative process in classroom management (a shift from an authoritative classroom interaction), the pupils recall the necessity of maintaining the normative instance of the "*chef*."

Although the two orientations seem contradictory, it is an apparent contradiction because the Bamiléké SCBs are complex social alliances, sustaining and structuring the chieftaincy system in social praxis (see Pradelles de Latour, 1997; Foaleng, 2005). This complexity seems to be overcome through a system of "*arranger*," which consists of solidarity and negotiation. In other words, the community recognizes and legitimates the necessary authority of the "*chef*" as an instance of social order, but, at the same time, they call on the different alliances to act as a "*nous*" and solidarily to make a decision or to solve a problem to maintain social harmony. By doing so, they reinforce the authority of the "*chef*" since they fear being excluded from the group (punishment in the context of the classroom), but they are also active members in problem-solving through the process of "*arranger*." In this interaction between the community members and the "*chef*," the "arranger" system is a balanced system that stands in-between the power relationship of exclusion-inclusion. It is a balance of social order (represented by the "*chef*") and social harmony (construed by the community). However, in the game of "*arranger*," the community can exclude a member who refuses to play by the game's rules.

Hence, altogether, knowing or being open to the participants' different individual and collective SCBs equips the teacher with a necessary sociocultural competence in teaching and learning processes. As such, quality teaching and learning within the context of the pedagogical reform projects in Mbouo is based on the pedagogical interaction producing a diversity of meaning or competitive frames of references (*sens divers*), all structured by the principle of reciprocal/corporate responsibility. In other words, individual creativity is communally advocated and proven in solidarity. Considering the interpretative results of the analysis of the class conference of MP and the

group discussion with MP/MT, the author is tempted to consider that one of the qualities of a good teacher in Africa consists of his "*arranger*"-competence in making room for innovation and creativity within the complex SCBs of interaction. Although the system of "*arranger*" here analyzed appears to depict a ubiquitous process (a *sens unique*), it is only apparent for its dynamics entail a process of management of complexity like the role MP had tried to embody during his class conference.

This chapter reconstructed the frames of the orientation of an expert interpretation (MP and MT) of focussing issues used throughout the transcript of the class conference in class 4 of MP. The aim was to get more insight into how the figures of speech such as "*nous allons arranger*," "*il faut un chef de classe,*" and "*on écrit son nom*" depict the participants' SCBs in the process of problem-solving and community decision-making.

The interviewees' analysis of propositions, elaborations, and argumentations stressed the construction of a conjunctive discourse as insiders to the ER and the SCBs of actors in the small village town Mbouo ("*ici*"). Both used performative performances, such as the smile, the laughter and some validating/supporting language use devices (*oui*, *bon*, *non*) to ubiquitously sustain their expert discourse of the pupils' understanding of the terms "*arranger*," "*il faut*," and "*on écrit son nom*." As experts of their culture (the culture of Bamiléké society), MP and MT used the explicative expression "*ils veulent dire que*" to access what the pupils think, understand and say in their classes. MP and MT provided access to the culture of "*arranger*" in the Bamiléké society as they explained what their pupils meant by those terms. This culture of community-oriented problem-solving consists of a holistic concern about a concrete problem and avoiding taking responsibility or individual accountability. It is a frame of orientation sustained by a diffuse normative instance of power implicit in the expressions "*il faut*," "*on*," and "*chef,*" all used by the pupils in the class conference. The respondents implicitly constructed a discourse avoiding the normative instance and favoring communal solidarity in problem-solving. They constructed a security fence between them as a solidary community (or group) and the normative threat of punishment and social exclusion by holistically addressing a concrete problem.

The remaining questions are: How do such conjunctive spaces of solving solidary problems and harmony socially sustain the classroom teaching and the learning processes in ER? How do MT and his pupils of class 6 "*solidarily*" construct a discourse about water usage? How could their SCBs have contributed to shaping their dynamics of interaction?

10 Reconstructing the Frames of Orientation of the *Sens* Unique and the *Sens Divers* in the Lesson of MT in class 6: "L'o ne s'aire a rin"

The analysis of the lesson of MT 2017 is based on the transcript, the sequential photos of the lesson, and in comparison to a similar lesson the author observed in 2015. The chapter aims to reconstruct and interpret the interaction dynamics during the lesson and how far features of the sociocultural backgrounds (SCBs) might have played a certain role in teaching and learning practices in the ER. It follows the same analytical structure of (10.1) formulating and (10.2) reflecting interpretations before reflecting on (10.3) on the roles of SCBs in shaping the dynamics of the interaction of the lesson and in how far the participants could have used their SCBs to adapt the problem of the lesson to the use of water.

10.1 Formulating Interpretation

MT starts his lesson with addressing the pupils to sit down before greeting them once more: "Sois rapide, vas y rapidement, vas t'assoir. Bien! Bonjour une fois de plus." Then he tells his pupils to hang their bags on the wall and to empty their tables. He puts emphasis on doing this quietly and quickly: "Doucement, pas trop de bruits", "rapidement", "enlevez tout sur la table". MT provides his pupils with an aim to these orders by "ça va nous permettre de suivre la leçon". After this stage of classroom management of the lesson, MT invites his pupils to do a rapid revision of the qualities of drinkable water: "Nous allons rapidement réviser quelque chose. Alors dites-moi quelles sont les qualités d'une eau potable?" Then follows the introduction of the proper lesson that MT states as follow: "Maintenant, nous allons introduire la leçon d'aujourd'hui." The lesson is about the use of water. The rest of the lesson consists of correcting orthography problems, brainstorming on the use of water, a group work on the further uses of water, a presentation of the results of the group work and the summary of the lesson.

10.2 Reflecting Interpretation

"Sois rapide, euh/vas-y rapidement/vas t'assoir/ vas t'assoir" is the first statement Monsieur Teba utters at the beginning of his lesson in class 6. "*Sois*," "*vas*" (three times used in this sentence) are verbs in an imperative form, addressing a second person singular, here identifiable from the "*s*" grammatical particle proper to the second person singular in French and from the presence of "*te*" as an object form of the personal pronoun of second-person singular (*tu*), which is different from the second person plural: "Bien vous regagnez rapidement votre place." This imperative form here used could portray the teacher's authoritative position. Then the adjective "*rapide*" is transformed into the adverb "*rapidement*" in the process of a repetition of the order to go and sit down; a repetition which looks like a reformulation (also maybe correction) from "to be fast" to "to go fast" (from passive to active). How could this first imperative/active utterance of the teacher have contributed to the definition and the setting of the classroom atmosphere and the form/quality of interaction dynamics in constructing the lesson?

To answer the question concerning the transcript, the author, on the one hand, attempts a reconstruction of the different moves of the lesson. On the other hand, he reconstructs the orientation frameworks of interaction constructed in process, highlighting a micro-comparative analysis of features of the language use of interaction in the light of the pedagogical reform principles aiming at transforming or changing the *sens unique* form of the lesson to the *sens divers* orientation of classroom discourse (from a *sens unique* teaching-learning process to a *sens divers* teaching-learning process). These are concomitantly sustained by an attempt to construct a didactic, sociocultural and linguistic description of theories of the various worlds of the lesson participants.

10.2.1 Reconstruction of the Lesson Process: Organization Moves

Here, an attempt is made to reconstruct the lesson's organizational structure and interaction dynamics. This entails four moves or stages of the lesson: starting the lesson (move 1), introducing the lesson (move 2), working out solutions to the lesson's problem (move 3) and summarising the lesson (move 4). These four general moves correspond with the classic lesson structure: entry, introduction, presentation, and summary. However, one could also expand this basic four-move structure to seven, splitting some activities into moves.

Figure 28: An alternative reading of MT's lesson in a seven-move structure

```
(Move 1) Start –
        (Move 2) Revision –
                (Move 3) Introduction –
                        (Move 4) Brainstorming –
                                (Move 5) Group work –
                                        (Move 6) Group work presentation –
                                                (Move 7) Summary –
```
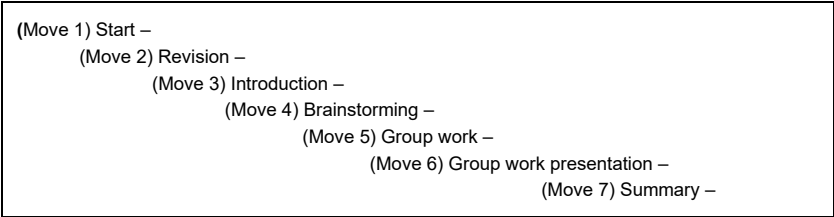
(Source: author)

The author chose the four-move structure of the lesson because revision, brainstorming and group work constitute, in MT's lesson, activities of the start (move 1), the introduction (move 2) and the presentation (move 3).

Table 14: Four-move structure of MT's lesson

Lesson moves	Typical activities
Move 1 Entering the lesson	• Greeting ritual? – "Bonjour une fois de plus … Merci, bonjour, monsieur." • Setting classroom management norms (conducive atmosphere for a productive lesson?) – Pupils must sit down quietly, pupils must act fast and quietly, tables must be kept clean • Revising the previous lesson
Move 2 Introducing the lesson topic in terms of a problem	• Use of a real-life case (street "out-of-school world"?) • Correction of orthography problems (school as a concurrent world to the street?) • Brainstorming the content-related problems constituting the theme of the lesson
Move 3 Working out solutions to the problem in groups	• Construction, tasks, role definition of the group work • Proper group work • Group work results in presentation and discussion • Roles in group work presentation (chief, secretary), greeting (and appeal) – self-introduction (reading group work findings) • The teacher and the class write the synthesis of the findings on a mindmap on the blackboard
Move 4 Summary of the lesson	• The teacher writes the summary on the blackboard • Students do nothing

(Source: author)

Move 1 of MT's lesson is constructed by greeting rituals, classroom management norms and a revision of the previous lesson.

Excerpt 1: From the transcript of the lesson of Monsieur Teba in class 6

> Participants : MT: Monsieur Teba (the teacher); E1: élève garçon 1 (n); Ee1: élève fille 1 (n); Eni: élève non identifié; C: classe
> MT: Sois rapide, euh/vas-y rapidement/vas t'assoir/vas t'assoir. (On voit un élève porter son tabouret et aller s'assoir au fond de la classe) Bien. Bonjour, une fois de plus.
> C: Merci, bonjour, monsieur.
> MT: Bien. Les sacs là sur la table, vous les accrocher sur le mur/sur le mur de l'autre côté. Doucement, pas trop de bruits.
> Eni: (…) (12)
> MT: Bien vous regagnez rapidement votre place sans faire de bruits. (08) Ceux qui sont un peu plus grand en taille aidez les autres, accrochez-moi ça (…).
> Eni: Bien accroché/bien accroché.
> MT: Bien, vous enlevez tout sur la table. (09) C'est pour ça que quand vous avez regardé les clous ci-là je ne veux plus voir de sacs sur la …
> C: Table
> MT: Table. Ça doit rester accroché. La table est propre (…) ça va nous prendre des effets sur la (…) ça va nous permettre de mieux suivre la …
> C: Leçon

As mentioned earlier, the lesson starts with injunctions to a pupil regarding the order to go and sit down. Once this is done, MT gets his pupils' attention, necessary to start the lesson introduced by greeting rituals: "Bonjour, une fois de plus." "Merci, bonjour, monsieur." From this starting point of MT's lesson, one could describe how they address each other. Unlike how MP greets his pupils in the class conference ("*Les amis, bonjour.*" "Bonjour, monsieur"), which was interpreted as an attempt to break down the distance between him and his pupils for a friendlier atmosphere, MT seems, at the very beginning of the lesson, to set the distance (authority distance) between him and his pupils. The imperative address to the pupils reinforces this.

"Bonjour, une fois de plus." MT's greeting appears as a repetition: "*une fois de plus*" (once more), presupposing that it is not the first contact with the class on the day. They have either shared the first greeting at the beginning of the class day or in this lesson before the author's entrance as a guest. This repetition underlines the connotation of a ritual. This greeting behavior could pertain to the teacher's attempt to return to the lesson after an event that might have stopped or disturbed the ongoing activities. In this case, "Bonjour, une fois de plus" might mean: "Let us restart our class from the very beginning." "Merci, bonjour, monsieur". While MT does not mention any names of his interlocutors in his greeting (assuming it is addressed to the pupils due to the classroom interaction context of teacher and pupils), the pupils, in responding to the greeting, clearly indicate for whom it is meant, for "*monsieur*" (sir, here MT), keeping the authoritative distance between them and their teacher MT, whom they thank. Although MP tries to break

down this distance in his class conference, his pupils also call him "monsieur."

This is the case in all school circumstances in Cameroon, whether in the English educational sub-system or the French one. "*Monsieur*" and "*Madame*" (Sir, Madam) are titles mostly used to address the teachers and the officials in the school context. This portrays the power relation in place in this school context: teacher (sir), pupils ("*camarades*," "*tu*," "*vous*," or a pupil's name).

Moreover, MT uses classroom management norms he justifies as serving to set the attendants' listening attention, which seems to be a precondition conducive to the productivity of the lesson. This didactic strategy is what Brousseau (1986; 1998) called a "didactic contract" as an agreed set of rules for classroom interactions. One of these norms was discussed in section 9.2. as the imperative form of verbs addressing identified and total pupils ("*sois rapide*, … *vas t'assoir*"). Others include the imperative of acting quietly and fast and sitting at clean tables. According to the management of the work atmosphere, they must be quiet and fast for time management. In MT's lesson, a good atmosphere conducive to a productive lesson depends on how calm the pupils are, how clean the tables are, and how fast some activities are performed. Acting quietly and fast, keeping the tables clean, as argued by MT, help them to better follow the lesson: "Ça va nous permettre de mieux suivre la leçon."

Although the initial move of MT's lesson seems to look authoritative, characterized by an imperative address, greeting rituals and the classroom management norms of quietness, time management and the cleanliness of the tables, MT uses an overt argumentative attitude towards his pupils in framing an atmosphere conducive to a productive lesson. He assumes that his pupils have the right to share the reasons for the classroom management norms that permit them to start the revision phase of the previous lesson. This differentiates between a top-down classroom management practice and more negotiated codes of conduct organizing the classroom interaction (didactic contract).

Excerpt 2: From the transcript of the lesson of Monsieur Teba in class 6

> MT: La leçon. Bien, nous allons rapidement réviser quelque chose. Alors dites-moi, quelles sont les qualités d'une eau potable ? (Les élèves lèvent les doigts pour répondre à la question du maître). Tu lèves la main droite (s'adressant à une élève qui lève la main gauche). (Elle lève la main droite) Voilà. Oui.
> Ee1N: (se lève et répond) Il y a/il y a …//
> MT: Tu formes une bonne phrase. Les qualités d'une eau potable sont …
> Ee1N: Les qualités d'une eau potable sont il y a …//
> MT: Quand tu dis les qualités d'une eau potable sont, tu ne dis plus il y a, tu cites directement: Les qualités d'une eau potable sont …. Allons y (les autres élèvent lèvent les doigts, certains en les claquant).
> Ee1N: (…) sans saveur..//

> MT: Te prends
> Ee1N: Les qualités d'une eau potable sont, il y a une eau sans saveur, inodore (03)
> MT: Qui va compléter? Tu t'assoies. (Les autres élèvent lèvent les doigts, certains en les claquant). Non, qui fait ça ? Ne fais plus ça, hey, on lève simplement le doigt. Oui, (désigne un élève du doigt) (celui-ci se lève et répond).
> E1NCC: Les qualités d'une eau potable sont, inodore/inodore, sans sag/sans saveur et (01) et (01) …//

MT lists the activity of "*resiver*" (to review), which must be done quickly, losing no time: "*rapidement reviser*." The adverb "quickly" attached to the verb "to revise" portrays it as not a central activity in the lesson process. There is no need to waste time on it. Thus, the invitation to the pupils to orally do a memory performance: "Alors, dites moi quelles sont les qualités d'une eau potable?" (So, tell me, what are the qualities of drinkable water?). To "*tell*," here is an oral memory activity to recite the previous lesson's content. "*Reviser*" is an activity to be done rapidly, "*to tell*" seems appropriate for MT to check if what was previously taught was learned and move on to the next lesson. In this sense, MT seems to consider the activity of "*reviser*" as a bridge activity helping to start a new lesson. "Quelles sont les qualités d'une eau potable?". MT here seeks information. The answers of his pupils seem to reflect this informative orientation of MT's revision question. "*Il y a*" (there are) introduces an informative sentence with the idea of listing and reciting components of the information.

However, MT does not seem to be satisfied with the phrasing because he orders his pupils to phrase the information in a "good sentence," helping to memorize the beginning of the sentence: "Tu formes une bonne phrase." And he moves on to dictate what he expects his pupils to say in a good sentence: "Les qualités d'une eau potable sont … et tu cites directement."Although MT insists on this form (the correct spelling of the words), Ee1N does not seem to pick it up easily. MT's struggle to make him pick up the "*good*" structure of an informative sentence appears to be unsuccessful because this pupil keeps on saying "*il y a*" after the teacher's informative sentence: "Les qualités d'une eau potable sont." MT moves on to another pupil, E1NCC, who succeeds in repeating the sentence as expected by MT: "Les qualités d'une eau potable sont, inodore/inodore, sans sag/sans saveur."

Move 2 consists of an introduction of the proper lesson developing around a case taken from the street to introduce the problem of the lesson, correcting problems in the case and brainstorming on the content of the problem of the case.

Excerpt 3: From the transcript of the lesson of Monsieur Teba in class 6

> MT: Les qualités d'une eau potable. Maintenant nous allons introduire la leçon d'aujourd'hui. Quand je me promenais quelque part ce matin quand j'arrivais à l'école, voilà ce que j'ai lu. (écrit au tableau) (17). Voilà, une phrase que j'ai trouvée sur

un brouillon ce matin lorsque j'arrivais à l'école. J'ai essayé de lire et je vais essayer de le lire aussi pour vous. "L'o ne s'aire a rin." Voilà, ce que j'ai lu. "L'eau ne sert à rien", j'ai imaginé que c'est ça que la personne voulait écrire. Alors, est-ce que la personne a bien écrit cette phrase? Ça va?

C: Non, monsieur.

MT: C'est bien, n'est-ce pas?

C: Non, monsieur.

MT: Donc, il y a un problème?

C: Oui, monsieur. (Les élèves lèvent les doigts pour répondre et des voix dans la classe: moi, monsieur).

MT uses two temporal deictic clues ("*maintenant*" and "*aujourd'hui*"), highlighting a transition from the revision phase (greeting, classroom management) to the introduction of the lesson proper. "*Maintenant*" (now) and "*aujourd'hui*" (today) mark the transition from an activity dealt with until now (reviser), which consists of a reminder ("les qualités d'une eau potable") of a past lesson, to a new activity ("*introduire*"), which concentrates on a present lesson ("leçon d'aujourd'hui"). MT uses the first person plural, "*nous*," meaning him and his pupils, to indicate the new activity to the participants ("to introduce") and to inform them about the new topic (today's lesson). This new activity seems to have two characters: community-agent "*we-community*," as Bohnsack (2010, p. 119) named it, and an action to be constructed in the process (are going to).

The initiating step of this construction is done by an individual agent ("*je*" referring here to MT) who introduces a case from the real-life social context to the participants, which is reported in the simple past (je me promenais, j'arrivais), in the present perfect ("j'ai lu, une phrase que j'ai trouvée, j'ai essayé de lire") and the future (je vais essayer de lire). The gradual time evolution of this reporting act is constructed as in process. This gradual time evolution of MT's reporting on a real-life case seems to announce the processual character of the activity of "*introduire la leçon*" as a participative activity to be constructed by the community agent ("*nous*"). Although the teacher MT takes on the role of setting the lesson's topic (here, a real-life case) and defining the problem (e.g., "*bien écrire*"), the activity consisting of introducing the lesson seems to be "communally constructed" in the process by "*nous*." The informative role of the teacher seems to be limited to setting the problem, defining the problem and monitoring the tasks. The activity of the lesson introduction itself is "participatively constructed" by the class as a community, here presented in "*nous*," comprising the teacher and his pupils.

The context of the real-life case reported by MT is defined by a few presuppositions contained in the following: "Voilà, une phrase que j'ai trouvée sur un brouillon ce matin lorsque j'arrivais à l'école". A paradigmatic syntactic reading of MT's utterance highlights some presuppositions on both the form and the content levels. Three main words carry the sense of the sen-

tence: "Here is a sentence I found on a draft this morning when I was coming to school." These are "sentence," "draft," and "school."

The first presupposition is that it is not a piece of information presented to the pupils; it is rather a sentence, phrase, or clause highlighting the feature of the written language (correct vocabulary and grammatical structure). The second implies that the sentence is written on a "*brouillon*," an ordinary, rough, dirty piece of paper, which may not be correct since it is written on a "*brouillon*." The emphasis remains on the form (written). Third, the sentence on the draft is not found at school but rather on the way to school on the street. The word school implies a class context, a college context with an instructional role, hence, a formal institution, and thus seems to be the right place where a correct language should be used (especially correct writing of sentences). These three words inform the pupils about the first problem to be dealt with in the lesson: "Alors, est-ce que la personne a bien écrit cette phrase? Ça va?" ("So, has the person written this sentence well? Is it okay?").

On the syntagmatic level, the dependent clause "when I was going to school" informs about the time and the place of the discovery of the sentence. The clause presupposes that MT was not yet at school when he found the sentence on a draft that morning. Where was he then? The answer is: "*somewhere*" on his way to school. Here, the presupposition is that the sentence found on a draft in the street is brought to school. The school represents a formal institution, which has the role of instructing pupils to write well and correct the street's false and vulgar language (in MT's class). By bringing a real-life case from the street into the classroom, the teacher implicitly distinguishes and opposes two worlds: the school and the street (or better, the world in the school and the world out of the school).

The world in the school is characterized by a search for a correct language structure (bien écrire, bien s'exprimer), whereas the world outside of the school (that is, the street, family, etc.) is proper for the language content, meaning for a sense for the means of communication and understanding each other. Meanwhile, the first focuses on the importance of the *signifiant* (correct spelling of the words, correct use of grammatical structures, as can be seen in this introductory phase of MT's lesson: "Voilà, la phrase telle qu'on devrait l'écrire"). The latter is interested in the *signifié,* as MT highlights: "Il avait juste écrit le sens." The "participative" process of introducing the lesson consists of MT trying to get his pupils to correct the spelling of words in the sentence: "*L'o ne s'aire à rin.*" The context of this sentence remains unclear ("sentence found on a draft, somewhere, on the way to school") since Monsieur Teba does not show the class this draft or even a copy of the sentence from the draft. He rather writes this sentence himself. One may then read this

as an imaginary[120] real-life case used by MT to teach his pupils the vocabulary problem of spelling. His impulse questions to this introductory case ("Alors, est-ce que la personne a bien écrit cette phrase? Ça va?") sound like an invitation to pay attention only to the level of the *signifiant*, with a focus on the spelling: "*bien écrit*?" (well-written?).

MT terminates this introductory phase of his lesson by brainstorming on the content problems of the real-life case brought to the class.

Excerpt 4: From the transcript of the lesson of monsieur Teba in class 6

> MT: Maintenant. On dit "l'eau ne sert à …
> C: à rien."
> MT: A rien. C'est ça? Humm? L'eau ne sert à rien. (07) L'eau ne sert à rien.
> Eni: Non, monsieur.
> MT: Qui dit non? Je ne vois pas quelqu'un dire non. Je vois seulement de personne. Vous êtes tranquilles là. (En croisant les mains) si quelqu'un dit non, je dois voir sa réaction. (04) Oui. (s'adressant à un élève qui lève son doigt à la dernière rangée à côté du bureau de l'enseignant).
> E5: Non. Monsieur.
> MT: Non! Non, pourquoi? Que l'eau ne sert à rien?
> E5: Ça sert, monsieur.
> MT: Ah! L'eau sert à quelque chose! C'est ça ? (en s'adressant à toute la classe)
> C: Oui, monsieur.
> MT: Dis-moi, alors, l'eau sert à quoi? (s'adressant de nouveau à l'élève E5)

The transition to this brainstorming is again introduced by the time conjunction "*maintenant*" (now) as before-interpreted transitions. However, the impulse to this stage is not an interrogative form but rather a suspension form, stating an observation: "Maintenant. On dit que l'eau ne sert à." The question comes later and is not explicitly linked to the sentence's content. Rather, it is an indirect question calling for attention: "C'est ça? Humm?" followed by a repetition of the sentence in a declarative form and a long pause (07 s) in-between. This might be interpreted as an invitation to his pupils, giving them more time and space to reflect on the sentence's content rather than asking them directly about it. It sounds inducive to a participative learner-centered brainstorming process, singular in this lesson, especially after a structural and instructional phase of verbalism at the beginning of the lesson's introduction. The repeated declarative form of the sentence "L'eau ne sert à rien," marked

---

120 One way of introducing a lesson, according to the ongoing competency-based teaching-learning pedagogy in Cameroonian schools, is by using "une situation de vie" (a real-life situation) to wrap up the lesson theme or problem. It is possible that MT uses this principle, probably learned in pedagogical seminars, organized from time to time by pedagogical inspectors of the primary school. In this sense, MT uses his creativity (or his experience of the language use in the wprld ou of the school) to imagine this real-life case of a sentence found on a draft on the way to school for his lesson purpose.

by a long pause (07s), portrays MT's didactic strategy to invite his pupils to pay particular attention to the double negative meaning "*ne … rien*", which seems to be a prerequisite to the content problem later defined in terms of a direct question "Dis-moi, Alors, l'eau sert à quoi?" after an overtly negative reaction of a pupil: "Non, monsieur …, ça sert, monsieur." This opens the brainstorming activity of telling (informative activity?) the teacher about the use of water from their experience, which is further worked out in groups.

Move 3 is mostly about working out other uses of water in groups. This move comprises group formation, distribution of roles, tasks and time, proper group work, and the presentation and discussion of the group work results.

Excerpt 5: From the transcript of the lesson of monsieur Teba in class 6

> MT: Très bien. Alors, nous allons nous arrêter ici pour le moment. Alors, tu me prends un cahier (se tournant vers Ee2) là-bas dans l'armoire. Nous allons nous arrêter içi. Nous allons rapidement former les groupes. Dans les groupes, vous allez trouver d'autres éléments n'est-ce pas?
> C: Oui, monsieur.
> MT:D'autres éléments qui sont autour de l'eau. N'est-ce pas? D'autres importances de …
> C: L'eau.
> MT: De l'eau. Vous avez trente minutes et chacun va participer. Je vais former les groupes. Le premier groupe c'est/ (indique du doigt une rangée d'élèves) est composé de la rangée de Ringou. Et c'est Ringou le chef de ce groupe. Non, Koné est le chef de ce groupe et Ringou est le Secrétaire. Vous savez. Allez-vous installer dans le gazon, dans le tapi qui est devant la classe là et vous cherchez
> Eni: (…) (03)
> MT: Et vous prenez le matériel pour noter. Et le chef/ suivez. Le chef c'est celui qui donne la parole et le secrétaire note. Et tout à l'heure, il va donner le rapport du/du groupe. Vous avez dix minutes.
> Eni: (…)
> MT: Et même c'est beaucoup.

As far as the formation of the groups is concerned, there seems to be a contradiction between the announced technique: "Nous allons rapidement former les groups" (we are going to form the groups quickly) and its proper performance: "Je vais former les groupes" (I am going to form the groups). MT announces a "*nous*" technique (communal, participative and consultative?) of a group work formation but ends up using a "*je*" technique (authoritative, imposition?). This contradiction may portray how deep and complex it might be to shift from an authoritative role of the teacher (master in defining, providing tasks, rules, items and topics in a lesson) to a participative learner-centered process of teaching-learning in the Cameroonian context. It could also portray the gap between a pedagogical intention (saying, talking about the ideas, techniques or principles) and its performance in everyday-life activities in classrooms or schools (performance, change, shift).

The expectation (the author's perhaps) of a "*nous*" technique of a group work formation announced by MT is that he gives freedom to the pupils to constitute themselves in groups, choosing members and distributing roles. MT might monitor the activity, set tasks and time and register the constituted groups. The reality, on the contrary, is that MT arbitrarily divided the class into groups (using the pupils sitting at the four tables as the four groups), giving them specific tasks and assigning specific roles to pupils of his choice. This might be perhaps due to the time (therefore "*rapidement*") or a routinized teacher-centered practice regarding the formation of the group work in class, which might have been habituated (therefore taking over the pedagogical intention). It might simply portray the gap between the pedagogical know-what, constituting principles of the teaching methods and the pedagogical/didactic know-how, consisting of acting subsequently. This might finally portray, on the one hand, the common reality of the contradictory culture of "*parler*" and "*agir*," which may characterize the Cameroonian society (Kä Mana, 2012a). On the other hand, it might inform the contrast between the learned knowledge and acting out the learned knowledge.

Talking about roles and tasks distribution in the groups, MT explicitly designates the pupils by names and attributes them the roles of "*chef de groupe*" or "*coordinatrice*" and "*secrétaire*" (head of the group and secretary) to whom he respectively assigns specific tasks of "*donner la parole*" and "*noter*" (give the talk, write down notes): "Le chef, c'est celui qui donne la parole et le secrétaire note." The other group members are imperatively ordered to participate: "Tout le monde doit participer" (everybody must participate). And even though someone in class utters his opinion on the timing frame of the group work, the teacher MT reminds him that it is enough: "Eni: (…) // MT: Et même c'est beaucoup".

The phrase "*donner la parole*" presupposes that "*la parole*" belongs to someone who, in the case of MT's lesson, is the "*chef de groupe*." The participation of each member of the group depends on the chief's power to distribute the talk. The phrase "*donner la parole*" reflects the social culture of the Bamiléké folk in the sense that it is a highly complex system of "*chefférie*," with the chief having a prominent central role in the folk's everyday life. As an instrument of power within the Bangwa people, "*la parole*" is owned by the chief, the only authority capable of manipulating it as an instrument (Pradelles de Latour, 1997). The culture of "*chefférie*" in the Bamiléké folk, as in many other Cameroonian folks, seems to be reproduced in classrooms.

Schools, therefore, seem to play the role of a culture of this reproduction to educate the pupils to later take on hierarchical roles in society once they are adults. The school reproduces the social structure to maintain an established order necessary for the survival of the group identity and the culture. The group work activity, even though being a pedagogical/didactic technique of a participative learner-centered activity in class, is calqued from the social

structure of the Bamiléké: chief, notables, subjects are mixed with the modern centralistic system of governance in place in Cameroon where the president, ministers, general secretaries, directors and so on compose a hierarchical system. This portrays a culture of a dependent relationship of "*maître-serviteur*," with the master giving the talk and the servant executing the talk (*order* and *execution*).

What appears to be special in MT's group work activity is the disposition of the groups and the work environment. Two groups are asked to leave the classroom and sit on the playground on the grass that he calls "tapis vert" (green carpet): "Allez vous installer dans le gazon, dans le tapis qui est devant la classe là." Two other groups remain in the classroom. This is different from the setting of the group work MT put in place in his lesson of 2015 on the same theme of water, where all the groups (relatively larger and formed according to the technique of the range distribution of the class) stayed in the classroom. One might imagine that MT (changing settings) places importance on the quality of the work environment during the group work activities in this lesson. This shift could also inform his lesson's flexibility, diversity, and constant search for innovation.

Figure 29 :Photo collage, pictures of group work disposition in and out of the classroom

(Source: author's material)

The "green carpet" metaphor could symbolize a comfortable working place. A "*green carpet*" could then designate the beautiful green playground, assimilating both the natural beauty (green grass) and the artistic beauty (carpet) of its maintenance. The playground also represents a leisure place (out of the classroom, proper for recreation) that the pupils may find relaxing and a conducive work environment without the formalities of the classroom as a teaching-learning setting. Pupils can, thus, organize their work without any influence of an adult (teacher), even though this teacher moves from group to group to make sure that the pupils are effectively working and not playing. Learners seem to be given autonomy to work together in and out of the classroom.

Excerpt 6: From the transcript of the lesson of Monsieur Teba in class 6

> MT: (S'approchant du groupe 3) (…) tout le monde doit participer/participer. Ce n'est pas la même personne (…).
> E3: L'eau sert à..//
> Ee4YG: (Secrétaire du groupe) L'eau sert à?
> Ee6C: (coordinatrice du groupe) L'eau sert à faire le ménage …//
> E3: L'eau sert à laver les assiettes …//
> Ee2: L'eau sert à /à travailler la nourrit …// schimmm
> Ee6C: L'eau sert à faire le ménage.
> MT: (Parlant doucement et avec les gestes des mains) Doucement puisque tout le monde doit participer.
> Ee4YG: Je lui dis que je n'ai même pas encore écrit …//
> MT: Tout le monde/les autres passent/doucement tout le monde doit participer. (s'éloigne du groupe).
> E6: À cuisiner
> Ee2: L'eau sert à cuisiner (se baissant jusqu'aux genoux de Ee4YG regardant ce qu'elle écrit) C'est ce que tu avais écrit, non?
> Ee4YG: C'est ce que tu as dit, non?
> Ee2: Mets "/Mets"
> Ee4YG: C'est ce que tu as dit, non?
> E6: (Touchant du doigt la feuille sur laquelle Ee4YG écrit et après se tournant vers E3) L'eau sert à cuisiner?
> Ee2: Donne j'écris/donne j'écris.
> Ee4YG: Attends un peu.
> E6: Donne moi, j'écris (pointant de nouveau la feuille sur laquelle écrit Ee4G)
> Ee4YG: (Relevant la tête en direction de E6) ah !
> E6: C'est comme ça qu'on écrit (J)?
> Ee4YG: (Dégage le bic de la feuille en regardant vers la direction de l'objectif de camera)
> Ee2: Donne j'écris (dirige son doigt vers la feuille)
> Ee6C: (Dégage la main de Ee2 de la feuille)
> Ee2: (Insiste) donne moi j'écris. Tourne la page j'écris.
> Ee4YG: Prends tschiiiiipp !

Though the specific roles, tasks and work rule the teacher sets while forming the groups (and given the diversity and the quality of the group work settings), the pupils seem to have spontaneously adopted their mode of work, participation and result delivery. There are two things regarding the roles and rules of working together in school in the specific group work situation.

First, the teacher comes into play the role of moderating the activities by reminding the group that everybody must participate and, therefore, there must be silence: "Doucement puisque tout le monde doit participer." This teacher's intervention seems to harm the performance of the role of the chief and the secretary of the group the teacher had appointed when forming the groups. Second, and after this intervention of the teacher, when the teacher disappears, the moderating role of "*donner la parole*" assigned to the chief of

the group (Ee6C)) appears to be challenged, giving room to a task-performance struggle between some group members (Ee2 and E6) and the secretary. In this struggle, the chief seems to fight for her contribution ("L'eau sert à faire le ménage") to be taken into consideration (she insists twice) instead of "giving the talk" to the participants. She ends up using a harsh gesture of the hand ("292egage la main de Ee2 de la Feuille") toward the pupil Ee2, who seems to insist on taking on the role of the secretary (Ee4YG). The latter also behaves harshly toward E6, pointing his pen at the paper she is writing on ("292egage le bic de la Feuille en regardant vers la direction de l'objectif de camera").

Thus, the designated group work "managers" did not succeed in their struggle to act. They had to give up because of the insistence of Ee2 on taking over the role of a "*note-taker*," meaning a secretary: "Ee2: (Insiste) donne moi j'écris. Tourne la page j'écris. Ee4YG: Prends tschiiiiipp!"

In all this, the reality of group work to the distributed roles (positions) seems to be very different from the one designated by the teacher. The arbitrary roles are challenged and overturned. One might rather call it the organization of the world of the children. This portrays how significant it seems to involve the learners in the group work formation instead of designating it as an adult (teacher). Left alone, the children seem to act according to their world. This seems to be the case in all the other three groups, where the chief as a "talk giver" does not seem to be very prominent; what matters seems to be the role of the secretary as the center of attention of the members of the groups. The spontaneity in speaking and acting takes over the controlling model of "*donner la parole*." The same remarks could be made concerning the tasks assigned by MT in how the group work results should be presented by the "designated" chiefs and secretaries of the groups.

Although the teacher insists on formulaic presentation statements, such as: "Je m'appelle par exemple X, je suis le chef du groupe numéro 1, et le maître nous a demandé de recenser les autres importances de l'eau. Et je demande ma secr/ secrétaire de vous présenter le résultat de notre travail", the pupils use their natural ways and statements to present their results to the class.

Table 15: The pupils' natural mode of presentation

Ee7FL: (chef du premier groupe) Bonjour, chers camarades.
C: Merci, bonjour.
Ee7FL: Je m'appelle FL, je vais vous présenter le travail de notre groupe numéro 1, j'appelle mon secrétaire CWD.
E2CWD: Je m'appelle CWD. Je vais vous présenter le travail que/que nous dans notre équipe nous avons fait.

(Source: author)

In example (1), the chief of the group choses to "greet the class" before intro-ducing herself and introducing her secretary. The teacher did not ask this. Moreover, she uses her phrasing instead of repeating the teachers. In example (2), the secretary follows the greeting example of the chief, introduces him-self and says something completely different from the teacher's recommend-ed phrase: "Je vais vous présenter le travail que/que nous dans notre équipe nous avons fait." Here, a repetition of the memorable phrase of the teacher does not work. Pupil E2CWD (secretary of the first group) uses his structure and content to introduce his speech. Instead of "*présenter le travail que le maître nous a demandé de faire*", the pupil uses "*présenter le travail que/que nous dans notre équipe nous avons fait*". The concept of a master who tells the pupils to do an activity is reflected in this speech introduction by E2CWD. It does not seem to be a matter of the pupil repeating the teacher's memory phrase of introducing the speech; instead, what appears to be im-portant seems to be the own way of reporting on what happened in the group. This shift is introduced in (2) by the repetition of the conjunction "*que/que,*" meaning the change of the speech content after a moment of reflection. The search for repeating the phrase of the teacher ("*que le maître*") makes room for its phrasing of the content ("*que nous dans notre groupe nous avons fait*").

The reference to the group as an *"équipe"* (a team) seems more signifi-cant than just a pedagogical/didactic setting designed by the teacher. The "a team" figure displays more communality and solidarity among its members than a "*group*." Because a team may have objectives, strategies and a proper work system for a subsequent performance due to its competitive nature, the pupil thus, presents the results of such a team performance rather than what the teacher ordered to do. The communality and solidarity character of a team, in this case, relies on the repetition of the personal pronoun, the first-person plural "*nous*" (we): "Le travail que/que nous dans notre équipe nous avons fait" (The work that/that we in our team have done). This "*nous*" seems to be more singular, more specific than a general and vague "*nous*" used in introducing his lesson. It is not a "*nous*" of the group; it is rather a "*nous"* of a team (in our team), expressing more commonality and more solidarity among its members and its competitive character.

Overall, the group work presentations differ from each other. While some groups struggle to repeat the teacher's memory phrase, others sponta-neously create and use their own words, structure, and content to introduce their presentation. However, all the presentations follow the format of a speech introduction, reading the results, a teacher appreciation and group applause ("un bravo pour ce groupe").

(Source: author's material)

Move 4 is about the lesson's conclusion consisting of a summary the teacher MT writes on the blackboard.

Excerpt 7: From the transcript of the lesson of Monsieur Teba in class 6

> MT: (Va écrire au tableau) L'eau aussi est un milieu de vie. (05) L'eau est un milieu de/de vie. Alors. Pour nous résumer donc/pour nous résumer rapidement, nous disons donc que tous les êtres vivants sont constitués d'eau et ont besoin d'eau pour …
> C: Vivre
> MT: Pour vivre. (Va écrire le résumé au tableau pendant que les élèves regardent silencieusement ce qu'il écrit sans noter) (24) CWD vas sonner.
> E2CWD: (Se lève pour aller sonner) ting tang ting tang (la cloche sonne)
> MT: C'est bon. (Continue d'écrire au tableau) (E2 rentre s'assoir) (05)

MT also names the activity to be dealt with: "pour nous resumer donc." "*Resumer*," in the pedagogical/didactic lesson process, appears as the final activity summarizing the essential elements of the lesson to be noted by the pupils. The "*résumé*" (summary) is written on the blackboard by the teacher while the pupils quietly sit, writing down what MT writes. The author's experience as a teacher in Cameroon is that in most lessons, pupils copy such a "*résumé*" in their exercise books (if it is written on the board by the teacher at the primary school level and in the first classes of secondary schools) or write down what the teacher may dictate (in advanced classes). As a result of this, in a traditional teacher-centered teaching-learning framework, this appears to be a single lesson activity because the teacher dictates the "résumé" from the beginning until the end of the lesson and the pupils copy and memorize it for evaluations.

On the contrary, in MT's lesson, the "*résumé*" phase is the final step of the lesson process and the constructed interaction. What might explain the passive attitude of the pupils in this final phase of the lesson could be that the bell rings, signaling the break. Thus, they may copy the "*résumé*" during this break or later. Another idea could be that since they all have hung their bags on the wall at the beginning of the lesson and consider that the teacher does not ask them to take them back and copy the "*résumé*," the pupils consequently stay quiet, following up and listening without writing.

294

10.2.2 Reconstructing Four frames of Orientation of Interaction in MT's Lesson

The transcript and the observation of the video-taped lesson of MT display four frames of interaction dynamics consisting of teacher-class interaction (TCI), teacher-pupil interaction (TPI), pupil-pupil interaction (PPI) and pupil-class interaction (PCI).

Table 16 :Four frames of interaction dynamics

Interaction dynamics	Characteristics and, e.g., in the language use
Teacher-class interaction (TCI)	The teacher begins a sentence and elicits the completion from the class as one voice (choir): e.g. T: "295rese nous permettre de mieux suivre la … C: leçon."
Teacher-pupil(s) interaction (TPI)	The teacher uses direct questions, exclamations and long pauses in his speech. He addresses individual pupils using "tu," e.g., "Tu formes une bonne phrase."
Pupil-pupil interaction (PPI)	Group work: e.g. Ee4: L'eau sert à? Ee6: L'eau sert à faire le ménage. E2: "L'eau sert à laver les assiettes."
Pupil-class interaction (PCI)	295resentation of the findings of the group work: e.g. P: "Bonjour, chers camarades." C: "Merci, bonjour."

(Source: author)

10.2.3 Teacher-class interaction mode (TCI)

On the one hand, the teacher addresses the class using the second personal pronoun plural "*vous*" (you). For example: "Vous regagnez rapidement votre place; vous enlevez tout sur la table." He also uses long breaks as a mode of interaction with the group after a question or an exclamation (e.g. "À rien. C'est ça? Humm? L'eau ne sert à rien. (07 s) L'eau ne sert à rien.") By doing so, he gives his pupils more time to think. On the other hand, the teacher starts a sentence and elicits a completion from the class in a chorus mode: T: "Ça va nous permettre de mieux suivre la … C: leçon". Further examples of such completion of a teacher's utterance or words in a chorus are abundant in the transcript from the beginning to the end of a lesson, regardless of the activities (introduction, brainstorming, group work, presentation or summary).

Functional analysis of such a chorus mode of interaction might be that MT uses it as a didactic communication technique, raising and checking the pupils' attention, making the pupils participate or getting positive feedback in the process, which reassures him that he is listened to, is followed by and which tells him that he is understood. How effective this technique works is debatable, especially because the chorus mode of repetition or completion of

a teacher's utterance appears, to a certain degree, to be automatically performed by the pupils; thus, it is unclear whether they understand what the teacher engages them in or not.

The chorus mode depicts how MT, consciously or unconsciously,[121] frames the interaction between him and his class in a *sens unique* (ubiquitous inference) frame of orientation. The *sense unique* the class must follow (in a ritualized way, therefore, habituated and unspontaneous) is induced by the teacher as the only "truth" to be repeated in one voice by the class. This mode most often consists of the teacher letting the class imagine and say either the last word/words of a sentence in the chorus (e.g., "E: L'eau ne sert à … C: rien") or the last syllables of a word (e.g., "E: Ça c'est l'accent circon … C: flexe"). It also comprises the mode of short questions where the answers yes/no are expected to be given by individual pupils, but rather by the class as an entity (as one voice): e.g., "E: C'est bien n'est-ce pas? C: Non, monsieur. E: Donc, il y a un problème? C: Oui, monsieur." The chorus mode of interaction between MT and his class is performed throughout the lesson with astonishing spontaneity, making one think that it could be a repetition of a lesson learned before or memorized to be performed in front of a "guest" (in this case, the author of this work with his camera).

Although this hypothesis might be plausible, this chorus mode of interaction is observable in most classes within the Cameroonian school context, which is somehow also deeply ingrained in the everyday social life experiences; for instance, in the pastoral power of the church (Golder, 2007, pp. 175-76) and community meetings.[122] Hence, the class speaks as "one voice." The communication agents at this level of interaction seem to, thus, comprise only the teacher as the speech initiator and the class as the speech receiver, with the chorus completion of the teacher's utterance informing about the character of the commonality of the communication. The two agents of interaction understand each other; therefore, in Bohnsack's terms, they share a

121 Consciously, as didactic technique of a classroom participation, and unconsciously, as this didactic technique has become a habitus structuring a classroom discourse.

122 In the Bamiléké region, community associations are commonly called "tontines", where members of an association (for example the Women's Association, the Youth Association or the Workers Association in a company) meet monthly to discuss social and financial issues of the group. The name "tontines" associated to such meetings is popular because of the dynamics of money saving among its members. The practice of "tontines" is spread all over the country. These associations are well-organized with an executive board composed of a president, a secretary, a treasurer, censors and financial controllers. "Tontine" meetings are festive occasions and "speaking in one voice" consists of singing the association's songs and joyfully repeating the leaders' utterances, praising the group values. The chorus mode is, thus, a cultural mode of communication and intercourses in the social life. It is, therefore, not specific to classroom interaction contexts.

strong conjunctive space of experience: the experience of standing as a community, where the voice of the members must be following the voice of the community (teacher and pupils).

In the sociology vocabulary, this reflects a typical attempt of a group to consolidate its stability using inclusion. The voice of a single person should reflect the community's voice representing the individuals' voice. Non-conformity to this rule of social inclusion leads to social exclusion. The cultural backgrounds of the actors, in such a context, appear to be deeply structured around the conflictual relationship between inclusion as a positive horizon and exclusion as a negative one. These contra-horizons are permanently used in all social spheres: families, villages, tribes or "chefféries," associations, churches, public services and schools. Kokemohr (2015) depicted this feature of class interaction in everyday language use in Bamiléké society. One of these examples includes utterances, such as "*on colle ensemble*" (which could be interpreted in English as "we stick to each other" or "we stick together").

10.2.3.1 Teacher-Pupil Interaction Mode (TPI)

As far as TPI is concerned, MT uses the mode of direct orders (imperative sentences), questions to individual pupils and finger-pointing. Sentences in the imperative mode are abundant in the target transcription. Most of these clues reflect the framework for an interactive orientation between the teacher and a single pupil, impersonally addressed ("*vas t'assoir*;" "*sois rapide*;" "*vas-y rapidement*"; "*reprends*"; "*dis-moi Alors*.") Moreover, the teacher also addresses a single pupil either by using the second person singular pronoun "*tu*" (you); for instance: "tu formes une bonne phrase;" "tu t'assois;" "Alors, tu me prends un cahier"; "tu es un leader;" or he calls the pupil by their name (e.g. "oui rapidement, oui"); he points to them with the finger. Another framework for a performative orientation of interaction is the nod of the head to designate a pupil wanting to speak (face-to-face communication). TPI often follows the orientation of questions and answers, depicting a *sens unique* to the teaching-learning process. However, considering the general context of large classes in Cameroon, it is often the structure of TCI, which seems to predominate.

Therefore, in some private schools with a limited pupil enrolment, TPI could portray a positive interaction horizon of more speech for individual learners to actively participate in the lesson process. According to the principle of interaction advocated in the ER, the freedom of speech and the possibilities of a participative talk characterize productive lessons. The remaining questions are: What do reform schools and reform pedagogies look like in Europe compared to Cameroon (Africa or elsewhere)? In other words, what does it mean to reform a school, to reform pedagogy in a specific country within its specific context and realities (e.g., a class of 100 pupils with one

teacher)? The concepts of learner autonomy, freedom of speech, participation, creativity, innovation and affectivity comprise abstract reform principles. In this sense, the TPI present in MT's lesson might be interpreted as depicting a traditional model of an authoritative teacher-centered lesson, where the teacher gives orders, asks questions and gives his knowledge to the learners who execute the orders and give ready-made answers. From the beginning of the lesson, MT establishes the base for a *sense of the unique* dominating structure of his lesson.

However, as interpreted at the beginning of this text, the teacher justified using these imperative sentences as a means of classroom management techniques conducive to a good atmosphere during the lesson: "Ça va nous permettre de bien suivvre la leçon," says MT. Moreover, this justification could be capitalized to favor a positive change from an "authoritative" to a "democratic" lesson. By providing his pupils with this communicative knowledge (motives of the "*um ... Zu*" order), MT opens a path for learner-centered communication.

10.2.3.2 Pupil-Pupil Interaction Mode (PPI)

The third orientation frame of interaction consists of the pupil-pupil mode of interaction (PPI), particularly present in the group work activities of MT's lesson. Despite the critical discussion around the "group work" formation (for instance, from which perspective, the teacher or the learner's perspective, should a group work formation be done?), group work provides the learners with "*free*" space for a peer or an inter-individual interaction on a topic, a problem, a theme of discussion and even roles. The pupil-pupil interaction in MT's lesson is depicted through the pupils' contributions, criticism or questions. The transcript displays them in the following: Ee4: "L'eau sert à?" Ee6: "L'eau sert à faire le ménage." E2: "L'eau sert à laver les assiettes."

Although there seems to be an imitation of the *sens unique* interaction orientation characterized by questions and responses, pupils appear to frame their interaction freely. Here, the pupil Ee4, secretary of group 3, initiates the question: "L'eau sert à?". Then comes a contribution (an answer) by pupil Ee6 ("L'eau sert à faire le ménage."). The contribution is reframed in other words by another pupil E2 ("L'eau sert à laver les assiettes."). The discussion turns into a "*dispute*" around the first contribution, as other pupils enter the "*game*," giving their phrasing (or understanding) of it (Ee2: "L'eau sert à /à travailler la nourrit."// … E6: "À cuisine."). Thus, Ee6 (who happens to be the chief of the group) must insist that all these phrases (washing dishes, cooking) belong to the general category of "faire le ménage" (do the shares). The "*dispute*" of phrasing then turns into the "*dispute*" of power relations about the established (by the teacher) roles in the group: Ee2 and E6 wanting to take over the secretary's responsibility of writing down the contributions.

Excerpt 8: From the transcript of the lesson of Monsieur Teba in class 6

> Ee2: Donne j'écris/donne j'écris.
> Ee4: Attends un peu.
> E6: Donne moi, j'écris.
> Ee4: (Relevant la tête en direction de E6) ah!
> E6: C'est comme ça qu'on écrit (J)?
> Ee4: (Dégage le bic de la feuille en regardant vers la direction de l'objectif de caméra).
> Ee2: Donne j'écris (dirige son doigt vers la feuille).
> Ee6C: (Dégage la main de Ee2 de la feuille).
> Ee2: (Insiste) donne moi, j'écris. Tourne la page j'écris.
> Ee4: Prends tschiiiiipp!

This framework for a pupil-pupil orientation of interaction (PPI) present in MT's lesson depicts a children's world of interaction, characterized by the "*dispute*" of the competitive phrasings and the "*dispute*" of the roles by concurrent participants. While concurrent phrases of a contribution are uttered without negation or judgment, concurrent group members challenge the arbitrarily established roles (by the teacher). The pupils in this group (group 3) reorganize their group by redesigning the roles in their way: the framework for a conjunctive orientation of "*dispute*," which, at the end of the process, helps them reestablish practical norms governing their interaction.

The pupils' orientation challenges the orientation scheme of the teacher, who arbitrarily frames the group structure by distributing roles to guarantee discipline (e.g., the chief gives the talk and the secretary takes notes) in the group work. The pupils do not challenge the teacher's context orientation scheme of sens unique in class or are given no space. For instance, MT ignores or does not pay attention to the insistent hand-raising of Ee2 during the group formation activities. Ee2 may have wished to challenge the arbitrary distribution of the roles in her group or to draw the teacher's attention to a pupil sitting aside from the group and who, in the end, happens not to belong to any group.

Ee2 calls on the teacher's attention during the group formation process in the following terms: "Monsieur, … le/le/le … le sourd-muet" (Sir, … the/the/the … the deaf and dumb). It is difficult to say whether this portrait (the deaf and dumb) refers to this pupil sitting alone aside from the group during the group work activities. The video shows him sitting alone on a table in the first row of the class on the right-hand side from the main door (after groups 1 and 2 had left the classroom to sit on the playground). From this context, Ee2 may try to draw the teacher's attention to this pupil (whom she portrays as deaf and dumb), left alone in a row supposed to be his group (while the other pupils of the row, constituted as group 1, are sitting outside of the classroom on the "*carpet*" playground). This target pupil is excluded from the groups.

(Source: author's material)

Why did he not join either one of the groups in his row (group1) or the group sitting near his table (group 3)? Why did the teacher not notice his exclusion at the end of the group formation? The arrow in red in the pictures above shows the same pupil from two different angles: the front of the camera objective showing him sitting alone and the top right border of the picture of group 3 showing him, half sitting on a table away from the group. In the context of group work (without the teacher's presence), Ee2 then succeeds in reframing the roles in the group by taking over the role of the secretary: Ee2: "Donne moi, j'écris. Tourne la page, j'écris … Ee4: Prends tschiiiip!".

Whatever interpretation of the situation one may offer, the pictures and video scene during the group formation phase and Ee2's depiction of someone from the class as deaf could be evidence of excluding a class participant from the group work activities. How could he, being deaf and dumb, have contributed to the group discussion? How could he have been integrated into group work despite his physical disability? What could the group work and class activities have looked like if he had paid attention? These questions and probably many others regarding such a special case could further discuss pedagogical reforms regarding the participants' interactive engagement in knowledge construction. However, group work activities in MT's lesson have helped to discover a hidden problem masked by the group in a "normal" lesson process: the problem of exclusion of a specific participant, such as someone being deaf, a sick pupil, or a pupil having specific problems preventing them from participating in the lessons actively.

10.2.3.3 Pupil-Class Interaction Mode (PCI)

The pupil-class mode of interaction is present in the group work presentation activities. It concerns specific pupils playing specific roles designed by the teacher during the group formation. These comprise the chief (also called "*coordinatrice*") and the secretary of the groups. While the first is responsible for introducing his group and the task they were asked to perform, the second is to present the results of the group work activities to the rest of the class. In performing these roles, the chief and the secretary interact directly.

Excerpt 9: From the transcript of the lesson of Monsieur Teba in class 6

> MT: Chaque représentant de groupe doit dire: "Je m'appelle par exemple X, je suis le chef du groupe numéro 1, et le maître nous a demandé de recenser les autres importances de l'eau. Et je demande ma secr/ secrétaire de vous présenter le résultat de notre travail." Ou bien le secré/taire. Alors, nous avons combien de groupe? Un groupe, deux groupes, trois groupes et quatre groupes. Le premier groupe vas-y rapidement.
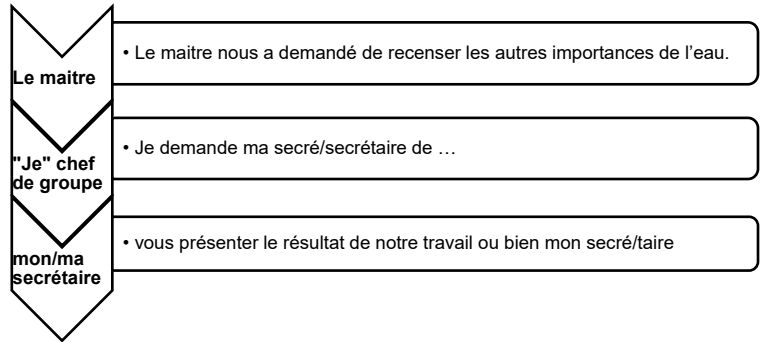> Ee7: (Chef du groupe 1 se lève et va se placer devant la classe.) (05)
> MT: Chaque groupe a deux minutes au trop. (…) Ne te colles pas au tableau. Tu es un leader. Oui, vas-y.
> Ee7: Bonjour, chers camarades.
> C: Merci, bonjour.
> Ee7: Je m'appelle FL, je vais vous présenter le travail de notre groupe numéro 1, j'appelle mon secrétaire CWD. (Regagne sa place pendant que CWD se lève et va se placer devant la classe).
> MT: Le chef de groupe doit présenter le travail qu'on nous a demandé de.//
> E2: (Secrétaire du groupe 1) Bonjour, chers camarades.//
> MT: Oui ! (…) le travail qu'on nous a donné à …
> C: à faire
> E2: Bonjour, chers camarades.
> C: Merci, bonjour.
> E2: Je m'appelle CWD. Je vais vous présenter le travail que/que nous dans notre équipe nous avons fait. L'eau sert à beaucoup de choses. L'eau sert à préparer.
> MT: (Ecrit au tableau dans le schéma tracé lors de la phase de brainstorming) L'eau sert à préparer/L'eau sert à préparer (en prononçant la phrase qu'il est en train d'écrire).
> E2: L'eau sert à faire la vaisselle.

Ee7, chief of the first group, stands up in front of the class and greets the class. Then she introduces herself and her secretary. The secretary stands in front of the class while the chief sits in the back. He, too, greets the class and introduces himself before reading the results of his group work. Meanwhile, the teacher intervenes either to motivate the "*représentants*" of the groups or to recall the tasks given to them, the form of the speech or to repeat and write down what the secretaries of the groups read out loud.

Considering the teacher's intervention and speech frequency during this activity, the PCI tends to turn into TPI/TCI. The only moment the class says something (again in a chorus mode) is during the greeting phase of the speech of the group work's "*représentants*."

> Ee7: Bonjour, chers camarades. – C: Merci, bonjour.
> E2: Bonjour, chers camarades. – C: Merci, bonjour.

The class is passive, silently listening to the presentation and the teacher's comments or corrections of the groups' contributions during the presentation's rest. The class completes the teacher's utterances in a chorus. Apart from the greetings of the "*représentants*" of the groups, the class does not comment or discuss either the form or the content of the presentation itself, which could have been a chance for a *sens divers* interaction mode. How could the following "speech format," designed by the teacher for the chief of the group work, have oriented this PCI into TPI-TCI, that is, from a learner-centered interaction mode (a chance to a *sens divers* mode of interaction) to a more teacher-centered interaction mode (typical of a *sens unique* mode of interaction)?

> MT: Chaque représentant de groupe doit passer et: "Je m'appelle par exemple X, je suis le chef du groupe numéro 1. Et le maître nous a demandé de recenser les autres importances de l'eau. Et je demande ma secr/ secrétaire de vous présenter le résultat de notre travail ou bien mon secré/taire."

This "speech format" comprises three contexts of interpretation: self-introduction, recalling the task of the group work, and introducing the next speaker. The conjunction "*et*" (and) respectively coordinates these three contexts.

Table 17: Composition of the "speech format" of group work presentation in MT's lesson

Self-introduction		Je m'appelle par exemple X, je suis le chef du groupe numéro 1.
Recalling the group work task	**et**	Le maître nous a demandé de recenser les autres importances de l'eau.
Introducing the next speaker	**et**	Je demande ma secré/secrétaire de vous présenter le résultat de notre travail ou bien mon secré/taire.

(Source: author)

The self-introduction consists of saying the name ("Je m'appelle X.") and the function in the group ("Je suis le chef de groupe numéro 1."). Recalling the group work task reminds the others of the teacher's order for a specific activity, such as "recenser les autres importances de l'eau." In addition, introducing the next speaker consists of giving an order ("Je demande") to one's subordinate ("ma secré/secrétaire") to do the job of presenting the group work's results ("présenter le résultat de notre travail") to the class ("*vous*").

This speech format, designed by the teacher for the group work's chief, displays a linear talk process consisting of coordinating (et) successive information about oneself, the task of the group work, and the next speaker. The speaker ("*je*") addresses the receiver ("*vous*": the class) about their identity and function with the superior instance of the teacher ("*le maître*") and the subordinate instance of their secretary ("*secrétaire*"). The coordinative function of "*et*" in this speech form depicts the linear structure of the speech process, which is a ubiquitous process. It reflects a hierarchical top-down power relationship (*sens unique*) between the actors (and institutional roles/ instances of maître, chef, secrétaire) present during the presentation of the group work results in MT's lesson process.

Figure 32: Power relation present in PCI during the presentation phase of the group work of MT's lesson

Le maitre
• Le maitre nous a demandé de recenser les autres importances de l'eau.

"Je" chef de groupe
• Je demande ma secré/secrétaire de …

mon/ma secrétaire
• vous présenter le résultat de notre travail ou bien mon secré/taire

(Source: author)

The figure shows the power relationship of the hierarchy between the actors during the presentation phase of the group work of MT's lesson. The top hierarchy instance of "*le maître*" is the instance of class instruction: "nous a demandé de." "*Le maître*" designs the roles, the theme, and the format of the speech presentation of the group work the learners are asked to act out and reproduce. The verb "*demander*" depicts the instructional character of the teacher. The intermediate hierarchy instance of "*chef de groupe*" (je demande à ma/mon secrétaire de) is also an intermediate instance of instruction concerning "*ma/mon secrétaire,*" which appears to be an instance of the execution of the order to present the results of the group work to the rest of the class ("*vous*") as a receptive (passive?) instance.

The PCI mode, thus, depicts a top-down structure of power relations in the presentation phase of the group work of MT's lesson, where single pupils, in their roles of either the chief or the secretary of a group, address the class concerning a specific task ordered by the teacher ("*le maître*"). In this mode of interaction, the class seems to be the receptive audience passively listen-

ing. The interactive moment in this phase of the lesson is when the group responds to the greetings of the "*chef de groupe*" and his/her "*secrétaire*" (Ee5: Bonjour, chers camarades. C: Merci, bonjour!).

Therefore, MT and his pupils have appealed to their conjunctive space of experience (the classroom *habitus* of interaction) for the construction of the lesson on the problem of the use of water. Even though the lesson was dominantly *sens unique*-oriented through the classroom rituals of chorus speech and the teacher's order for a conducive learning atmosphere, it was constructed around various group interaction dynamics. These dynamics were shaped according to the frame of reference of the traditional chieftaincy system ("*chef de group*") and the democratic frame of power distribution ("president," "secretaire," "rapporteur," etc.). Even though the pupils tried to follow the presentation format instructed by the teacher, they spontaneously developed their mode of presentation, either by using their structures or by inserting some clauses or expressions in the teacher's formula.

At the end of the lesson, they planned to research further meanings of water in society, capitalizing on their social relations (social and cultural knowledge of the elders, parents, and grandparents) to gain contextual knowledge on the theme. This opening of a perspective for further learning processes from the school context could also be interpreted as change or a shift from the norm or the *habitus* of homework provision at the end of a lesson to a research task, which appears more to be triggering the learners' curiosity, the auto-formation process, and the critical thinking.

10.3 The Significance of Participants' SCBs in the Lesson and Momentums of Innovation

The lesson of MT in class 6 displays *sens unique* and *sens divers* processes. While the *sens unique* process depicts habitual classroom communication behaviors, the *sens divers* portrays some momentums challenging this *habitus* performed by both the teacher and the pupils. These again inform the reproduction of the classroom habitus (reproduction of individual and collective SCBs) and the attempts to change established didactic/pedagogical routines (change/transformation of established SCBs).

The *sens unique* process was developed around didactic routines or *habitus* of a chorus talk of the group, either repeating a teacher's utterance or answering a teacher's question altogether. It is also expressed in completing the teacher's sentences, expressions or words. The participants share a set of rituals structuring their everyday classroom practice. The classroom constitutes their conjunctive space of experience where they can act and interact spontaneously during the lessons. They also integrated some practical di-

dactic rituals (gestures, like hand raising, standing up to talk, and finger-snapping to ask for the talk). These are most present during the PCI and PCI dynamics of the communication during a lesson. Considering these conjunctive rituals, the pupils and the teacher appear to share collective sociocultural backgrounds and orientation of the lesson's process. They behave spontaneously towards the teacher's instructions or ritual questions because MT organizes and conducts the lesson using injunctive language instructing the learners' behavior towards a classroom order.

Moreover, this *sens unique* process orients the classroom interaction through questions and answers about form issues in language use. The correct language use and form could have developed from MT's individual or personal SCBs constituted by his experience dealing with exam failures, as reconstructed in a chapter of this work.

Throughout the lesson process, MT insists on the correct spelling of words. He often formulates the sentences that the pupils must repeat; for instance, during group work presentations or when a pupil answers a question, he provides the right structure that the pupil should use in their answer. Because some pupils fail to repeat the teacher's structure exactly, MT insists that they repeat it repeatedly. MT further proves a *sens unique* dynamic of the lesson as he organizes the groups, distributes the roles, and instructs the settings of the groups. Pupils are neither asked for their preference of group members nor are they consulted for the different roles of the group work. The teacher decides arbitrarily as a chef. The groups are then structured according to the backgrounds of the social structure of the "*chefférie*," which is a hierarchical structure of the "*chef de groupe*" and their "*secrétaire*."

A parallel structure consists of the "*président du groupe*" and his/her "*secrétaire du groupe*". It is a group organization that corresponds with the dominant frame of reference present in society and reproduced in the school context. To some extent, MT initiates his pupils to take responsibility at the micro-level of the organization of the group work, opening them both to the traditional "*chefférie*" form of governance ("*chef de groupe*") and the modern power distribution according to a democratic system of governance ("*président du groupe*"). For instance, during the session of the group work presentation, MT reminds the pupil that they must stand as a leader, "Ne te colles pas au tableau. Tu es un leader". Both forms constitute the participant's collective SCBs of power relations, which are called upon to sustain the classroom order (harmony) and group work (harmony). However, in practice, especially during the proper group work session, these backgrounds are challenged, triggering *sens divers* processes or processes of change or transformation of the established sociocultural background orientations.

The *sens divers* process or momentums displaying *sens divers* dynamics could be identified during the classroom activities and the group work sessions. During the classroom interaction, pupils were challenged by the teach-

er's orientation towards the correctness of the language (e.g., the spelling of words) and the structures (e.g., sentences, clauses, tenses). For instance, in the following exchange, the pupil Ee1N could not repeat the teacher's sentence to answer a question about the different properties of drinkable water.

> MT: Tu formes une bonne phrase. Les qualités d'une eau potable sont …
> Ee1N: Les qualités d'une eau potable sont il y a …//
> MT: Quand tu dis les qualités d'une eau potable sont, tu ne dis plus il y a, tu cites directement "Les qualités d'une eau potable sont … ". Allons-y (les autres élèvent lèvent les doigts, certains en les claquant)
> Ee1N: (…) sans saveur …//
> MT: reprends
> Ee1N: Les qualités d'une eau potable sont, il y a une eau sans saveur, inodore (03) …
> MT: Qui va compléter? Tu t'assoies.

The extract presents a challenge to the *habitus* technique of repetition. The teacher provides a sentence that the pupils must use to answer questions ("Les qualités d'une eau potable sont.") A pupil fails in using this formula. Even though he repeats it successfully, he could not integrate his answer following the grammatical logic of the sentence. Therefore, he continued in his own structure ("Les qualités d'une eau potable sont il y a"), which the teacher judges to be false ("Quand tu dis les qualités d'une eau potable sont, tu ne dis plus il y a, tu cites directement.") Then, the pupil omits the formula and starts listing the properties in question. The teacher asks him to resume his answer (an invitation to repeat the formula before listing). And the pupil repeats it, but rather in his earlier structure, including "*il y a*."

The teacher asks someone else to answer the question using his formula. A pupil successfully repeats it, "les qualités d'une eau potable sont, inodore, incolore, sans saveur." Providing a formulaic structure for pupils to repeat when answering questions during the lessons is challenged. Both the teacher and the pupil are limited in their frame of reference. The teacher unsuccessfully uses reformulations and résumé techniques. The learner insists on their language structure. And both fail.

Unfortunately, the teacher does not take this momentum of irritation as a challenge; he rather considers it a failure of the pupil and asks him to sit down and then asks someone else to answer. What interests the teacher is only the capacity of the pupils to repeat and correctly use the language input he provides them with, not their capacity to answer a question. He could have let the pupil use his own words and structure to answer the question. But he insisted on his formulaic technique, and when it failed, he considered it to be the pupil's failure, not his didactic approach. Of course, the next pupil uses it correctly, but the problem remains, and since not all the students could do this successfully, the teacher could have taken this irritation as a personal challenge to improve his didactic competence. But he stuck to his habituated

background of teaching practice and did not take the innovative opportunity of the irritation, thus, of *sens divers*, to call upon his professional creativity. This failure is repeatedly present throughout the lesson process.

The variety of activities and interaction dynamics could be described as sens divers or as an innovation in this lesson of MT. MT not only relies on routine classroom activities constituting the dominant frame of reference to teaching and learning processes, but he also diversifies his lesson process, including pupil-pupil interaction dynamics in group discussions. Although he provides the formulaic structure for pupils to use while answering questions, the lesson is constructed as active participants in the learning process.

The learners constructed a diversity of solutions to the problem of the use of water, calling on their everyday life activities in their families (house-sharing), in the traditional society (rites with water) and at school (organic properties of water, quality properties of water). In the groups, they could freely discuss the matter using their language *habitus* to construct meaning according to their SCBs, constituting their frames of reference to their every-day life (including school life).

In the absence of the teacher, the pupils reorganize the structure of their groups and the structures of the teacher's instructions. They transform the teacher's language into their natural language (at least into their language competencies). This is especially displayed in the presentation of the group work results, where the speakers repeat the teacher's formula but then continue with their structures.

Considering the above issues, the lesson participants in class 6 of MT share a collective SCBs structuring their communication during the lesson. The didactic routines and the communication *habitus* were, however, challenged. Pupils could address language challenges in group dynamics apart from the teacher's authority. And the teacher was open to the diversity of the activities and learning spaces. The pupils were active participants and interested in further researching the topic in their social world out of school. However, the teacher ignored some of the lesson's irritations or declined. These include, for instance, the lack of attention to a pupil with a learning impairment sitting in the corner. The teacher neither included him in the group discussion nor listened to a pupil who focused on special learning needs.

To sum up this chapter, it is worth noting that the analysis of the lesson of MT in class 6 of ER aimed at reconstructing how the SCBs of the class-room participants could have influenced the quality of their teaching and learning interactions. The interpretative results of the analysis encompassed the distribution of four didactic steps in terms of moves and the four frames of the orientation of interaction, sustaining the dynamic development of the lesson. These orientations were interpreted for investigating how the lesson depicts the reform principles of ER, meaning how the lesson infers a linear

process (*sens unique*) or a diversity-oriented process (*sens divers*) of teaching and learning. The pedagogical principles of *sens unique* and *sens divers* portray respectively the character of a teacher-centered lesson structured around his authority to define and deliver the themes, the aims, the contents and the activities of the lessons, and the learner-centered teaching-learning process with more space for the learners to construct the content of the lesson and their knowledge of the world, based on a specific problem of interest.

The remaining questions are: How could MT's SCBs have influenced his teaching practice? How could his professional biographical vita have contributed to the quality of the interaction dynamics in the didactic process of a knowledge co-construction? This study addresses some of these questions from a biographical research perspective to understand the teachers' SCBs for quality teaching and learning practices in the private education sector in Cameroon.

11 Becoming a Teacher in the Private Education Sector in Cameroon: Reconstructing the Features of the SCBs of Primary and Secondary School Teachers in Autobiographical Group Interviews

On the one hand, this chapter investigates the autobiographical professional experiences of two ER teachers (MP and MT), whose teaching practices were analyzed in chapters 8, 9 and 10. On the other hand, it reconstructs autobiographical narrations of five college teachers, four of whom were trained at IPSOM-UEC. The aim is to reconstruct the professional trajectories of both (11.1) primary and (11.2) secondary school teachers who share having been trainees in the projects of EP-ER and IPSOM-UEC. They are considered to share the pedagogical reform ideas developed within these projects. The chapter, thus, intends to investigate how their SCBs could have played a certain role in becoming teachers and the quality of their pedagogical practices. The (11.3) case of Monsieur Didier (MD) is analyzed to identify and discuss possible momentums of transformation of structures of world-self-relations in the process of becoming or being a teacher. The chapter follows the same sequential structure of the documentary analysis used in chapters 8 to 10. These are internal to each empiric case analysis of the target data.

11.1 Biographical Experiences of Becoming or Being Private Primary School Teachers in Cameroon

The group interview transcripts with MP and MT have not been entirely analyzed in this work. The interview was realized in April 2016. MP recounts their professional biography in his struggle to answer the question: "Comment êtes-vous arrivés à l'enseignement/ehm/comme enseignant?" ("How did you become a teacher"?) Monsieur Paul (MP) is one of the EEC primary school teachers who benefited from in-service teacher-training programs of CERP at EP from 1991 until the creation of IPSOM in 2005. Monsieur Teba (MT), as briefly presented in chapter 9 above, is a close friend and colleague of Monsieur Paul (MP). Only passages where both participants explain why they became teachers for private primary education in churches are analyzed as excerpts to interpret the aspects of their sociocultural backgrounds in their professional development processes.

Two methodological reasons led to this decision. First, chapters 8 and 9 dealt with practical classroom situations of both. Second, in chapter 9, MP and MT provided, during a group discussion, expert insights into the sociocultural worlds of the Bamiléké society concerning the "*arranger*" mode of problem-solving. Those three chapters dealt with the pedagogical activities of MP and MT, which informed their teaching experiences from the perspective of the pedagogical reform principles discussed in part 2 of this work. Since the second part of this group interview with both participants concerns their practical experiences concerning these principles, the author opted for passages displaying autobiographical accounts about their trajectories of becoming teachers at EEC primary schools. The aim is to analyze how their SCBs might have played a certain role in these trajectories.

11.1.1 Formulating Interpretation

MP has been teaching in EP-ER since 2001. He was recruited with a *Probatoire* certificate by the pedagogical inspection of the evangelical church in 1987 after having failed the *Baccalaureate* exam in 1986 in the context of the economic crisis. The President of Republic of Cameroon publicly addressed this crisis at his end of year speech in 1986: "C'est le Président qui de/euh qui:: déclare que, donc il faut retrousser les manches." (The President declares that/thus we must roll up your sleeves)*. His first teaching post was in Batié, where he was active in the "green schools" project, coordinated by the CPF of Mbouo. MP was selected by the coordinator of this project to participate in the in-service training program launched at EP-ER, for "ils ont estimé que j'avais le profil qu'ils dont ils avaient besoin." (Because they thought I had the profile they needed). MT has neither participated in the in-service pedagogical training at CPF nor at EP-ER as far as MT is concerned. After failing the Probatoireexam twice, he abandoned school and attempted the school of social affairs entrance exam unsuccessfully. He was recruited as a primary school teacher of EEC with a BEPC Certificate and has taught in four EEC schools before being posted to ER Mbouo.

11.1.2 Reflecting Interpretation

Questions to be answered here are: How do MP and MT construct their personal histories of becoming and being teachers of EEC schools? How conjunctive is their space of experiences? How significant are their respective SCBs in their practical teaching activities?

11.1.2.1 MP's Autobiographical History of Becoming and Being a Primary School Teacher

Passage 1: Excerpt from the transcript of the group interview with MP and MT

Participants: I: Interviewer ; MP: Monsieur Paul ; MT: Monsieur Teba

I: Comment êtes-vous arrivés à l'enseignement? MP: (04) Euh! (02) Je peux:::/je peux::: c'est difficile. Je suis arrivé dans l'enseignement euh! au deb/au début/je/je au moment où je fais la Terminale/la classe de Terminale //hmhm//Euhm::: (05) au discours de fin d'année 86 euhm/c'est le Président qui de/euh qui:: déclare que donc il faut retrousser les manches//hmhm// Et: tout de suite:: euhm ! on se rend compte que il n'y a plus de concours:: / il n'y a plus de::: (02) /les/les sociétés sont de plus en plus verrouillées //euhmm// Et::: après la Terminale il faut que je/je m'occupe //oui// Et: c'est comme ça que je::/je me suis retrouvé: dans l'enseignement //hmhm// (04) (…) // **I**: Donc, qu' après vos études/après votre Baccalauréat// **MP**: Bon, en principe, je n'ai pas pu avoir un Baccalauréat. //hmhm// Et les moyens étaient suffisamment limités. Donc j'ai pensé //hmhm// C'est pendant le travail/c'est dans le travail que je devrais, euhm en me reformant recomposer // hmhm// Bon:: malheureusement, quand je me suis/euhm/je me suis mis, euhm j'ai eu plus d'une choses qui m'ont:: découragé //hmhm// Déjà (02) les:::/les salaires ne sont pas bons. Il n'y/euhm/les avancements/j'ai essayé de composer une ou deux fois. Mais: les avancements n'existent pas. Tout/tout est arrêté/tout est comme:: on est là et puis:: c'est/c'est comme si c'était juste une occupation. //hmhm// Donc, et avec ça j'ai dit bon même en cherchant à composer //hmhm// à quoi est-ce-que ça m'emmène? Et c'est comme ça que je me suis retrouvé dans le découragement./ **I**: Hmhm alala! Mais déjà quand même après votre Baccalauréat vous avez embrassé la carrière d'enseignant //hmhm// et à l'église évangélique. Je voudrais savoir comment ça s'est passé? Et qui vous a orientés de ce côté ou bien bon vous avez vu on a mis un poste ou comment est-ce-que ça s'est passé? Puisqu' il y avait aussi d'autres écoles. Votre premier poste// **MP**: Ah oui, j'ai dû apprendre que euh:: il y avait/attends à l'époque//hmhm// euhm, on en avait besoin et puis on déposait les demandes partout où c'était possible//hmhm// Et c'est comme ça que j'ai déposé la demande euh euh à l'église évangélique et aux Plateaux là/à l'inspection du plateau. Bon, de temps à autre je suis passé voir. Un jour du mois de novembre '87 on est/euh monsieur l'inspecteur m'a dit bon tu peux signer ton contrat de travail //hmhm// Et: j'ai:/il y a un/un responsable d'école qui va en::/qui:: veut prendre un petit congé//hmhm// Et alors, tu peux/tu vas aller le remplacer. //ok hmhm// Et c'est comme ça que je me suis retrouvé d'abord à Batié. Et pendant que j'étais à Batié //hmhm// euh, j'ai été très/très approché par: monsieur K qui était euh parmi les promoteurs de cette école //hmhm// Il m'a/ régulièrement il est venu //hmhm// parce que à l'ép/à l'heu/ euh en ce moment précis le::/le CPF //oui// lançait dans les écoles euh (02) lançait les écoles vertes et même les/les/ euh les jardins dans les écoles//hmhm// Et:: et alors nous avons initié et on a trouvé un espace avec les collègues/ un espace qui était complètement //nu?// non, non, une brousse // oui ah oui// une brousse qui avait été un espace qui avait

était abandonné pendant longtemps derrière l'école et: quand je suis arrivé j'ai trouvé des gars aussi qui étaient suffisamment engagés et nous nous sommes mis/ Et:: avec les fruits il a été très content. C'est qui fait que en:: 2001 quand ils ont voulu euh initier n'est-ce-pas ce projet//oui// quand ils ont voulu lancer ce projet ils m'ont fait appel//hmhm// Euh:: ils ont estimé que j'avais le profil qu'ils dont ils avaient besoin//oui// voilà. // **I**: C'est comme ça que vous vous êtes retrouvés à l'École de Référence ou à l'époque c'est toujours l'École Pilote (sourire) l'appellation c'est// **MP:** Très bien, c'est comme ça d'abord que je me suis retrouvé dans l'enseignement à l'église évangélique et puis dans cette école.

(a) "*Il faut que je/je m'occupe*", As a Frame of Orientation to Becoming a Teacher

After the introduction of the research interests, the interviewer asks an immanent question (Nohl, 2017, p. 15) to MP: "Comment êtes-vous arrivés à l'enseignement?" (How did you become a teacher?). MP's first answer to this question is silence (04 s), followed by a reflection interjection (euhm!) and a pause of 02 s. The silence and the pause in the speech mark MP's hesitation, taking the time for reflection on a proposition of an answer to the interviewer's question. The hesitation continues in the form of stretching, repeated and interrupted phrase "je peux ::::/je peux ::::" (I can :::/I can :::). MP struggles to find the appropriate words to utter his thoughts. He explicates this struggle in the short clause: "*C'est difficile.*" (It is difficult). However, it is unclear whether this struggle to answer the interviewer's question or his goal to become a teacher is difficult.

Therefore, reflective moments in MP's speech are abundant throughout the transcript, which could be interpreted as MP's proper speaking style, characterized by a long pause, hesitation, a word repetition, and short sentences. He carefully chooses what to say, reflecting on his interlocutor's expectations – in this transcript, the expectations behind the question: How did you become a teacher? And the answer: "*C'est difficile,*" makes room for MP to start. This starting point helped him narrate the specific time, event and context that influenced his decision to become a teacher. The conjunction "*et*" manifests uniting different contexts of interpretation of the interviewer's question.

The difficult circumstances he experienced are related to his school phases, especially the class of *Terminale*, which is the final level of education in secondary schools. In the class of *Terminale*, students write the final examination of the *Baccalaureate* certificate, which gives them access to the university level and higher professional training colleges. It is a schooling phase where a decision is made to either attend a university or enter the job market. The difficult time is also that of 1986 during the economic crisis that led to structural adjustments ordered by the IMF. MP remembers the event during which the President had given a speech ("Au discours de fin d'année '86,

euhm") stressing economic uncertainties and declaring subsequent struggles ("C'est le Président qui de/euh aui déclare que, donc il faut retrousser les manches.")

The consequences of this context are noticeable in his social life. MP observes that "Et: tout de suite:: euhm! On se rend compte que il n'y a plus de concours ::/il n'y a plus de ::: (02 s)/les/les sociétés sont de plus en plus verrouillées" (And immediately :: euhm!, one realizes that there are no more competitive examins ::/there are no more:: (02 s)/the/the companies are more and more locked up.). Therefore, the depicted context is difficult with drastic consequences for professional uncertainties ("*pas de concours*"). Having to cope with a difficult period, in the difficult context of an economic crisis and with the resulting professional uncertainties, MP concludes that he had no other choice than to adapt to the situation and, therefore, to occupy himself, following the President's appeal. Thus, teaching was the occupation he found, for teachers were needed.

MP does not, hence, describe the difficult process of becoming a teacher, but rather the difficult times and context which made him become one: "Et: c'est comme ça que je ::/je me suis retrouvé: dans l'enseignement." (This is how I found myself in the teaching profession.). These external factors contributed to his becoming a teacher. Speaking in the first person "*je*" (I), MP describes a situation in which he found himself trapped. The description functions, in the end, as an argumentation sustaining the obligation to adapt to this situation. Even though conscious of his identity, the subject "I" (MP) seems to accept his fate without further struggle passively. This resignation sounds implicit in MP's logical conclusion about his becoming a teacher: "Et: c'est comme ça que je::/je me suis retrouvé: dans l'enseignement." He concludes that: "I found myself in the teaching profession." and not: "I arrived at the teaching profession." ("je suis arrivé à l'enseignement"), as he announced at the beginning of his discourse. In other words, MP has become a teacher because of the difficult external circumstances after the *Terminale* class: "Il faut que je/je m'occupe" (I had to find an occupation.).

(b) MP's experience with school failures and discouragement

After a long silence, the interviewer tries to conclude the logic of MP's *Baccalaureate* experience (I: "Donc que après vos études/après votre Baccalauréat//"), before he is interrupted by MP who then provides more input about the *Baccalaureate* exam. MP justifies his Baccalaureate exam failure with arguments linked to the contexts he earlier described as difficult. These arguments are displayed logically to support the reality of his failure and the subsequent discouragement. The argumentative logic is built up with: "*bon*" ; "*et*"; "*donc*"; "*bon, malheureusement*"; "*déjà*"; "*mais*"; "*puis c'est*"; "*donc, et avec ça*"; "*bon*"; "*et c'est comme ça que*". These highlight that he was

powerless in this struggle with the difficult economic conditions of finding a teaching occupation. They build up the logic of the impact of these conditions on MP's failure in getting the *Baccalaureate* certificate while on the job and his discouragement, leading to him giving up the fight.

Table 18: Elaboration on the reasons for failure and discouragement

Proposition	Ubiquitous elaboration of the proposition
"Bon, en principe, je n'ai pas pu avoir un *Baccalauréat*." (Well, in principle, I could not get the *Baccalaureate*.)	Et les moyens étant suffisamment limités. (And the means being sufficiently limited)
	Donc, j'ai pensé. (Thus, I thought)
	Bon, malheureusement, quand je me suis mis. (Well, unfortunately when I set to)
	Déjà, les salaires ne sont pas bons … (Since the salaries are not good)
	J'ai essayé de composer une ou deux fois (I tried to take it once or twice)
	Mais les avancements n'existent pas (But there was no advancement)
	Et puis, c'est/c'est comme si c'était juste une occupation. (And then it is like it was just an occupation.)
	Donc, et avec ça j'ai dit bon (Therefore, because it was like that, I said well)
	Et c'est comme ça que je me suis retrouvé dans le découragement. (And that is how I found myself being discoured.)

(Source: author)

MP's elaboration of the reasons for failure and discouragement in the *Baccalaureate* exam sounds like a struggle of "*I*" with the economic drawbacks characterizing the teaching job in the private church education. Due to limited means, MP ("*je*" = I) thought he could work as a teacher (a way of getting means, supposedly financial means) and rewrite the *Baccalaureate* exam. This he, unsuccessfully, tried "once or twice." The unfortunate financial situation of this job led to his discouragement, giving up pursuing the objective of getting a *Baccalaureate* certificate while teaching. "Donc, et avec ça j'ai dit bon même en cherchant à composer, à quoi est-ce-que ça m'emmène? Et c'est comme ça que je me suis retrouvé dans le découragement." (Thus, I said well, even looking ahead to writing, what would this lead to? And this is how I found myself being discouraged).

MP does not provide any information or argument on the nature of the exam in his elaboration, no description of how difficult the exam was. He rather depicts the financial uncertainties of the job market and the peculiarities of the teaching profession in the 1980s. However, despite these financial uncertainties, MP did not give up teaching but rather hoped to get a *Baccalaureate* certificate. Even though he describes the teaching job as "like just an

occupation, " he kept the job and did not look for better paid. He kept on teaching because there were no other perspectives. Since he realized that: "Tout est arreté … on est là et puis :: c'est/c'est comme si c'était juste une occupation." (All is stopped. We came to this point and then :: it is/it is like just an occupation). Therefore, as an active subject "je," MP ended up being discouraged and, thus, a passive subject who could not do anything to change the situation he found himself in rather than accept it as such. It sounds like a lost struggle. MP let himself be driven by this flow, by the financial uncertainties characterizing a period of economic crisis, politically highlighted by the President: "C'est le Président qui de/euh qui:: déclare que, donc, il faut retrousser les manches."

Figure 33: MP's struggle to get the Baccalaureate certificate while teaching
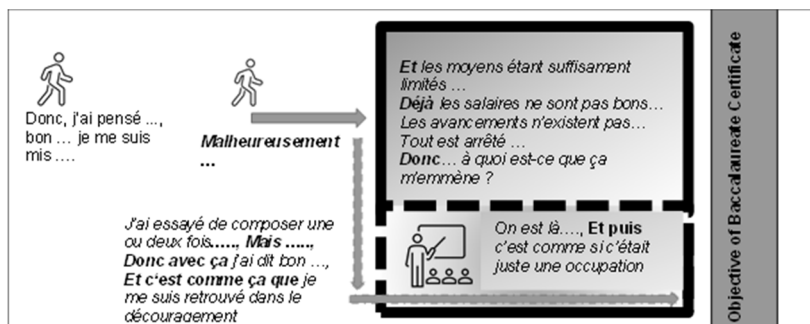
(Source: author)

The figure sketches MP's struggle to attain the *Baccalaureate* certificate and his financial difficulties. He tried to overcome these difficulties through the teaching job, which was, unfortunately, "just an occupation" since it was financially uncertain. In his entire struggle, MP neither mentions his SCBs nor uses his social capital as a support system to get recruited and develop professionally. He speaks as an isolated subject, "*je*" struggling alone against the lack of economic capital. "A l'époque on en avait besoin": MP's "objective" elaboration of the time and context of the general need of teachers in EEC education. The interviewer sympathizes ("Hmhm, alala!") with MP about his discouragement in getting the *Baccalaureate* certificate and elicits him to narrate further his process of getting recruited as a teacher by the EEC: "Je voudrais savoir comment ça s'est passé." (I would like to know how it happened). MP recalls the general context of a period when teachers were needed in the EEC schools to answer this question.

> MP: Ah, oui, j'ai dû apprendre que, euh :: il y avait/attends à l'époque//hmhm// euhm, on en avait besoin et puis on déposait les demandes partout où c'était pos-

sible//hmhm//. Et c'est comme ça que j'ai déposé la demande, euh euh, à l'église évangélique et aux Plateaux là/à l'inspection du plateau.

MP uses a neutral answer: "Ah, oui, j'ai dû apprendre que" (I had to learn that), followed by an objective description of the general context of the need (There was/a wait at that time … euhm, it was needed.). He concludes this as an objective motive for people ("*on*" as "we," referring to his generation) applying for teaching positions ("and, thus, we ("**on**") applied wherever it was possible). To answer the question, MP uses four different personal pronouns: "*je*," "*il*," "*tu*" (implied in the impersonal imperative verb form "*attends*" – the second person singular of addressee), and "*on*." The switch in using these pronouns depicts MP's memory struggles to recall the past context of information about teaching positions in EEC schools. This can especially be found in his use of the impersonal imperative form "*attends*" (wait) as a signal to his addressee to give him a short time to think about both the context of information and the way to say it loud.

In other words, MP struggles to utter, as neutrally as possible, to answer the interviewer's question about how his recruitment process in the EEC education happened. Starting as an independent subject "j'ai," MP reluctantly switches to a neutral general object ("il y avait/") and subjects ("on en avait besoin") of the proposition. By doing so, he implicitly avoids the reference to any social relations (social capital) he could have used to get the information about the job and the motivation or encouragement/support for his application. What sounds important for him to mention is rather the general context of the need for teachers in EEC schools at the time (here 1986) and the generational reality of young students embracing the teaching profession as an available "*occupation*," considering his description of the scarcity of "*concours*" and job perspectives in companies earlier analyzed.

MP's objective depiction of this context and the subsequent conjunctive space of orientation of his generation towards "getting occupied" sounds like an argumentation (why motive) for ending up as a teacher in EEC schools after he had dropped out of school in the class *Terminale*. MP was not the only one applying for a teaching position in the EEC pedagogical inspection because it was a conjunctive space of experience of his generation: "On en avait besoin et puis on deposait les demandes partout où c'était possible." Therefore, his decision to apply for a teaching position was neither triggered by a personal, professional orientation (objective) nor social relations. It was a result of the contextual period of the general need for teaching staff, the controversy between this need and the uncertainties of the teaching profession and the fate of a generation that had a conjunctive experience of a pro-

fessional orientation that consisted in "getting occupied," thus, embracing the uncertain teaching career.[123]

MP simply reproduces a collective *habitus* of a generation trapped in a multi-faceted factual consequence of the economic crisis of 1986. A collective *habitus* the production of which might have been triggered by a "sociocultural interpretation"[124] of the presidential appeal "il faut retrousser les manches", finding factual economic and social difficulties in the everyday life ("Et tout de suite, on se rend compte qu'il n'y a plus de concours, les sociétés sont de plus en plus verrouillées."). MP seems to follow this generational trend of "getting occupied" to start a teaching career at the EEC pedagogical inspection: "Ils ont estimé que j'avais le profil qu'ils avaient besoin. Voilà": MP's Affectation to ER. Although MP describes the teaching job as "just an occupation," he is dedicated. He further narrates his experience of his first post as a teacher.

> Et pendant que j'étais à Batié //hmhm// euh j'ai été très/très approché par: monsieur K qui était euh parmi les promoteurs de cette école //hmhm//. Il m'a/ régulièrement il est venu //hmhm// parce que à l'ép/à l'heu/ euh, en ce moment précis le::/le CPF //oui// lançait dans les écoles euh (02) lançait les écoles vertes et même les/les/ euh les jardins dans les écoles//hmhm// Et:: et alors, nous avons initié et on a trouvé un espace avec les collègues/ un espace qui était complètement //nu?// non, non, une brousse // oui, ah, oui// une brousse qui avait été un espace qui était abandonné pendant longtemps derrière l'école et: quand je suis arrivé, j'ai trouvé des gars aussi qui étaient suffisamment engagés et nous nous sommes mis/ Et:: avec les fruits il a été très content. C'est qui fait qu'en:: 2001 quand ils ont voulu, euh initier n'est-ce-pas ce projet//oui// quand ils ont voulu lancer ce projet ils m'ont fait appel//hmhm// Euh:: ils ont estimé que j'avais le profil qu'ils/dont ils avaient besoin//oui// voilà.

MP depicts his cumulative three roles when he arrived in his first post in Batié, replacing the school's headmaster, teaching and initiating the environmental school projects. MP was, thus, fully "occupied." He elaborates more on his latter role in collaboration with committed colleagues he finds on the job: "Quand je suis arrive, j'ai trouvé des gars aussi qui étaient suffisament engages et nous nous sommes mis." (When I arrived, I found guys who also were committed enough, and we put ourselves to the task).

Contrary to his struggle to get recruited, MP speaks in terms of "we" about his first teaching experience. He emphasizes the group dynamic, that is, his colleagues' commitment to pedagogical projects in the school: "Nous

---

123 This is portrayed by MP as a profession characterized by the financial uncertainty ("Les salaires ne sont pas bons.") and career uncertainties ("Les avancements n'existent pas.") sketched out in table 18 and figure 26 above.

124 In the sense of de Latour's psychoanalytical observation on the symbolic power of the speech of a chief ("La parole du Chef") within Bamiléké sociocultural representations.

avons initié;" "Nous nous sommes mis." (We initiated; We have put ourselves to the task). It is not a general and neutral "*we*" like that, implying his generation of 1986-1987. It is a specific "*we*," depicting the collegial team working together. In this sense, his experience as a teacher encompassed a solidarity dynamic compared to the *Baccalaureate* exam and his process of getting recruited as a teacher. His commitment, fortunately, meets that of a team constituted by the "gars aussi suffisamment engagés" (guys, also committed enough). MP refers to his colleagues as "*gars*" (guys), depicting the team's collegiality and friendly relationship. It is also a sign of his speaking confidently about those colleagues and the success of their commitment to the task. It informs about the significance of "*solidarity*" as both a sociocultural value and a social *habitus* of group work (teamwork) practice that MP cherishes.[125]

Soffo et al. (1998) also stress this solidarity. MP's work as a teacher and an interim school director in Batié led him to be integrated into the teaching staff of ER in 2001. He argumentatively elaborates on how EEC pedagogical cooperation partners have come to integrate him into the experimental program of the quality teacher training program in EP-ER of Mbouo. His successful commitment to environmental pedagogical projects in Batié, coordinating a team of committed colleagues, contributed to opening doors for him and being promoted.

> Et: avec les fruits il a été très content. C'est qui fait que en :: 2001, quand ils ont voulu euh initier n'est-ce-pas ce projet//oui// quand ils ont voulu lancer ce projet ils m'ont fait appel//hmhm// … Euh :: ils ont estimé que j'avais le profil qu'ils/dont ils avaient besoin//oui// voilà.

As a result of this successful experience, MP was selected by the project coordinator of CPF. This argumentative depiction highlights his performance as a teacher and an interim school director, rather than relying on social relations and economic facilities. He depicts the experience of a career promotion based on his performance observed by the "promoteurs" of the EP-ER school and the pedagogical reform program in EEC Mbouo-Bandjoun. However, by insisting on the positive work atmosphere characterizing the teaching staff of the EEC school in Batié, MP implicitly points out the significance of solidarity, that is, working as a "*nous*," in successfully innovating the educational practice. On the one hand, as an individual ("je"), MP seems to unsuccessfully struggle against external economic factors limiting his chances of getting the *Baccalaureate* certificate and a well-paid job. On the other hand, as an active and committed individual among other committed individuals, MP seems to innovate projects in EEC schools successfully.

125 Soffo et al. (1998) highlight the "solidarity" in the Bamileké society and claim its significance in reflecting the principle of reciprocal/corporate responsibility in ER.

His struggle and collective commitment seem to have played a significant role in MP's aim of becoming a primary school teacher. It is a struggle to be an independent subject effective in solidarity project work. But how does this apply to the other biographies, especially to MT's professional history of becoming and being a teacher?

11.1.2.2 MT's Autobiographical History of Becoming a Primary School Teacher

Passage 2: Excerpt from the transcript of the group interview with MP-MT

I: D'accord. Merci, beaucoup. Et je reviens vers monsieur Teba. Je vais reposer peut-être la même question (sourire) la répétition étant la mère des sciences. Euh quel/comment est-ce que vous êtes arrivés à/à l'enseignement/comme enseignant? Si vous pouvez partager avec nous votre expérience personnelle d'abord à l'école et puis comment est-ce que vous êtes arrivés à être enseignant.

MT: Merci, bien ehm/ disons que j'ai fréquenté. Euh, quand je suis arrivé en classe de Première, j'ai d'abord fait le Probatoire deux ans. Puisque c'était difficile//oui oui, le Probatoire c'est une porte compliquée (sourire)// oui, c'était compliqué (sourire). Et puis bon j'ai demandé/proposé aux parents est-ce qu'il n'était pas mieux que je commence à faire de concours pour gagner en temps. Et puis on était d'accord. J'ai fait le concours de/bon le concours qui m'intéressait en ce moment c'était le concours des Affaires Sociales. C'est vraiment ça que j'avais pensé faire (…) //ok// oui, j'avais pensé travailler aux affaires sociales.//oui// J'ai effectivement fait le concours deux/deux fois. La pre/et chaque fois j'allais jusqu'à/puisque ce concours-là, quand on le faisait il y a l'écrit, il y a l'oral// il y a l'oral//. Chaque fois que je fais l'écrit c'est bon. Les deux fois c'était bien. Mais lorsque j'arrivai à l'oral, ça devient compliqué. //oui// Bon, moi je dis compliqué puisque/pas que quand tu arrives là-bas on te pose des grandes questions. On te pose des questions simples mais banales. Juste parce que peut-être/bon ça c'est ce que je pense/que parce que tu n'as pas monnayé ou quoi que ce soit. Bon! J ne me rappelle pas la question qu'on m'a posée la première fois. Mais la deuxième fois j'ai fait le concours je suis à Yaoundé. Et effectivement/c'est pour ça que je dis que peut-être parce que j'avais pensé peut-être ce n'était ça. Effectivement. J'avais un oncle qui était très bien placé au ministère à Yaoundé. //oui// Ce n'était même pas dans le même ministère. Et il avait pris toutes les dispositions pour que cette fois-là que ce soit bien. //oui// Mais qu'est-ce qui s'est donc passé? J'ai eu donc le concours. J'arrive, il était question que lui il m'amène rencontrer donc euhm peut être c'était le monsieur qui devait venir à l'oral là pour les résultats définitifs//hmhm//. Quand j'arrive lui avait voyagé, il était au village//hmhm// Il devait t'entrer la nuit pour qu'on aille la/le/ voir le matin très tôt avant l'heure de l'oral//hmhm// Et pendant qu'on est/je suis là-bas, on m'informe qu'on a même repoussé l'oral là après une semaine//ahhh// Bon! ça c'est//bon ça prédisait des choses. Mais il rentre effectivement le soir. On cause et puis et on partage le safou qu'il avait pris en route en venant//oui//Et dans la même nuit il meurt//alalalala//

MP: L'oncle?//

MT: L'oncle. Oui, dans la même nuit il meurt. //c'est pas possible// C'était/c'était (gestes des mains) et bon quand il meurt, donc, on avait repoussé l'oral là qu'on devait faire lundi ils ont repoussé ça à vendredi. Il meurt comme ça dimanche quand il est rentré la nuit. Puisqu'on devait le voir lundi matin avant//lundi matin oui// et c'était/tout était (gestes des mains). Moi-même j'étais déjà traumatisé. C'était déjà fini//oui// on n'a pas pu/finalement bon l'oral a été renvoyé, mais entre-temps on ne préparait plus tôt ses obsèques. Parce que finalement, je suis allé quand même à l'oral. Parce que après on l'a enterré le samedi qui suivait// hmhm// Je suis allé à l'oral, mais étant démoralisé, puisque bon fallait/j'étais déjà là-bas. J'ai attendu encore une semaine à Yaoundé parce que je devais rentrer. J'ai attendu une semaine et même / puisque samedi/le/le vendredi après l'oral on est allé/on a fait la levée et tout et tout. J'arrive donc dans la salle, le monsieur me pose une seule question. Il me dit que "tu es de quel village? Tu es né, où?" Je lui dis que je suis né à/ à Mafou. Il me demande que "Qu'est-ce qu'il y a au centre de Mafou?". (03) Moi, je n'ai pas compris. C'est-à-dire il voulait me demander que dans le mot Bafou, il y a /il y a quelle lettre au centre//oui, au centre//
MP: hmmmmmm//
MT: Il me dit que/ il m'a posé une seule question: "Qu'est-ce qu'il y a au centre de Mafou?". Bon, je lui dis que bon moi ça fait longtemps je suis pas (rire)// Je suis pas allé au village//
MP: Le centre c'est où d'ailleur !/
MT: Oui, moi je ne comprenais pas. Bon, il me dit que bon, oui, ça va, saches que tu as raté. Je voulais te demander de dire la lettre qui est au cent/ bon et ce n'est pas/ cette question en réalité m'avait // donc c'était une façon de// oui// bon je suis sorti, je suis rentré. On est allé enterrer l'oncle. Et puis les résultats n'étaient pas bien// ayayai// et je me suis dit, donc, que mais/ quand je suis rentré, lorsqu'il y avait l'école à côté de la maison. J'ét/ehm ehm// nous/nous étions à Tchitchap. Mon père était pasteur là-bas//aha ok à Tchitchap, c'est là où, de temps en temps, je fais mon culte// oui/oui je vous ai vu là-bas une fois. Oui. Je me suis dit que mais, comme cette situation est arrivée comme ça là, peut-être ce serait mieux que j'essaie donc de m'occuper. J'ai donc dit que mais si donc j'allais, donc, donner mon expérience dans cette école en attendant. Puisque, bon, le souhait, bon, était que je ressaie le concours//le concours// ou à défaut que je cont/j'aille à l'école//hmhm//Ils m'ont dit, bon, si tu veux enseigner saches que quel qu'en soit le cas tu dois tout faire pour continuer à l'école//hmhm// même si c'est n'importe quand tu dois/tu dois aller loin dans les études. J'ai dit non, quel qu'en/même si ça prend combien de temps j'irai à l'école (tape dans les mains en riant) //oui// bon, et j'ai donc/je peux pas bon dire que j'ai déposé une demande comme chez monsieur Paul là (parle avec des gestes des mains en souriant) //hmhm// parce que c'était facile que c'est lui qui a géré toute la situation //oui hmhm//j'ai seulement que je suis resté, l'inspecteur a/m'a appelé un matin que m'a dit d'aller à/à l'école//à l'école//oui, je suis allé. Entretemps j'ai continué à faire le probatoire encore deux ans//hm ! //j'ai fait en candidat libre. Mais ça n'a pas marché. Mais bon là-bas, c'est parce que il fallait plus se concentrer sur/sur le travail//sur le travail//. Et je pense que c'est comme ça que je suis arrivé donc à l'enseignement. Et j'ai fait des tours jusqu'à me retrouver dans cette écol. //hmhm// Il est vrai que entretemps étant j'ai pu m'inscrire à Dschang pour avoir la capacité.//ok et vous l'avez eu?//oui. (…) Et puis, ça m'a fait comprendre qu'il

n'y a pas de temps pour/pour chercher/pour fréquenter//pas du tout// oui, c'est un peu comme ça.

(a) "*Fréquenter*" (schooling) as a "*difficult*" and "*complicated*" educational process

MT answers the interviewer's question: „How did you become a teacher?" by wrapping up the statement: "Bon, disons que j'ai fréquenté." (Well, let us say I attended school). This statement sounds summing because "*disons que*" (let us say) presupposes the information or details of "j'ai fréquenté" (I attended school) with "*fréquenté*" here used as a superordinate word. Synonymous expressions of "disons que" at the paradigmatic level could be "considérons que, assumons que" (let us consider that; let us assume that), which express an assumption or a consideration of several presuppositions as granted, therefore, there was no need to provide detailed information or further information on that.

In this line, MT seems to undermine the content of "j'ai fréquenté," assuming the interviewer shares the presupposition of "*fréquenté*." What MT finds important to mention concerning the process of "*fréquenté*" is the stage he reached: "Euh, quand je suis arrivé en classe de Première". The verb "*arrivé*" here portrays the processual character of "*fréquenté*" as depicting the departure and arrival journey. The stage of "la classe de Première" is described as "*difficile*," "*compliqué*" (difficult, complicated). The difficulty is linked to the certificatve examination of "Probatoire": "j'ai fait le Probatoire deux ans".

Furthermore, there is an ellipsis, a deliberately unmentioned information between "j'ai fait le Probatoire deux ans" and "puisque c'était difficile". The ellipsis suspends the logic behind a justification of action and result. One could ask what the result of having done the *Probatoire* exams for two years was. This ellipsis might be understood from the character of the justification or the reason "since it was difficult" and later "complicated." One could identify the presupposed result in the new perspective (or reorientation) of MT to take an entrance exam in the school of Social Affairs. The missing information (the result of the action of taking the *Probatoire* exam twice) is that MT failed it twice: "Et puis, bon j'ai demandé/proposé aux parents est-ce qu'il n'était pas mieux que je commence à faire de concours pour gagner en temps."

To gain time by taking the entrance exams might be considered a strategy that MT adopted instead of wasting time taking the "difficult and complicated" *Probatoire* exam again. MT convinces his parents to accept his new chosen perspective. The move from "*demandé*" to "*proposé*" might reflect this strategy, too, because "*demander*" seems less convincing than "*proposer*." After all, the latter (indirectly) implies an argumentation and the former a

direct interrogation. This leads to an agreement: "Et puis, on était d'accord" with "*on*" equivalent to "*we*" referring to him (MT) and his parents.

MT develops an attempt to answer the how-question of the interviewer. He uses the term "*fréquenter*" (to go to school) as a process within the stage of Première, where the *Probatoire* exams were "difficult" and "complicated" for him. "*Fréquenter*" sounds like a structured and organized system of education, comprising different stages with respective evaluation forms, among which the *Probatoire* seems to be hindering MT. The interviewer sharing the presuppositions of the educational culture of MT, comments on his description of *Probatoire* (being complicated), using the metaphor of "*une porte*" (a door): "Oui, oui, le *Probatoire* est une porte compliquée." (Yes, yes, the *Probatoire* is a complicated door), implying the complication of passing it. The failure to unlock this "*porte*," used as a metaphor, is a failure to enter the *Terminale* class leading to the certificate of *Baccalaureate* as the final stage in the process of "fréquenter."

Thus, MT's highest stage of "*fréquenter*," considering the first six lines of the transcript of the target interview, appears to be the *Première* class with a two-year frequentation. The structure and organization of the school system entail fixed phases (*Première* class in the case of MT), which are terminated by exams like the *Probatoire*. In the case of MT, the *Probatoire* was a barrier, a selective process, reinforcing the deterministic functions of present social structures and reproduced by the institution school as a "school culture," according to Eribon (2009, p. 164). Eribon remembers his own experience with one of his six-grade teachers who told him: "Vous n'irez pas plus loin que la seconde." (You will not go beyond the class of *Seconde*). This judgment frightened him until he passed this class. Eribon portrays in his book how deterministic the "school culture" is in reproducing the deterministic "social culture" and the "social logic."

While Eribon went beyond the class of *Seconde* and even succeeded in getting into the top of the elitist class of the "intellectual bourgeoisie," MT was trapped, blocked by a barrier that was the *Probatoire* exam. Besides, later on, according to his personal history in this interview, it prevented him from entering the State School of Social Affairs and dreaming of integrating the public service system as a social affairs assistant, thus, entering the class of a "bureaucratic bourgeoisie" in terms of Eribon (2009).

Failing the *Probatoire* certificate exam twice led to his decision to leave school to take the state entrance exam for the professional school of social affairs, which he described as his real interest. Although he passed the written part of the exams, he failed the oral test twice. He recalls his misfortune in this enterprise. The second time he was admitted for the oral test, he called upon his uncle who, as he puts it, took all the measures this time to prevent him from failure: "J'avais un oncle qui était très bien placé au ministère … et il avait pris toutes les dispositions pour que cette fois-là que ce soit bien."

322

Unfortunately, his uncle died the night before the day of their meeting with the oral examiner. Even though he was "demoralized," even "traumatized," and had lost any hope in the matter, he took the oral test. The story of the oral test sounds both "funny and embarrassing" for MT, and for MP and me as well, as we all laughed while listening to him (MT recounts the story while laughing): "Il m'a posé une seule question: 'Qu'est-ce qu'il y a au centre de Mafou?' Bon, je lui dis que bon, moi ça fait longtemps je suis pas." (*rire*). After inquiring in which village MT was born (Mafou), the examiner asks him: "What is in the center of Mafou?". It is an "embarrassing" question if one considers the long pause (03s) following the question and the laughter after he had answered it. The reaction of the examiner towards his answer is immediate and unpleasant even though expected by MT: "Bon, il me dit que, bon, oui ça va, saches que tu as raté." (Well, he tells me that yes, it is enough, you know that you have failed)

MT experiences how "complex" the oral test is, a complexity he deduces from the paradoxical character of the examiner's question: "not difficult questions," rather "simple, but banal." MT justifies this paradox with his motivation: "Juste parce que peut-être/bon, ça c'est ce que je pense/que parce que tu n'as pas monnayé ou quoi que ce soit." This is a paradox his uncle in the ministry could have prevented ("*monayer*") had he not died the night before. The paradox around the oral test, or better its complexity, seems to put MT face-to-face with his social reality of constant failure and forces him to make other choices than he had wished to make. He has to abdicate and try something different: "Oui. Je me suis dit que mais, comme cette situation est arrivée comme ça là, peut-être ce serait mieux que j'essaie donc de m'occuper." The failure is real, and he could have done nothing to prevent it.

Thus, he found himself a job. MT assumes from his experience as a monitor of the Sunday school in church (monitoring children in bible studies and training peer monitors) beside his father, who is a pastor, that he might be helpful to the church's primary school near the family compound. Getting a teaching position in this school was not as "complex" as his former unfortunate experience with the state exams. His father handled the situation. MT did nothing but stay and wait until a call came from the inspector asking him to go to the school and start teaching. He admits that: "C'était facile que c'est lui qui a géré toute la situation.//oui hmhm//j'ai seulement que je suis resté, l'inspecteur a/m'a appelé un matin que m'a dit d'aller à/à l'école//à l'école//oui je suis allé."

(b) MT reacts to his experiences of "failure" throughout the process of "*fréquenter*."

Although MT abdicated after failing the state exams, he did not completely abandon his wish for further studies. He again wrote the Probatoire certificate

while working as a teacher and failed. Then he turned to another perspective of getting a further certificate by enrolling himself in a university law course module for adults, leading to a successful state certificate of a capacity in law. MT's biographical history leading to him to embrace the teaching profession appears to be a history of the fight against "failure," a failure of getting a school certificate (*Probatoire*), a failure to get integrated into the public service as a social affairs assistant (oral test) and a failure of going far with his studies, as wished by his parents. His fight or struggle against "failure" seems to have led him to choose other perspectives than his aspired ones: a Certificate of Capacity in place of the *Probatoire*; a private church school teacher in place of a public service assistant of social affairs.

MT seems to also lay importance on the roles of his relatives in helping him make decisions to prevent failure and to change the perspectives in his struggle against repetitive "failure." He asks/proposes and gets "*accord*" with his parents about what he thinks could be better perspectives. His uncle "took all the measures" to prevent a second oral test failure. His father "handled" the process of his getting recruited at the primary school near the family compound. However, MT takes his responsibility for moving forward in his studies seriously, being fully engaged in his duties as a teacher, being very open-minded to pedagogical reforms, and handling the class.[126]

The biography of MT seems to be characterized by the search for new paths after each failure in school (Probatoire exams) and his attempts to integrate himself into the professional world (entrance exams into the school of social affairs). In his search for new paths, he finds support in his relatives (uncle, parents, especially his father) to be recruited as a teacher in the primary church school. After some professional experience in five church primary schools, MT met two new colleagues and moved to ER. Monsieur Paul and Monsieur Jean-Paul benefited from pedagogical training of EP to which they, as "multiplicators," tried to interest other colleagues. MT opens himself to both. He could rely on their work experience according to the pedagogical principles of interaction, diversity of meaning and reciprocal responsibility to improve his teaching practices.

Unfortunately, due to the instability of EEC schoolteachers (they are often moved from one school to another), MJP moved to be the director of another school, and MT had to deal with new directors who had no idea about the pedagogical reform teaching-learning principles of ER. Recently MP passed away. Now, MT finds himself alone in a reform pilot s*chool*. None of the teachers with experience in EP are still there. From the world of

126 The transcript informs about his success in taking a special module course in Law and Economy at the University level while doing his job at ER. He had experienced teaching in five primary church schools. He teaches class 6, a class, where pupils are expected to write their first school leaving certificate, which is an entrance to secondary school exams.

failure ("*fréquenter*" process and exams) to the world of two supportive and experienced colleagues (MP and MJP in ER), Monsieur Teba now experiences a new situation, a new world with a new school director and without any colleagues sharing the experience of the reform principles of ER.

11.1.3 Comparative Autobiographical Aims of MP and MT and the Roles of their SCBs in their Professional Development

The discourse organization of both narrations appears to be similar because they start with a proposition that they elaborate on in the form of an argumentative description and end with a conclusion using either "*donc*" (thus) or "*c'est comme ca que …*" (this is how …). The thematic structure of their stories is also homologous, starting with stressing the schooling experience, pointing out the problem of failure in exams, remembering the circumstances of recruitment, the unsuccessful attempts of taking exams while teaching and the experience of teaching in EEC schools.

The participants[127] construct the homology of the discourse organization of the group interview as a conjunctive space of experience in sharing their biographical aims as teachers at private church schools. A validating language use sustains this construction ("*ah ok*"; "*d'accord*"; "*oui ah oui*"; "*oui, oui*"; "*très bien*"), sympathizing expressions ("*alalala*!"; "*c'est pas possible*!"; "*ayayai*!") as well as the use of performative performances (group laughter, smiles, hand gestures) used by the protagonists of the group interview. MT reproduces MP's discourse *modus operandi* as a continuity of a collectively shared background of a group discourse. He starts his account smoothly since he "*just*" took over the discourse structure MP struggled to develop. MT fits into this structure, making it a conjunctive space of experience as he uses an implicit collective group instance "*we*" ("*disons*") followed by the subordinative conjunction "*que*" ("let us just say that"). MT presupposes that MP, the interviewer, shares the same understanding that the process of "*fréquenter*" (going to school) constitutes the initial proposition of a biographical aim of becoming teachers in the Cameroonian context.

Beyond a homologous discourse, organization lies conjunctive SCBs considering the process of "*fréquenter*" as a precondition to becoming a teacher. MT uses "*disons que,*" implying a shared presupposed understanding that schooling constitutes "the first" step in becoming teachers. Therefore, MT started his autobiographical story with the last stage of his school experi-

---

127 Although the interviewer did not recount his personal history of becoming a teacher, he communicatively (both perfomatively and in the language use) proved sharing MP and MT's stories during the group interview.

ence ("disons que j'ai fréquenté" – let us just say I have attended school). This implies that having attended school is the prerequisite to becoming a teacher.

Table 19: Homologous organization of the discourse and the thematic structure of the narration

		Monsieur Paul	Monsieur Teba
Organization of the discourse	Proposition	"Je peux – c'est difficile"	"Disons que j'ai fréquenté, Puisque c'était difficile."
	Elaboration	"Au début – au moment – au discours de fin d'année 86 – Et puis – Et après – Bon"	"Et puis – chaque fois que – mais lorsque – Et pendant – Et puis"
	Conclusion	"Donc" – "c'est comme ça que"	"C'est comme ça que je suis arrivé donc à l'enseignement"
Thematic structure	"Difficult" school experience	"C'est difficile – en classe de Terminale"	"En classe de Première – c'était compliqué"
	Problem and contexts of "failure."	"C'est le Président qui dit il faut retrousser les manches"	"J'ai fait le concours – je fais l'écrit c'est bon – Mais lorsque j'arrive à l'oral ça devient compliqué"
	Getting recruited	"A l'époque on en avait besoin – on déposait les demandes partout où c'était possible – j'ai déposé la demande, euh euh, à l'église évangélique."	"Je ne peux pas bon dire que j'ai déposé une demande comme chez Monsieur Paul là – c'était facile – mon père était pasteur – c'est lui qui a géré toute la situation – je suis resté"
	Experience of "failure" in written exams while working as a teacher	"Et les moyens étant suffisamment limités – les salaires ne sont pas bons – les avancements n'existent pas – tout est arrêté – On est là – je me suis retrouvé dans le découragement."	"J'ai continué à faire le probatoire – Mais ça n'a pas marché. Mais bon là-bas c'est parce que il fallait plus se concentrer sur/sur le travail"
	Experience as a teacher in EEC schools and preference for ER	"Quand je suis arrivé j'ai trouvé des gars aussi – suffisamment engagés et nous nous sommes mis – j'ai été très approché – Et avec les fruits il était content – ils m'ont fait appel – c'est comme ça – que je me suis retrouvé dans – cette école."	"Et j'ai fait des tours jusqu'à me retrouver dans cette école"

(Source: author)

Moreover, both MP and MT depict their school experiences as "difficult" experiences, characterized by failure in the exams of the *Baccalaureate* and the *Probatoire*. A failure led them to consider the option of "getting occupied" as teachers like a "conducive" conjunctive space of experience of fur-

ther pursuing their process of "*fréquenter*" on the job. They both follow the same ubiquitous line of elaboration, uniting different contexts of interpretation to construct logical and similar biographical stories ("*Bon*"; "*disons que*"; "*et puis*"; "*puisque*"; "*et, donc, c'est comme ça que.*")

However, there is a difference in the enunciation system between the elaboration of the two autobiographical stories. Even though both narrate in the first person "*je,*" MP uses the "*je*"-enunciator referring to and acting within an "objective neutral" context. His frame of reference includes the "*on*" and the specific period of 1986-1987.[128] MP's account, thus, alternates "*je*" and "*on*" in the elaboration of an objective situation applying to his generation: "J'ai dû apprendre que"; "à l'époque, on en avait besoin"; "et puis, on déposait les demandes partout"; "j'ai déposé ma demande à" (I had to learn that; at the time one needed them; and we applied everywhere; and this is how I applied to). He positions himself as a struggling individual like any other individual of his generation dealing with a difficult period of economic crisis, a struggle of adaptation to the general context politically addressed by the President. Even when discussing his experience of being recruited as a teacher and his teaching goal throughout the EEC schools, MP remains as objective as he remains neutral. He does not refer to his social background in his struggles toward the *Baccalaureate* certification, his recruitment as a teacher and his ending up in the ER. Even though he refers to the project coordinator as "écoles vertes" in CPF, MP relates it to his achievement (or performance) as a pedagogical team leader and teacher. He does not refer to him as social capital but rather as a project supervisor (an evaluator) who was happy with MP's performance.

Contrary to this individual objective-oriented struggle in becoming and being a teacher, MT's account is constructed around his sociocultural background. It is a "*je*" using his social relations in his struggle towards the *Probatoire* certificate, the exam for the entrance to the school of Social Affairs and getting recruited in EEC. After an argumentative consultation with his parents, MT decides this as "je." He tries to get help from his uncle to get recruited as social affairs assistant, which he did not achieve due to the misfortune of the death of his uncle. On the one hand, his failure in this exam is argued to fail to integrate himself into a sociopolitical relation-based recruitments and promotions system. On the other hand, his "easy" success in getting recruited as a teacher in EEC schools is based on social relations for social promotion. Here, the pastoral position of MT's father opened the door

---

128 A period referring to the economic crisis starting in 1985, which led to structural adjustments. This context has been discussed in chapter 2 of this work.

to the teaching career, even though he suggests that his teaching experience as a trainer of the Sunday church school[129] helped him.

Furthermore, the orientation difference between the stories consists of the continuous struggle towards a personal goal and a reorientation of personal objectives in the struggle. In comparison, MP discouraged and abandoned his struggle to get the *Baccalaureate* certificate while teaching; MT continuously struggled to succeed in his "*fréquenter*" process by reorienting his goal of getting the *Probatoire* certificate for a professional university certificate in law and economics while teaching. Moreover, unlike MP's struggle with context adaptation (no clear professional objectives or interests), MT replaced his professional objective of becoming a civil servant of social affairs with a willingness to teach in the nearby EEC school, capitalizing, hence, both his social relations and his experience as a trainer in the Sunday church school.

In the biographical cases of MP and MT, the level of schooling experience is the sole qualification requirement for becoming teachers in EEC schools. They do not mention any professional teacher training experience as an additional qualification requirement for becoming a teacher. This is a common reality in Cameroon's private primary education sector, where many teachers start teaching (and teach) without any initial professional teacher-training experience. So, how does this apply to the private secondary education sectors and the college level?

11.2 Biographical experiences of Becoming/Being Private Secondary School Teachers in Cameroon

The material below is a transcript of a group interview with five teachers in a private secondary school (college) during a short field research stay in 2017 in West Cameroon. Four of the teachers have been trained at IPSOM-FSE. What motivated the author to visit them was that all four represented the four didactics departments in IPSOM-FSE (English, French, history, and maths) and were teaching at the same school. It was, hence, crucial to investigate how they coped with the teaching realities in their respective disciplines. After the author visited two of their classes, we sat down to talk about how they started the school year (since it was the first week of the school year). The fifth colleague was a biology teacher who had no initial teacher training. She was interested in our discussion and asked if she could join. Due to many

---

129 By Sundy church schools, the author means what is generally known in French as "école de dimanche". Teachers of Sunday schools are church fellows who organize church services and education for children.

other colleagues in the staffroom, this was not recorded. Only the second round, during which Mrs. Nina (FN) and her colleagues talked about their autobiographical experiences of becoming private college teachers, was transcribed in the present study. Here too, not all the recorded material is or could be transcribed easily due to some noises of the students from the schoolyard during the break.

The transcript is in French with a simplified translation or explanation of some micro-linguistic elements in English. This choice was motivated by the will to keep the original language structure as a source of meaningful interpretation, which, once translated into English, might lose some of its original meaning. The chapter reconstructs some biographical frames of orientation of the histories of becoming teachers. Moreover, their conjunctive space of experience is comparatively analyzed. The case of Monsieur Didier is sampled to comparatively investigate how some possible transformation/change processes could be interpreted from the perspective of the transformative processes of *Bildung* (Koller, 2017; Kokemohr 2014; 2018)?

11.2.1 Formulating Interpretation

The group interview starts with the interviewer's question: How did you become a teacher? The five respondents give five biographical narratives: FN (an English language teacher), FT (a French language teacher), MG (a mathematics teacher), FC (a biology teacher), and MD (a history/geography teacher).

The first interviewee, FN, recounts her experience of becoming a teacher "by accident." "The first year was not easy… but… [she] actually … gradually … adapted" to the teaching job, benefiting from the supervision of the head of the English Department and after taking part in some pedagogical seminars. She had trained on the job for four years before being sent to UEC for a degree in a teacher-training program.

The second participant, FT, had to interrupt his university studies of history due to her tutor's illness. She did ENIEG (one year of tutoring) and has taught for one year in a secondary church school before attending the teacher-training degree program at UEC suggested to her by her boss. She likes teaching now.

As far as MG is concerned, the third interviewee got a scholarship to IPSOM by chance (not his wish) after his *Baccalaureate* certificate. After one year, he dropped the training, "Je ne voulais pas être enseignant" (I did not want to be a teacher). He has been a mathematics "coach" in the quarters and got an appetite for teaching ("en faisant j'ai pris gout"). He returned to IPSOM-UEC and got his degree in didactics of mathematics. MG now teaches at a college and feels proud to be a teacher.

The fourth interviewee, FC, interrupted her postgraduate studies in biology due to her getting married, "Je dois me marier" (I must get married). She applied for a teaching position in a private college. As a student, she liked sharing her knowledge with her mates. FC was frustrated in the first days of teaching at college. She reflects on her father's comments as a teacher to handle her classroom and herself ("Maitriser la classe et se maîtriser").

MD's fifth interviewee got his *Baccalaureate* diploma as a private candidate in an evening school. He wished to study law. He wrote the entrance exams for IPSOM/FSE as a second choice. He was frustrated during the teaching internships. MD was inspired by his internship tutor and adapted to speaking to a large public (large classroom). After the training, he was recruited as a college teacher. He also led pedagogical seminars and wrote reports. MD now claims that "students make me proud."

11.2.2 Reflecting Interpretation

The analysis and interpretation of the transcripts entail three steps. The first step is reconstruction of the case of FN as a "typical" autobiographical aim of becoming/being a teacher in the Cameroonian private education system. The second phase consists of comparative analysis and interpretation of the group interaction to reconstruct some features of the sociocultural background, which might inform about a homologous space of experience shared by the participants in the group interview. The last step focuses on the autobiographical aim of MD as a case depicting a possible momentum of a transformation of the participant's figures of world-self-relations in the process of becoming/being a private school teacher.

11.2.2.1 "Vous Savez dans Notre Contexte ici au Cameroun, On Fait ce que l'On Voit": How Can the Case of FN be Interpreted as a "Typical" Biographical Aim of Becoming a Private College Teacher in Cameroon?

The interviewer's impulse is an immanent question, a how-question ("comment?"), meaning he asks the participants to tell their stories of becoming teachers. It opens a narration perspective for the interviewees to share their experiences. The whole group addresses the question by the personal pronoun "vous" (you) in the second person plural. Although it concerns the whole group ("vous" = "enseignants"), the interviewer indirectly addresses each participant's autobiographical experience of becoming a teacher and, at the same time, their conjunctive space of experience of becoming teachers. As they recount their cases, they support, validate, and develop a "group experience." Considering the conjunctive dimension of the group, the con-

junctive experience being former trainees of IPSOM-UEC, and individual autobiographical narrations, the author, calls this empirical case a group interview, where the members a-theoretically and implicitly construct "their" collective history of becoming teachers.

Excerpt 1: From the transcript of a group interview with five college teachers

Participants: I: Interviewer; FN: Mme Nina; FT: Mme Tina; FC: Mme Céline; MG: Monsieur Guy; MD: Monsieur Didier

I: [(04mn :40s)] Comment est-ce que vous êtes arrivés à la fonction d'enseignant?
FN: Bien, déjà je suis arrivée à la fonction d'enseignant, euhm! Par pur hazard, ehh! Parce qu'euhm, j'ai fait droit à l'université. Rien ne (03) ne/ne disait que j'allais faire/que j'allais enseigner //hmhm// et:: vous savez dans notre contexte içi au Cameroun, on fait ce que l'on voit. //hmhm// (rire à l'éclat (02). Et c'est comme ça que j'ai vu une amie qui était enseignante. Elle m'a dit: "Voilà, il y a une place en anglais." Parce qu'elle savait que j'étais très douée en anglais. //hmmhmm// Selon elle, ehh! Je ne dis pas que je l'étais. C'est elle qui pensait comme ça. //hmhm// Elle m'a dit: "Voilà tu viens." Je suis venue, puisqu'on avait à tout prix besoin de/d'un enseignant d'anglais. //hmhm// On m'a pris //hmhm// La première année c'était pas facile. Mais j'avais cette chance d'avoir un chef de département qui était très/qui était assez disponible. Donc, il m'a beaucoup encadrée. //hmhm// Quand il fallait aller faire les séminaires, il mettait d'abord mon nom, il me disait que "N'aies pas peur, tu peux y arriver." C'est comme ça. Et j'ai même fait un séminaire en TIC Essential, c'était un truc organisé par la/euh/euh British Council //hmhm// J'ai fait pratiquement deux semaines de séminaire. Et c'est comme ça, donc, en réalité j'ai appris dans le tas. //hmhm// Et c'est comme ça que la deuxième année, je connaissais un peu les rouages du métier. //hmhm// Et voilà. Petit-à-petit, je me suis adaptée. C'est comme ça que je me suis retrouvée à/troisième et quatrième année à tenir les classes jusqu'en Première. Oui, jusqu'en Première. Mais, on ne m'avait pas donné la Première A, je tenais les scientifiques. Oui, voilà. Donc, je me suis arrêtée là et puis je suis allée en/en formation. //hmhm// Et à l'époque c'était proposé par l'établissement. On disait que bon, puisque tu/tu es déjà là pourquoi ne pas aller à Mbouo. //hmhm// Il y a/il y a ce/cet établissement qui forme/j'ai dit bon autant mieux aller en/en apprendre davantage avant de revenir et donc ce que j'ai fait //hmhm// oui. //hmhm//
(Bruit d'un enseignant s'adressant à des élèves dans la cour de l'établissement (23s) interruption de l'entretien et son enregistrement par une camescope. L'entretien reprend et l'enregistrement est fait par le téléphone.

FN answers the interviewer's question with confidence: "Bien, déjà je suis arrivée à la fonction d'enseignant euhm! Par pur hasard ehh!" The use of "*bien*" in the very first utterance of NF depicts this confidence. "*Bien*" (in the sense of well) appears like a language device of speech introduction informing about FN being confident about the story she will tell. Her personal experience of becoming a teacher of English as a foreign language (TEFL) happened by "*pure accident*." FN's proposition of answering "how you became a

teacher" is followed by an argumentation. She uses a "*why-motive*" to explicit the proposition construed around the process of "*pure accident*," which she interprets because of the contradiction between her university studies (law) and the profession of TEFL: "Parceque j'ai fait Droit à l'université. Rien ne (03) ne/ne disait que j'allais faire/que j'allais enseigner." This contradiction is further developed on the fate of Cameroun about the job market: "Et :: vous savez dans notre contexte ici au Cameroun, on fait ce que l'on voit." A metaphor further amplifies becoming a teacher by "*pure accident*" in Cameroon.

In other words, it is a common-sense statement, which implies a mutual understanding of the referred context. FN appeals to the group knowledge ("*vous*") of a conjunctive space of experience: the space of "vous savez dans notre context ici au Cameroon, on fait ce que l'on voit." She recalls the collective implicit knowledge automated by group members in the general sphere of "ici au Cameroon." The double locatives ici and Cameroon could be interpreted as a deliberate emphasis on the specific case of Cameroon, which FN links to the fate of pure accident as a limiting space for objectivity, as far as the choice of a profession within the Cameroonian context is concerned.

Figure 34: Introductive discourse mode and the general frame of orientation of "dans notre context ici au Cameroon"

- "Bien, déjà je suis arrivée à la profession d'enseignant, eumh, par pur hasard."
- ("Well, yet I came to the teaching profession, eumh, by pure accident.")

Proposition

"Why-motive" opposition mode of argumentation

- "Parce qu'euhm j'ai fait droit à l'université. Rien ne (03) ne/ne disait que j'allais faire/que j'allais enseigner."
- ("Because, I studied law at the university. Nothing (03) indicated to me teaching.")

- "Et:: Vous savez dans notre contexte ici au Cameroun, on fait ce que l'on voit." (rire à l'éclat (02).
- (and:: "you know in our context here in Cameroon, one does what one sees."// (explosive laughter (02)).

Generalization of the proposition and validation by the group

(Source: author)

What follows this metaphor is a spontaneous collective performance of long laughter ("*rire à l'éclat*" (02)). Like MP and MT's reaction concerning the pupils' proposition of "nous allons arranger" (in the class conference discussion about the lack of brooms in class 4), it is a burst of explosive laughter that comes after the metaphorical common-sense statement of FN. With the spontaneous collective and explosive laughter, the group, including the inter-

viewer, sympathizes with FN's experience, confirms and validates her meta-phorical common-sense statement. They perform a conjunctive frame of orientation regarding the fate of becoming teachers by "*pure accident*." Therefore, FN's autobiographical narration is construed in the mode of a proposition, a parallel argumentation, and a generalization of the proposition. This could be schematized as above.

This introductive discourse mode helps FN elaborate on her autobiographical experience of becoming a TEFL by "*pure hazard*."

> Et c'est comme ça que j'ai vu une amie qui était enseignante. Elle m'a dit: "Voilà, il y a une place en anglais." Parce qu'elle savait que j'étais très douée en anglais. //hmmhmm// Selon elle, ehh! Je ne dis pas que je l'étais. C'est elle qui pensait comme ça. //hmhm// Elle m'a dit: "Voilà tu viens." Je suis venue, puisqu'on avait à tout prix besoin de/d'un enseignant d'anglais.

Her elaboration sounds like an exemplification of "Et c'est comme ca que" (And this is how) of the general common-sense statement above interpreted, implying the "fate" of the Cameroonian context regarding the challenges of getting a job after professional training. FN elaborates in this context how she ends up doing what she sees ("*L'on fait ce que l'on voit*"), which is the job of TEFL in a secondary school. She elaborates on how she found the job by recalling the use of her social capital: "J'ai vu une amie qui était enseignante" (I met a friend who was a teacher). This social relationship acknowledges FN's language competence as fulfilling the requirement for the vacant post of TEFL in the target college: "Parce qu'elle savait que j'étais très douée en Anglais" (Because she knew that I was very good in English). Furthermore, being good in English is depicted as the "*only*" requirement since the school ultimately needed a TEFL: "Puisqu'on avait à tout prix besoin de/d'un enseignant d'anglais." However, being recruited as a teacher does not seem enough to become one effectively. FN stresses the gap in a professional qualification by describing her practical experience during her first year of teaching.

> La première année, c'était pas facile. Mais j'avais cette chance d'avoir un chef de département qui était très/qui était assez disponible. Donc, il m'a beaucoup encadrée. //hmhm// Quand il fallait aller faire les séminaires, il mettait d'abord mon nom, il me disait que: "N'aies pas peur, tu peux y arriver." C'est comme ça.

The first year was "*not easy,*" as she says. However, she overcame her first difficult experiences at the beginning of her teaching career. She elaborates on how she coped with the difficult first year as a TEFL. By cutting off details about her difficult experience of being a TEFL during her first year in the field, FN seems to presuppose that it was not a challenging problem, for she coped using her social background: "Mais j'avais la chance d'avoir un chef de département qui m'a beaucoup encadrée." The emphasis on the process of coping with a difficult professional start is introduced by the opposi-

tional coordinative conjunction "*mais*" (but), which, however, does not imply a new topic contrary to that of a difficult first year but rather highlights a deliberate focus on the positive feeling of having coped with the target difficulty. Therefore, what is important for FN consists of the providential ("*j'avais la chance*") social capital she had in the person of the "*chef de département*." FN tells the remaining story about the essence of this social relationship in becoming a TEFL.

> Et c'est comme ça, donc, en réalité, j'ai appris dans le tas. Et c'est comme ça que la deuxième année, je connaissais un peu les rouages du métier. //hmhm// Et voilà. Petit-à-petit, je me suis adaptée. C'est comme ça que je me suis retrouvée à/troisième et quatrième année à tenir les classes jusqu'en Première.

It is a gradual process of adaptation ("*petit-à-petit*") to the profession of TEFL ("*les rouages du metier*") which took four years to be acquired, a process of learning on the job. This gradual adaptation might be interpreted as a ubiquitous process of FN's autobiographical experience of becoming a TEFL. She unites different contexts and circumstances of this process to construct a linear story about becoming a TEFL by "*pure accident*" in the general context of a professional uncertainty that characterizes Cameroon.

Figure 35: Ubiquitous discourse organization in FN's autobiographical story of becoming a TEFL
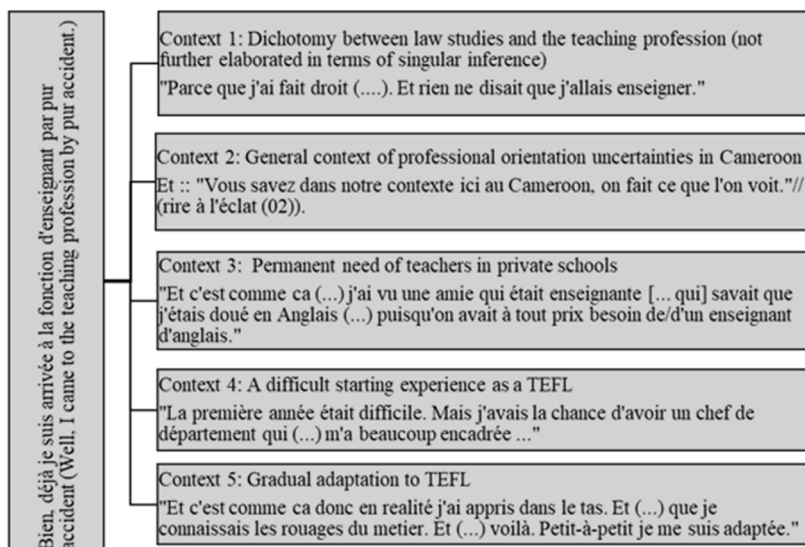
(Source: author)

The figure shows a discourse ubiquitously constructed as a gradual adaptation to becoming a TEFL. Ubiquitous inference devices, such as: "*bien*, *dé-*

jà," "*parce que*," "*et… puisque*," "*et*," "*donc*," "*et … voilà*" (well … be-cause, and, since, and, thus, and … so) are used to unite different contexts fitting a linear process of narration. FN uses these language devices to con-struct a "typical" process of becoming a teacher in the general context of Cameroon. She depicts this using the common-sense statement: "And you know in our context here in Cameroon, one does what one sees." Thus, FN's depiction appears like a model applicable to many professional biographies in Cameroon. A model validated by the group members who share laughter. How far does the above-depicted portrait apply to the biographies of the other interview respondents?

11.2.2.2 Conjunctive Space of Experience of Becoming Teachers: Reconstructing Biographical Homologies of the Private College Teachers Interviewed

The common-sense statement FN uses to portray professional orientation uncertainties in the general context of Cameroon seems to have conjunctively structured the discourse orientation of the following interviewees, mainly in the cases of FT, MG, and FC.

The discourse organization analyzed in figure 25 could also apply to the narrations constructed by FN, FT, MG, FC, and MD. All provide a topical structure of five as in the following: C1: the context of incongruency between university studies and the teaching profession (or dream profession ≠ teach-ing profession), C2: general context of uncertainties of professional orienta-tion in Cameroon, C3: the context of the permanent need of teachers in schools, C4: the context of difficult first experiences as teachers, F: the finali-ty of a gradual adaptation to the teaching profession.

The interviewees unite different contexts of interpretation to a ubiquitous biographical discourse taking after FN's discourse structure as a "*model*" for a biographical narration structure. The abundant use of time adverbials sus-tains this homologous structure of a discourse organization ("*quand*," "*puis*," "*ensuite*," "*puisque*," "*parce que*"), the conjunctions ("*et*," "*et puis*," "*comme*," "*mais*," "*donc*") marking different contexts of experiences, which, however, are neither contradictive nor antithetic, but rather subsumptive and corroborating the homologous space of experience of adaptation to time, milieu, context and the difficulties of the teaching job. The group culture of discourse consisting of the *habitus*, which is the *modus operandi* of narration, is depicted both by this analogy of discourse organization as well as by using validating language items (e.g., the *habitus* of ending the speaker's utterance) and a unifying experience (e.g., *collective laughter*).

Furthermore, this collective space of experience of adaption as a process of becoming and being a teacher in the private education sector is construed

by two dominant frames of reference to social relations, which encompass the use of:

social relations as an advantage: relatives as motivating actors in becoming teachers (father is a teacher; the trainers' motivation and models),

social relations as a constraint: relatives as a constraint in becoming a teacher (from a tutor, parents, boss).

As a supportive capital, social relations are used for getting informed about teaching job opportunities, being encouraged (convinced) to apply for a teaching position, getting money for a job application or for entering a teacher-training college and being encouraged/supported/acknowledged throughout the process of adaption to the teaching job or the pre-service training programs. FN's supportive social capital comprises a friend (teaching in a private college), the head of the English department at the private college. FT received support from a tutor and the principal of the private college where she teaches to be trained at ENIEG and UEC. She relied on some "model teachers" to gain teaching confidence and to develop a feeling of teacher pride (and teaching vocation). MG benefitted from parental support and advice to get a scholarship for teacher education at UEC. He acknowledged his parents and the students he used to teach mathematics at home to develop a love for the teaching job. He built teacher pride from the external acknowledgment of his competencies/performances (positive comments of colleagues calling him a "great prof.") Her father's charism inspired FC to develop teaching competencies and vocation rights in her university experience. MD was helped by his sister to apply for a scholarship at UEC. He got inspired by his model teacher to overcome his crisis of a teacher personality (permanent feeling of frustration).

At the beginning of their careers as teachers, FT and MG experienced social relations as constraints to becoming teachers. FT's tutor exercised constant pressure on her to start the ENIEG. She submits to having been forced by her boss to enroll in the UEC. FT portrays both relations as "*papa*" (daddy). And, considering the symbolic sociocultural power related to the parents, the elders and the chief status, FT submitted herself to the orientation of these relations, although initially, she had not wanted to become a teacher. In the case of MG, he was forced by his parent to enroll in the UEC. After one year of studying, he abandoned the training and was quietly excluded from the family considerations ("La famille étant un peu fâchée, ils ont dit, bon, comme tu as quitté l'université tu vas, donc, rester à la maison.")

Although there are significant transitional periods that could be portrayed as decisive momentums of professional development in each of the autobiographical stories, very little evidence of a language use could be identified depicting some momentums of *Bildungsprozesse* in the perspective of transformative educational biography research, theoretically discussed after Koller

and Kokemohr throughout this study. In most cases, the process ends with an adaptation to the teaching profession with very little transformation of the participants' fundamental world figures and self-relations. This study attempts to investigate this difference (singularity) of a biographical aim in the case of MD. The question sustaining this is how good MD's claim of "*contrairement à mes prédecesseurs*" might inform what is different in his discourse. How is it different from that of his preceding colleagues? How is this difference constructed?

11.3 How Can the Case of MD Portray Momentums of the Transformation of Fundamental Figures of World-Self-Relations about Becoming a Private College Teacher in Cameroon?

MD's explicit utterance about the "difference" between his professional trajectory and the stories of his colleagues (well, contrary to my predecessors) triggered the interest in investigating possible momentums of transformation (or change) of his fundamental figures of relations to the world, the others and himself.

Excerpt 2: From the transcript of a group interview with five college teachers

MD: Bon, contrairement à mes prédecesseurs, je/je me retrouve dans l'enseignement comment? //hmhm// J'obtiens le BACC en (année)//hmhm// J'ai donc, le BACC en (année) dans un contexte très difficile, puisque je l'obtiens déjà même en cours du soir. //hmhm// Euhff :: Dans mon intention je voulais faire le droit à l'université de (la ville). //hmhm// Je voulais faire le droit à l'université de (la ville). Mais entretemps, c'est ma sœur ainée étant mariée à (la ville) elle connaissait un peu l'IPSOM. Elle m'a demandé ce que je voulais faire. J'ai dit que je voulais faire le droit. Et elle m'a donc:: si je peux pas faire le droit quel est le deuxième truc que je peux faire dans la vie? J'ai dit que bon je peux aussi enseigner. C'est là où elle me propose donc l'idée de l'université évangélique. Jusque-là même, ce n'était pas toujours/je n'avais pas pris cela au sérieux. //hmhm// La semaine même du concours, on me/le concours devait avoir lieu vendredi (…)/mardi (…) on me dit que le concours aura lieu vendredi je n'ai pas encore déposé les dossiers? Et c'était le mardi soir là c'était même le dernier délai. //hmhm// tsipp (piaffe) je me suis découragé. //hmhm// C#est quand elle me met la pression, je quitte/je/je quitte de (la ville) le vendredi/le jeudi soir avec les dossiers sans/sans rien. C'est ou j'arrive j'ai eu la chance même de faire le concours avant de déposer les dossiers. //hmhm// Voilà comment je fais sans/sans aucune préparation, mais//**FC**: Tu réussis// par la grâce de Dieu je réussis. Puisque même dans ma promotion/la première promotion d'histoiregéo j'étais/j'étais le meilleur au concours. //hmhm// Bon quand je commence l'école

néanmoins ça n'a pas été aussi facile //hmhm// avec les difficul/les petites difficultés qu'on a eu à rencontrer, il fallait aussi s'adapter aux changements climatiques et autres. (**P1**)

Quand on arrive en première année au stage, je me rappelle que quand on arrive au pre/le premier jour du stage, quand j'ai regardé d'abord l'effectif j'avais de la frustration. //hmhm// Je me rappelle quand j'entre en Seconde pendant mes camarades saluent bonjour les amis j'ai plutôt dit "Bonjour, chers camarades." (sourire) //(rire des collègues)// Ce qui se/donc j'ai toujours été frustré. Maintenant en deuxième année, quand le stage commence mon premier cours que j'ai fait en stage c'est en Terminale D. Vous pouvez un peu imaginer quelqu'un qui n'avait pas l'habitude de prendre la parole/c'est vrai qu'on faisait les/les exposés à l'université j'avais déjà commencé à m'adapter au public; mais je n'avais pas encore une grande cible. //hmhm// J'étais habitué qu'à un nombre restreint. Quand je commencé, c'était difficile. //hmhm// J'étais frustré je m'égarais. //hmhm// Mais en/en troisième année maintenant les choses se sont bien passées puisque j'avais pour encadreur Mme MB, une personne imposante. C'est d'elle que je m'inspire (sourire). Et:: Quand je finis la formation, directement je n'ai pas eu la possibilité d'avoir un établissement. Pour être honnête, c'est Dim qui avait d'abord déposé les demandes/la demande, c'est Dim //hmhm// Avec son indisponibilité c'est là où j'ai pu prendre sa place. Les premières semaines ici ont été difficile, mais avec le temps je me suis j'ai su m'imposer je suis à ma troisième année déjà. //hmhm// Et les premiers élèves que j'ai formés (sourire) si/ils sont déjà/ils sont en Terminale et::: ils continuent à faire ma fierté. Voilà un peu (sourire) // (rire des collègues) // ma petite expérience. (P2)

Et pour enrichir aussi cette expérience, j'ai participé aux différents séminaires. //hmhm// Quand j'arrive dans ces séminaires généralement je me rends compte que c'est toujours nous qui venions de Mbouo qui prenons la parole. Nos aînés même qui sont là même ils sont::/ils participent généralement de façon passive. //hmhm// Donc, nous avons tendance à être désignés comme des rapporteurs, peutêtre même encore même les chefs/les chefs d'ateliers, c'est nous qui/c'est toujours nous qui dirigions les ateliers. Bon dans les deux années précédentes que j'ai eu à passer sur le terrain, j'ai également eu la chance de::/d'être membre du jury dans/dans tous les examens officiels. J'ai corrigé le BEPC, j'ai corrigé le Probatoire, et le BACC. //hmhm// Donc c'est/c'est ça qui me fait/j'ai:::/j'ai encore le plaisir d'enseigner. //hmhm (03) //. (P3)

The topical structure of the excerpt above informs about the division in three different discourse orientations in the narration of MD. The first passage (P1) consists of the adaptation process analog to the four biographies of the preceding respondents. The second passage (P2) depicts MD's process of dealing with the problem of frustration in the process of becoming a teacher. The last passage (P3) portrays a process of professional development that depicts the quality difference between teachers trained at IPSOM-UEC and other senior teachers at government secondary schools. How can these three discourse orientations inform the contradiction MD announces at the beginning of his narration?

11.3.1 Passage 1 (P1): Adaptation Process of Becoming a College Teacher

In the text above, MD answers the interview question both with a proposition in terms of contradiction (or difference): "Bon, contrairement à mes précesseurs." (Well, contrary to my predecessors) and a self-questioning: "Je me retrouve dans l'enseignement comment?" (How do I find myself in the teaching profession?). On the one hand, he elaborates on this contradiction, and, on the other hand, he recalls his experience of becoming a teacher in an analog discourse orientation to that of the preceding respondents. What could be the contradiction MG announces?

To elaborate on what he means contradictory to his predecessors' biographies, MD mentions, for example, the circumstances of getting the *Baccalaureat* certificate: "J'ai donc le Bacc en (année) dans un context très difficile, puisque je l'obtiens déjà en cours de soir." (I got the *Baccalaureate* in a very difficult context since I got it in evening classes.) Contrary to his predecessors, who start their narration with the experience of university studies, MD highlights that he did not go through the classic schooling process; rather, he took evening classes to get his *Baccalaureate* certificate. He depicts an experience as very difficult without a further argumentation or explanation of the difficulty, just as the preceding respondents did not express their university experiences in detail. Therefore, what he depicts as a contradiction (different) to his colleagues' experiences consists of formal and informal schooling opposition.

While the first encompasses learning within a formal school (high school), the latter consists of an informal learning context of an evening school. Furthermore, contrary to his colleagues, MD does not have experience in teaching after his *Baccalaureate* certificate. He rather directly started a pre-service teacher training program in UEC. The others had teaching experiences without initial professional training; they had experienced learning on the job. This difference is a limitation on which MD construes the elaboration of his experience with "frustration" in teaching processes later in P.2.

However, this passage's general orientation is analogous to that of the participants FN, FT, MG and FC, above-analyzed. It is the orientation of "*adaption*" to the uncertainties of professional orientation and the teaching profession. It is a linear elaboration of a homologous space of experience, that is, the space of "*adaption*" to difficulties regarding either being recruited as a teacher or coping with the beginning of the profession (teaching effectively). It is a construction of a ubiquitous discourse process in form of "first … and then"; "and then"; "thus", e.g., "quand je commence, ça n'a pas été facile, il fallait s'adapter" (when I started, it was not easy, one must adapt). MD constructs a discourse of how he adapted to difficulties related to the beginning phase of the training program at UEC; even though he relativizes

these difficulties: "Avec les petites difficultés, il fallait aussi s'adapter aux changements climatiques et autres." (With some difficulties, one also had to adapt to climate changes and other problems).

Like the preceding respondents, MG capitalizes on his social relations both as sources of information and agents for his professional orientation. He speaks as a "*je*" (I), referring to an "*elle*" (she). His sister informed him about the scholarship perspective for the recruitment of student teachers in UEC, encouraged him and exercised the necessary pressure for his effective application. Unlike his preceding colleagues who did have initially wanted to become teachers, MG links his sister's proposition to his second professional choice of becoming a teacher: "J'ai dit que, bon, je peux aussi enseigner." (I said that, well, I can also teach.). This use of the modal verb "*can*" in talking about his orientation to the teaching profession appears significant in his further elaboration of what becoming a teacher means for him and how he achieved it, namely being able to teach (capacity and performance are correlated in MD's history of becoming a teacher) by overcoming the problem of "*frustration*."

11.3.2 Passage 2 (P.2). Becoming a Teacher as a Process of Dealing with and Overcoming the Problem of Frustration

In addition to the difference between MD's history and those of his colleagues, MD recalls his experience of dealing with or overcoming frustrations related to the teaching profession. How could his process of teacher education have influenced his professional development? In other words, how could his teacher education experience in UEC have contributed to his *Bildungsprozess* as a teacher?

In P.2 above, MD develops a discourse on how he struggled against the problem of "frustration" as a professional development process, which displays momentums of a *Bildungsprozess* in terms of the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process in the sense of Koller (2017) and Kokemohr (2007). To work out this perspective of a biographical reconstruction, it is worth studying temporal indices, which might depict the change process in MD's discourse from the empiric perspective of Kokemohr's *Bildungsvorhalt* as a momentum of *Bildungsprozess.* In the first sentence of this passage, MD uses the temporal adverb "*quand*" (when) three times to introduce a transition from the adaption to "some difficulties" (e.g., climate changes) to a more challenging process of overcoming the problem of frustration. It is a temporal marker that reminds him of specific circumstances he experienced the problem of frustration during his professional training at UEC.

(1) Quand on arrive en première année au stage …

je me rappelle que (2) quand on arrive au pre/le premier jour du stage …

(3) Quand j'ai regardé d'abord l'effectif j'avais de la frustration.

MD relates "*quand*" (when) to the internship phases from the first year to the third. In the above, "*quand*" indicates a gradual development in the time of the internship: (1) "en première année au stage … (2) au premier jour du stage …" (3) j'ai regardé d'abord l'effectif = j'avais de la frustration" (in the first year of the internship … the first day of the internship … I saw at first the size of the class = I was a little frustrated). The frustration MD speaks about is manifested in his greeting performance. Unlike his internship mates who confidently greeted the class ("*bonjour, les amis*"), MD addresses the class rather than his mates ("*j'ai dit plutôt 'bonjour, chers camarades.'*") Saying, "*Bonjour, les amis*" appears to be a *habitus* of teachers in Cameroon.

MP and MT perform a similar greeting ritual to address their classes (class 4 of MP and class 6 of MT, as studied in chapters 8 and 10). Addressing the pupils/students as "*les amis*" might portray a didactic strategy of "friendship," reducing the frightening position of the teacher and the authority distance[130] between the teacher and the learners (Tchome and Fonkoua, 2006, p. 7) and, therefore, making the latter feel confident to participate in the lesson process actively. Thus, "friendly" greeting rituals might be interpreted as performed for a confident teaching and learning atmosphere in the classroom conducive to a participative and interactive lesson process. It is a transformative routine that has replaced the traditional frontal classroom relationship, where the teacher is feared, and the learners are silent, receptive and less participative.

The problem with MD's greeting performance seems to be too "friendly"; that is, MD identifies himself with the position of the learners as "mates" ("*camarades*"). The didactic strategy of setting a confident atmosphere in the classroom (using friendly greeting rituals) makes room for the greeting ritual depicting a "zero-position" of the teacher in the classroom relationship. In other words, MD positions himself as a learner and not as a teacher. This depicts a shift of fear from the learners to the teacher. By saying "*Bonjour,*

---

130 In other words, bringing the learners closer to the teacher. It is shift from an imposed authority of the teacher, which, in the traditional pedagogy, consisted of the use of violence and punishment as disciplinary instruments, to a more accepted or negotiated authority of the teacher through the didactic and pedagogical contracts binding the class participants. In their preface, Tchombe and Fonkoua (2006, p. 7) described the opposition between contexts of traditional and modern contexts relating to the teacher's position in the classroom. They claimed that: "We are a long way from the teacher who knew all. The silent student who listened to teachers without questioning, classrooms where discipline and order obtained through the cane and diverse punishment."

chers camarades," MD shows a lack of self-confidence to position himself as a teacher in front of the class. He feels "small," meaning uncomfortable, in front of the class. This uncomfortable feeling about the class produces a consequent feeling of frustration. The spontaneous collective laughter of the group interview portrays an explosive reaction vis-à-vis MD's positioning himself as a student/pupil in a class where he is expected to stand as a "teacher" (or as a student-teacher). It is an unexpected position, and, as such, it sounds contradictory, strange, and funny. MD concludes from this explosive reaction of laughter to confirm the reality of his feeling frustrated in front of a large class ("*Donc, j'ai toujours été frustré.*").

He further remembers other frustrating circumstances of the internship he experienced in the second year of training, during his first-ever lesson taught in *Terminale* D class (upper sixth = *Oberprima* in the German high school system). The problem of frustration is linked to the size of the class and of the audience in general. At the first view, one might be tempted to confuse frustration with agoraphobia, the fear of talking in front of an audience. The more heterogeneous the public is (e.g., the difference in age, social class, hierarchy), the more frightful it might be. MD's language use displays words informing about the quality of the public in front of whom he experiences the frustration. These include "*effectif*," "*Terminale D*," and "*grande cible*" (class enrolment, upper sixth class, big target). All of these depict the importance of the size and complexity of the public or class audience that frustrates MD. However, contrary to agoraphobia, MD's frustration in front of large audiences (class audiences) is related to a certain lack of self-confidence, charisma or leadership. He refers to his internship supervisor as an inspiring personality. In other words, he values the charismatic character of his supervisor, calling her "une personne imposante. C'est d'elle que je m'inspire" (an imposing person. I am inspired by her).

The Cambridge Dictionary[131] defines frustration as "the feeling of being annoyed or less confident because you cannot achieve what you want or something that makes you feel like this." In this perspective of understanding, the class enrollment size makes him feel frustrated; that is, MD continuously lacks confidence in front of a large class. This failure, thus, constitutes a frustration factor that MD conceives as a personal crisis in his professional development as a teacher. In his elaboration, therefore, MD ubiquitously unites the different moments he felt frustrated in front of large classes throughout the three-year internship experiences ("*quand*"; "*quand*"; "*quand*"; *donc*"). By so doing, he reminds the different contexts to propositionally provide a frame of orientation of frustration. As a "serious" personal-

---

131 See: Cambridge Dictionary: http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/frustration

ity crisis,[132] the problem of frustration disturbs the individual behavior. MD loses his self-orientation and confidence: "J'étais frustré, je m'égarais." (I was frustrated, I was getting lost.), and he feels annoyed about his "teacher personality."

Interpreting the case of MD in the perspective of *Bildung* as a transformative process, the problem of frustration could be considered as a crisis in which MD loses his orientation and his academic *habitus* (or habits) of presenting in front of a small audience, which appears outdated and ineffective when having to cope with the problem of frustration in large classes. How could this feeling of frustration have contributed to triggering a process of transformation (or change) of MD's fundamental issues of world-self-relations toward the teaching profession? In other words, how could frustration as a crisis of personality trigger a process of professional development in MD's aim of becoming a professional teacher?

In his struggle to cope with the problem of frustration hindering his "ideal figure of a teacher," MD gets discouraged, as in the case of MP, in dealing with failure in the *Baccalaureate* exams. He seems to gradually have developed his self-confidence and a strong personality throughout the different phases of the internship (three years). MD depicts this transformation process using a combination of the coordinative conjunction "*mais*" (but) and double use of time adjuncts "en troisième année maintenant" (in the third year now). This combination portrays a change from the difficult past of being frustrated as a student-teacher to a confident person characterized by "les choses se sont bien passées" (things happened well). The conjunction "*mais*" introduces an opposition between the time adverb "*quand*" (when), repetitively reminding different past experiences of frustration during the first and the second year of internship and the time adverb "*maintenant*" (now) depicting the present experience of satisfaction in the third year of training and during the subsequent three years of teaching experiences after the training.

This change follows a singular inference orientation, which the interpreted opposition encompasses. The ubiquitous discourse about frustration made room for a singular discourse construction about a feeling of success for being an "*imposing person*" (teacher) in front of a large class. Therefore, MD's discourse displays a momentum of a *Bildung* transformation from the logic of permanent frustration to the new process of learning how to be an imposing teacher.

132 In comparison to the adjective "petites" (small) MD uses to depict the environmental adaptation difficulties in UEC in P.2., the problem of frustration seems to be more serious, and could, therefore, be interpreted as a personal crisis, which is more challenging than the problem of the adaptation to the weather in Mbouo-Bandjoun.

Figure 36: Time markers and the transformation process of discourse from UI to SI

quand + quand +quand = donc (j'ai toujours été frustré, je m'égarais) when + when+ when = thus (I have always been frustrated, I was getting lost)	**Ubiquitous inference (UI)**
	versus
mais … maintenant + puisque + déjà + mais = voilà (je me suis/j'ai su m'imposer) but … now + since + yet = that is it (I have/I have learned to impose myself)	**Singular inference (SI)**

(Source: author)

According to Kokemohr (2002b, p. 8): "Whereas ubiquitous inference is a way to hold up a construction of a social world, the singular inference is asked where we have to develop a new conception of the world to cope with new experiences." Therefore, MD succeeded in developing a "new" conception of the personality of a teacher during his third year of teaching internship at a secondary school.

Figure 37: Frustration crisis ≠ emergence of a feeling of teacher's self-imposition
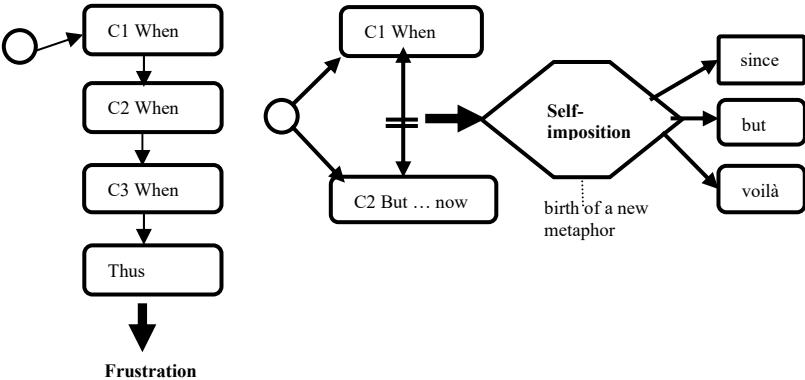
(Source: adapted after Kokemohr, 2002b, p. 8)

The ubiquitous experience of frustration developed throughout internships during the two years of training is "radically" transformed in the third year as MD could capitalize on these different internships in the image of a model teacher Mme Mba.[133] MD states that: "Mais en/en troisième année, maintenant, les choses se sont bien passées puisque j'avais pour encadreur Mme MB, une personne imposante. C'est d'elle que je m'inspire." (sourire). ("But in the third year, things went well since I had Mme Mba as supervisor, an imposing person. She inspires me." (smiles). The depiction of Mme Mba

---

133 Pseudonym used in the transcript.

as "*an imposing person*" seems to fit MD's image of a model teacher, as someone who can handle his class without frustration. It is a model of a leading teacher, who conveys assurance and self-confidence, and is not frustrated regarding how he or she manages his classes.

Therefore, MD's imagination of a model teacher is not related to cognitive capacities and competencies about the subject to be taught; rather, it concerns the performance in pedagogical situations, meaning the capacity to teach effectively in large classes. It is, hence, about the capacity to impose oneself in the classroom. This new image of a model teacher has sustained MD's professional development during the teaching internships and afterward in his teaching responsibilities in a private college. Considering this interpretation, it is a process of radical transformation (change) of MD's teaching personality and the expected image of a quality teacher who overcomes his frustration in front of large classes during their teaching practice. Thus, MD's aim of becoming a quality teacher entails a profound difference compared to the biographical experiences of his preceding colleagues. The latter generally regard being a teacher as an adaptation to the general uncertainties of professional orientation and economic challenges.

However, the general structure of discourse, that is, the frame of orientation consisting of an "*I-narrator*" dealing with a personal problem and capitalizing on social relations, is homologous in all the biographical experiences of the interviewees. This might be interpreted as a sociocultural background of a communitarian frame of reference, linking this to communitarianism's philosophical and anthropological discourse. To phrase it otherwise, it is a structure of an interrelationship between the individual (the self), the world and the group (the community/ society). The transformative *Bildungsprozess* theory framework could be depicted as structures of world-self-relations sustaining everyday social practice.

In this regard, MD seems to develop a story about a process of transforming a fundamental figure of relationship to the world (classroom), to others (large enrolment/learners) and to the self (frustrated individual). MD, therefore, depicts a *Bildungsprozess* of the transformation of his self-image of a quality teacher, in other words, his teacher personality. He considers this transformation to be a victory over the problem of frustration and as a quality capital for his further professional development as a teacher.

11.3.3 Passage 3 (P.3). Permanent Professional Development and the Quality Difference in Being a teacher

In P3, MD recounts further professional development experiences in the process of being a quality teacher. He felt pride during the long training period (three years of pre-training and teaching internships) by overcoming his

crisis of frustration: "Et les premiers élèves que j'ai formés … continuent à faire ma fierté." (And the first students I trained continue to make me feel proud). But this did not seem to be enough. MD admits that this experience needs to be enriched: "Et pour enrichir aussi cette experience j'ai participé aux différents séminaires." (And to enrich this experience, I have taken part in different seminars).

Unlike his colleagues who talked about the experiences of in-service teacher training to become a quality teacher on the job, since they have had an initial training experience, MD reviews it as further professional development after a pre-service training experience. In the different contexts of the sketched in-service training, he emphasizes the quality difference they (MD and his colleagues trained in UEC) demonstrate compared to elder colleagues who had been trained in the public teacher training schools and had been teaching for a long time.

> Quand j'arrive dans ces séminaires généralement, je me rends compte que c'est toujours nous qui venions de Mbo qui prenons plus la parole. Nos ainés même qui sont là même ils sont::/ils participent généralement de façon passive. //hmhm// Donc, nous avons tendance à être désignés comme des rapporteurs, peut-être même encore même les chefs/les chefs d'ateliers, c'est nous qui/c'est toujours nous qui dirigions les ateliers.

The double use of the adverb "même" (even) underlines the surprise or disappointment of the elders' expectations. As discussed in the conceptual framework of this study, the image of the elders in the Bamiléké societies (and in other societies in Cameroon and Africa) is associated with the concept of wisdom or expertise of experienced persons who are assigned to the role/responsibility of guiding, initiating and educating the younger generation. Such a sociocultural expectation or common-sense reality (or thought) is put into question by this double use of "even" when talking about older teachers.

However, MD uses this subtle questioning to portray the quality difference he and his colleagues, trained at UEC ("*nous qui venions de Mbouo*"), also prove in out-of-classroom contexts, for example, in encounters with other professional teacher colleagues. MD highlights this quality difference as a cultural capital conferring more symbolic power and recognition in the social space (here, the space of the professional teaching staff). The author uses "*aussi*" referring to the experience of such a teacher quality difference that MG recounts in his biography concerning the surprise of his mathematics colleague after a class session, earning him the nickname of "*grand prof*." (great teacher).

All four interviewees, FN, FT, MG, and MD (former student-teachers of IPSOM-UEC), talk confidently about their former training school and their teaching competencies and students. They explicitly talk about their pride as a community of professional teachers trained at UEC (*alumni*). MD states

that "donc nous avons tendance à être désignés comme rapporteurs, même encore même les chefs d'ateliers". (Therefore, we tend to be chosen as speakers, even heads of workshops). Here, he highlights the contradiction, the surprise or the unexpected incidence related to the dominant common sense about an older form of education and leadership responsibility sustaining world-self-relations in the everyday social life and within professional milieus like that of the teaching profession here discussed. He capitalizes a sociocultural incongruity as a quality hint and pride of young teachers taking the sociocultural risk to make a difference in a professional milieu, dominantly sustained by an older form or frame of reference.

The analysis of autobiographies of private schoolteachers has proven the significance of features of sociocultural backgrounds for becoming qualified teachers in the private education sector in Cameroon. Interpreted as a homologous space of experience, the sociocultural backgrounds of participant teachers oriented/orient their professional development.

Overall, the sociocultural backgrounds of the participants have played a significant role in their professional orientation as well as in their professional development. They constructed a collective frame of orientation about their processes of becoming private school teachers. Also, they shared a collective sociocultural background of an older form of responsibility of education, the general context of professional uncertainties in Cameroon and similar circumstances and motives of adaptation to these uncertainties and the teaching profession in general. This conjunctive space of experience (the space of adaptation as a professional development process) has been sustained using social and cultural capitals both as supporting and restrictive factors to becoming and being teachers within a globally uncertain context of professional orientation in Cameroon.

The used social relations consisted of friendship, relatives (parents, uncle, husband) and professional hierarchies (boss, project coordination staff). The cultural capital comprised the educational backgrounds (school and university level of education) and the common-sense context of community-oriented decision making or problem-solving. Even though the general orientation of the discourse in almost all the biographical stories is ubiquitously construed, the individual adaptation processes entailed a gradual change of the initial incongruency[134] between university studies (and dream professions) and the orientation toward the teaching profession. They all developed a gradual discourse in the form of: "At first, I did not want to be a teacher"; "At the time, due to uncertainties of the professional orientation in Cameroon, I ended up teaching"; "I gradually learned on the job"; "Then, I attend-

---

134 Most of the participants posed this incongruency as the first elaborated proposition to depict the uncertainty of a professional orientation in Cameroon.

ed teacher training courses at IPSOM-UEC"; "Now (or finally), I am proud of (I love) my teaching job."

The interviewed teachers globally constructed a positive image of the result of the teaching profession and, especially, a collective pride as a group of teachers trained at UEC. They talked about their experience at UEC with great confidence and proudly compared the quality of their training to that of older colleagues trained at state teacher-training schools. To a certain extent, the case of MD has proven this transformation process ("radical change") of his world-self-relations, triggered by the problem of frustration, interpreted as a crisis of a "teacher personality."

How far can the different interpretative findings of this study explain the relationship between the actors' SCBs and the quality of their everyday teaching-learning practices in the intercultural interactions during the development of the pedagogical reform projects in EEC Mbouo-Bandjoun? How sound can these findings be to answer the research question related to the significance of the actors' SCBs for a quality teacher education in Africa (with the specific case of EEC projects in Mbouo, Cameroon)? How far can these findings have contributed to the discourse on the gap between a pedagogical reform of the ideas (principles) and the practical teaching realities and the teacher education? What is the significance of this study for EEC educational projects, intercultural/international cooperative pedagogical reform projects, and the discourse of quality teacher education in Africa, particularly Cameroon?

12 Conclusion: The Significance of the SCBs for the Improvement of the QTE in Africa, Cameroon

This conclusion aims at presenting the main results of the interpretation of the empiric material. It comparatively depicts[135] some features of the SCBs structuring the conjunctive orientation space of the participants' experience. It discusses the interpretative findings of the research questions of the study. The chapter proposes a (12.5.) further reflection on the significance of those empiric results of the analysis for the quality of a teacher education and teaching-learning processes in Cameroon, Africa. Finally, it makes some (12.6.) suggestions for further research. As stated in the introduction and the methodology chapters, the work investigated the main research question of how features of the participants' sociocultural backgrounds might play a certain role in the quality of their everyday teaching-learning activities. In other words, it is an interest in the question of how significant such a role could be for the quality of a teacher education and teaching-learning processes. So, how did the analysis and interpretation of the empiric material inform the problem raised in the research questions? This section thematizes the main empiric findings of the investigation of the (12.1.) historical and institutional development of the EEC pedagogical reform projects in Mbouo-Bandjoun, (12.2., and 12.3.) the cases of the classroom discourse in ER and the subsequent group discussion with MP and MT and (12.4.) the autobiographical interviews of primary and secondary school teachers.

12.1 How far Did the Actors' SCBs Play a Certain Role in the Process of the Institutional Development in the History of the Target Projects?

The literary reconstruction and interpretation of the pedagogical reform experiences in Mbouo-Bandjoun, supported by two expert interviews of the "founders," reviewed the institutional development of these projects. In 24 years (1986-2010), the different in-service teacher-training programs and

---

135 Bohnsack and Nohl (2010, p. 106, own translation from the original German text) claim that "the comparative analysis of the Documentary Method is carried out in all steps of the analysis: from formulating and reflective interpretation to the sense-genetic and socio-genetic type formation."

projects have evolved, giving birth to a private protestant university (Hassana, 2013; Kokemohr, 2014; Fonssi, 2018). It was a processual development involving qualitative research, fieldwork, professionalization, and scientific follow-up projects around pedagogical reform ideas of a more learner-centered teaching-learning practice. It is an experience that started small at the micro-level of pedagogical interaction and the micro-analysis of single cases. It is an inductive process developed from practical classroom problems or challenges and contextual and practical qualitative field research.

The project did not only institutionally evolve from a *Pilot School*, an *Ecole de Référence*, a teacher-training college (IPSOM) to a private university (UEC), but also inspired the pedagogical theory of understanding educational processes and their dynamics of a transformation or change in a complex intercultural educational cooperation (Kokemohr, 2007). The latter is the case when speaking of the late Kokemohr and his research interest in pedagogical interaction and a possible transformation or change of fundamental figures of a world-self-relationship.

In this view, the experiences of pedagogical reform projects undergone in Mbouo-Bandjoun, escaped the dominant logic of a top-down reform institutionalization (Kokemohr, 2014), still present in most state experiences in the matter, as the literature review shows and as was discussed in this study. Although the institutional development of the target reform projects was a reform experience in the private education sector of the church, that is, from the field of practice to decision-makers, it experienced institutional challenges of power struggles and individual political and academic interests. In this regard, the exploitation of the biographical "expert" interviews of RK and JBK outlined how those struggles oriented the development process in the history of the projects. Their backgrounds have shaped their commitment to cooperating in the common goal of improving the quality of teaching and learning philosophies, approaches, and practices. Both put their sociocultural differences aside to support their collective (and sometimes subjective[136]) struggle toward this objective.

Therefore, they could transform the external political crisis of (economic) interests into opportunities to emerge a new orientation of the projects. This was manifested in the emergence of an independent frame of a *Pilot School* when JBK was ejected from the direction of CPF, the emergence of a more ambitious concept of the project (CERP) and the creation of IPSOM, especially its transformation into a private university to prevent internal concurrent political and conceptual threads.

136 Here, in terms of political power interests.

12.2 How Did the Features of SCBs Shape the Participants' Activities in Class Conference?

The documentary analysis and interpretation of the transcript displayed some features of SCBs sustaining world- and self-relationships of the participants during the class conference of MP. The class conference's world- and self-relations of the members were structured by the dimensions of social, cultural, and economic capitals[137] that MP and MT, as expert interpreters of the local culture of the ER, theorized on in the subsequent group discussion.

12.2.1 An "Arranger" vs. an "Il Faut" Mode of Problem Solving

The class conference session was set to treat the concrete problem of the lack of brooms in the classroom. The analysis of its transcript reconstructed how the participants in the session dealt with the complexity of this initially concrete and "simple" problem. They adopted the procedure of " *arranger*" and "*discipliner*." "Oui, on peut arranger d'autres et on essaie un plus euh de discipliner la situation//euh l'utilisation."

On the one hand, the proposition of "arranger d'autres" encompassed an ambiguity about "how" to fix up others (techniques to be used) and "who" will do that (agents and responsibility). This ambiguity portrays the complexity of the process of decision making in the class conference, challenging the technical character of "*arranger*" as well as the ascription to the solidarity of the class conference (acting together as a "*nous*"), which is different from the technicality of "*arranger*," rather appealing to individual action, "*je*," or reduced to an anonymous agent "*on*." The contributions in terms of "*nous*" displayed a frame of orientation implicit in a collective or community problem-solving process "nous pouvons arranger d'autres."

On the other hand, the "*il faut*" approach of problem-solving is embodied in the figure of the "*chef*" as an instance of regulation and control of social life. The imperative of "discipliner la situation," reformulated by MP, triggered a change of approach, from "nous pouvons arranger" to "il faut avoir un chef de classe." It is a shift from the "solidarity mode" of action to the regulatory instance of action, from the collective agent "*nous*" to the individual instance "*chef*," who is given the role of control ("pour surveiller"), regulation ("règle la situation") and punishment ("on le punit"). There was a shift from the concrete problem of the lack of brooms to a more complex and

---

137 See Bourdieu's capital theory used for the depiction of figures of world-self-relations in the sense of Koller's theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process.

implicitly more important (for the participants) problem of maintaining social harmony.

Thus, in addition to the concrete problem of a lack of brooms in the classroom, the class conference dealt with a complex holistic situation of classroom life, where the figure of "*chef de class*" appears to be accountable for the classroom management and as a warrant of the solidarity of the group. Beyond the problem of the lack of brooms, the class conference treated the threat to classroom harmony as they saw the necessity of reestablishing a normative hierarchy (*chief*) responsible for the classroom order. The participants of the class conference constructed a complex mode of problem-solving and decision-making around the "*solidarity*" system of "arranger" under the vigilance of a chief. They reproduced the established local social backgrounds ("*chefferie*") in the classroom context and the *habitus* of the social practice of "*solidarity*" as the cultural backgrounds of the group. The conjunction of "*chefferie*" and "*solidarity*" in the form of "*nous*" appears to be a tricky association, shadowing the individual initiatives to foster the inclusion dynamic of the group.

What do these orientation frames tell us about the SCBs of the school community within the sociocultural contexts of the "city village," the missionary station of Mbouo?

12.2.2 *"Il y a Beaucoup de Mots 'Arranger' ici."* *The Orientation Frame of "Arranger"* *in the Bamileké Society*

The analysis of the transcript of the class conference was triangulated with a group discussion with MP and MT, considered to be expert informants, about the SCBs of their classes and the local society. MP and MT reacted with laughter to the question: "What did the pupils understand by '*nous pouvons arranger*'?" This was interpreted by Plessner (1986, p. 152), who considered laughter (as well as crying) as an unbearable explosive reaction to "unanswerable situations in which man cannot orient himself, to which he cannot gain a relationship, whose meaning he cannot see through, which he cannot understand and cannot accept, with which he, therefore, cannot do anything" (own translation). MP and MT lacked words or other immediate means to answer this question, which was so simple that it escaped their immediate reasoning and language use abilities.

The question was odd because it was not expected because "arranger" belongs to the system of common-sense statements, backing MP and MT's world-self-relationship and that of the pupils in the class conference common-sense statements escape the subject's interpretation. In other words, subjects do not need to reflect on their common-sense system of statements in

their everyday life interaction; they implicitly understand each other (Bohnsack, 2010). Consequently, "ils veulent seulement dire 'fabriquer'", replied MP after laughing. After a pause, MP and MT proposed an interpretation of what the pupils meant by "*nous pouvons arranger*."

According to the argumentation/interpretation of MP and MT, the concept of "*arranger*" occupies the axial position in the social action/interaction in the Bamiléké society. The "*arranger*" system of action/interaction serves the goal of harmony and acting/interacting harmoniously to maintain society's stability. In this view, the "*arranger*" system of problem-solving is positively preferred to going to court or having a trial, leading to negative consequences, such as anger and explosion. "*Arranger*," as an informal practice of problem-solving in the community, appeals to social inclusion (harmony) in opposition to the formal procedures of court or trial cases, possibly leading to the social exclusion of individuals. "*Arranger*," as an ax of the world- self-relationships, thus, entails a "*sens divers*," that is, diversity in meaning according to the contexts of use, even though consisting of a linear inclusive social practice (*sens unique*).

The preference for harmony instead of anger/explosion motivates the "*arranger*" frame of orientation in problem-solving. It includes the social group sphere (family, friends) and a barrier to an explosion, division, desegregation, and exclusion. The "*arranger*" practice, thus, appears to be an implicit automated disposition in the social psychology within this culture, where the fear of social exclusion is very serious. Examples of social exclusion in the Bamiléké society and Cameroon are abundant, namely the exclusion of the so-called "*fous*" (Kokemohr, 2018). Therefore, the fear of social exclusion is present in the cultural psychology of people, making them act as a community rather than taking individual action and responsibility. In a society where rapid changes in modernity challenge the established traditions and communitarian social life (Metz, 2015; 2017; see also Foaleng, 2009), the quest for "harmony," social cohesion and stability is a permanent struggle that goes along with the struggle of criticism between the generations.

But, how could this account for a concrete classroom interaction during a lesson?

12.3 How did Features of Actors' SCBs Shape the Interaction Dynamics in the Lesson of MT in Class 6?

The analysis of the material of the lesson of MT in class 6 at the ER showed how the classroom protagonists share a common-sense understanding of

teaching-learning to construct the lesson concerning the usage of water. They share a conjunctive space of experience regarding the explicit and implicit understanding of meaning by distinguishing different spheres or milieus (school vs. street, tradition vs. science), social structures of power relationship (chieftaincy vs. a democratic distribution of the roles, for instance, in group work). The participants capitalized on these backgrounds to construct a communication *habitus* of a collective voice, a culture of group work presentation, a diversity of interaction and diversity of contexts of interpretation of the social, organic, sanitary, and symbolic representations of the theme "*water*."

Sharing a diverse sociocultural background, especially the *habitus* of the distinction and the distribution of social roles (hierarchy from the traditional and the modern/democratic background), the participants developed a diversity of interaction dynamics, alternating facility communication skills in groups, group work, individual speech, and the thematic intercourse with the teacher. This rich sociocultural background of communication or interaction induced a diversity perspective of understanding the theme of water, treating related problems and interrogating established sociocultural beliefs around the concept of water. Therefore, the diversity of the participants' SCBs contributed to developing the listening skills/receptivity of the learners towards the teacher and their peers, their group culture of communication, their liberty of speech and their critical thinking.

The analysis of language use devices in the transcript raised the significance of the SCBs of the teacher MT for the quality of teaching and learning processes during the lesson. It is a dominant frame of orientation in the form of language use, a kind of "form-oriented pedagogical activity" consisting of correcting spelling mistakes and inaccuracies of the grammatical form. This orientation is influenced by the educational experience of MT, which was a difficult experience of the "*fréquenter*" process framed by his struggle against a repetitive failure in oral exams. For instance, the question of the oral examiner was form-oriented (a "malicious game") rather than an objective, content-oriented interrogation. The focus was not on the content, meaning the name of something positioned in the center of the village Mafou, as MT understood it.

From this experience of "failure" in the oral entrance exam to the professional school of social affairs, MT could have understood how important a language form is in the process of "*fréquenter*." Hence, from the recurrence and insistence on form problems in MT's lesson, one could interpret how present this experience is in his everyday pedagogical activities, especially in this lesson. It could be interpreted as the individual sociocultural backgrounds in everyday life experiences. For instance, MT highlights how he could capitalize on his experience as a trainer of Sunday School to integrate and adapt to the teaching profession. His commitment to success in the

schooling process, especially his struggle towards getting the *Probatoire* certificate, makes him open to alternative learning contexts and innovative teaching methods. MT was, for example, open to peer training regarding his colleagues' experiences in teaching from the perspective of the pedagogical reform principles of ER.

Capitalizing on his educational experiences, SCBs and peer training, MT develops professional skills, and his teaching quality improves (the use of diverse methods, diverse teaching-learning environments, the diversity of learning activities and productive interaction dynamics). Like MT, teachers take their sociocultural backgrounds into their teaching activities. Their performance relies not only on their professional training but also on their mastery of the subject they teach and their sociocultural and educational backgrounds, that is, their social, cultural, and educational life experiences. According to the ER principles, the quality of MT's teaching performance could then be interpreted as proof of the sustainability of a pedagogical reform experience of a quality teacher education further implemented in peer training or as a multiplicator effect.

Therefore, it is worth discussing how the interpretative results of this study could contribute (or could have contributed) to answering the question of how features of the SCBs shaped the autobiographical teaching careers of the participants.

12.4 How did the Features of SCBs Shape the Autobiographical Career Experiences of the Participating Teachers?

The empiric reconstruction of the autobiographical goals of two primary school teachers of EEC (MP, MT) and five secondary school teachers in the private education sector in Cameroon resulted in the identification of some homologies in the discourse organization thematic structure of narration and the space of experience. It has also proven the significance of SCBs in becoming teachers in the Cameroonian private educational landscape. For some of the participants, their SCBs were a motivating factor. For others, it was a social constraint. On the one hand, becoming a teacher is being encouraged by relatives (social relations) and loved by the learners (social acknowledgment).

On the other hand, it is a process of being pushed by the relatives, the influence of elders on the professional orientation and the decision making of the younger generation (case of FT, case of MG). Whether motivating or constraining, their SCB constitutes their homologous space of experience

dominantly orienting their decision and goals of becoming teachers in Cameroon's private education sector. It is the dominant frame of orientation, namely the space of "*dans notre contexte ici*."

Therefore, becoming and being a teacher in the Cameroonian private education sector is a matter of "doing what one sees." This metaphor, or common-sense statement, portraying the uncertainties of professional orientation and choice in Cameroon, applies both to the private primary and the secondary education levels and the realities in most professional sectors in the country (and probably in most African countries, too). It is a process of adapting to the circumstances, the sociocultural contexts and the teaching profession. In other words, becoming a teacher in the private education sector is rarely a personal orientation or choice; it is rather described by the interviewees as a process of "just getting occupied," meaning a process of "doing what one sees" or finds as an occupation ("*Ici, au Cameroun, on fait ce que l'on voit.*").

This general frame of a professional orientation is ironically portrayed by a famous Cameroonian comedian, the late Jean Michel Kankan, who, answering a police officer's question about his profession, said: "Ce que je vois je fais, ce que je ne vois pas je ne fais pas." (I do what I see, what I do not see, I do not do.). And, the police officer writes on his identity card "profession: débrouillard" (clever). From the context of comedy, this depiction has become a common-sense portrait of professional uncertainties in the country today. The interviewees describe their way to becoming teachers as a process of adaptation to the dominant frame of orientation. For some, this frame was a generational context characterized by economic constraints (the case of MP), for others, it was the general context of cultural behavior, meaning the cultural orientation (or the *habitus*) of "*Ici, on fait ce que l'on voit.*" Furthermore, the participants developed a homologous structure of narration, putting together different contexts of interpretation to fit the dominant frame of orientation, which, in almost all the cases, was the frame of adaptation. It consists of most learning cases on the job as a frame of orientation for professional development. This is sustained by the educational backgrounds of the teachers constituting the first, and often only, proof of capacity required for their recruitment in private schools.

Lacking a pre-service teacher-training experience, these teachers develop their professional teaching experiences on the job, first by "learning by doing," and then gradually by sporadic participation in in-service teacher-training seminars, organized either by the pedagogical inspectors (as in the case of FN, FC) or by private pedagogical experts from partner organizations, such as Bread for the World (as in the case of MP and other EP-ER teachers in CPF, CERP, IPSOM). Such on-the-job professional development opportunities are rare for teachers in rural areas, who the parents' association generally recruits. These untrained teachers only rely on a professional development

process of learning by doing and on their experiences as learners capitalizing (or imitating) the way they have been taught during their school experiences.

Becoming a teacher in both primary and secondary schools in the private education sector in Cameroon is, therefore, a process of making use of the SCBs to adapt to the global uncertainties of the job market and the difficulties during the teaching process. Consequently, the teachers' sociocultural (and educational) backgrounds have proven significant for their professional development, especially their teaching quality.

Quality teacher education endeavors in private (also in public) education sectors in Cameroon, therefore, rely mainly on learning-by-doing experiences and sometimes on in-service training sessions, constituting the professional adaptation process depicted in the autobiographical stories of the participants of this study. The extent of the self-identification with such an adaptation process of professional development informs about the self-esteem and the self-image or personality of a private school teacher. The more the process is extrinsically triggered and influenced, the more the teaching profession is regarded as "just an occupation," The more teaching becomes an untasty routine of standing in front of the learners. The more the adaptation process becomes intrinsically endeavored, the more it triggers a quality development (or transformation) of the teacher's personality and the profession.

In comparison to this dominant adaptation frame of orientation to becoming a teacher in the private sector of education in Cameroon, monsieur Didier (MD), however, claims to have had a different biographical trajectory. His experience displays a challenging momentum of dealing with the problem of frustration (interpreted as a crisis of personality), which triggered a struggle towards the transformation of self-esteem, self-confidence or an own teacher personality from an always frustrated teacher to a self-imposing teacher personality, from the feeling of always being frustrated to feeling proud of the students and proud of the own performance and of feeling the pleasure of teaching. It is a transformation that could be interpreted as a momentum of *Bildungsprozess,* which is a process of a transformation of a fundamental figure of the world- and self-relations towards the feeling of frustration, hindering the unfolding of the ideal of teacher quality. The experience of MD could, thus, be considered as a more intrinsically triggered development process of becoming a professional private schoolteacher rather than an adaptation process to contextual difficulties around the teaching profession. MD's career development is, thus, construed over time throughout the training and personal struggle against the problem of frustration related to classroom management. Like his other colleagues, MG uses his social capital during his struggle against frustration.

Like MP and MT construct a positive image of being an ER teacher about the innovative teaching principles of *sens divers*, *interaction* and *responsabilité réciproque*, FN, FT, MG and MD depict a positive conjunctive

space of experience of being private college teachers trained at IPSOM and UEC. They portray the professional training as a "difference marker" of quality, constituting their self-esteem/confidence as private school teachers (performance, social recognition, and peer esteem). They also construct a collective positive image of professional teachers on this "difference marker" of quality to gain social and professional recognition. In this sense, their conjunction space of experience as private college teachers, trained at IPSOM and UEC, sustained the expectation of making a quality difference in the teaching processes as well as in external professional activities, such as leading workshops, writing good reports, organizing social events and impacting colleagues.

12.5 How Significant Are the Findings for the QTE in Cameroon, Africa?

The above-presented empiric findings of this study highlighted the importance of a quality teacher education perspective that focuses on improving quality classroom practices. The pedagogical reform experiences of EEC in Mbouo developed in this perspective are successful examples of bottom-up quality reform endeavors in teacher education. They have proven that the more emphasis is placed on the micro-level of concrete teaching-learning interactions, the more quality improvement of teaching-learning processes is developed. The more the problem of a quality teacher education is handled from the classroom situations in interaction with its social, cultural, and environmental contexts, the more success could be perceived.

The downside is that the more administration and policy-dominated pedagogical reform endeavors, the less quality effect observed at the teaching-learning practice level. However, the different conflicts of power interests around or throughout cooperative educational projects constitute challenging drawbacks for the development of a quality teacher education, considering the complex SCBs of participants, when a reform endeavor develops from the participants' problem interests, contexts, and challenges, they can identify themselves with the ideas and principles sustaining it. Therefore, considering the sociocultural backgrounds of the different actors involved in a pedagogical reform project contributes to improving the quality of teaching and learning processes.

12.6 Suggestions for Further Research on the Roles of Actors' SCBs for Quality Teaching and Learning Processes in Cameroon, Africa

As a micro-analysis, the present work did not address a consistent and representative quantity of empirical data about the different cooperative projects experienced in EEC Mbouo-Bandjoun. It neither covered the different factors, interests and angles of research, for instance, the psycho-pedagogical angle and angle of evaluating the effects. Despite the variety of the material analyzed (archives, pictures, classroom discourses, campus discourse, expert interviews, biographical narratives) to gain micro-insights from different pedagogical worlds for an overview of the projects, the study has not produced representative findings concerning the EEC pedagogical reform projects in Mbouo-Bandjoun because all the aspects of the target projects could not be addressed in a single doctoral work. Therefore, the pedagogical reform experiences developed in Mbouo-Bandjoun might provide a framework for further research interests.

Another study could compare expert interviews of the different cooperative partners involved to gain more representative insight into the historical development of the projects. Since the present work only used two expert interviews, its findings are limited to the interpretation perspective of RK and JBK, considered to be the main actors in the development of the projects at the respective levels of field research and scientific development of the reform ideas and the political and strategic of institutional implementation of the projects. However, other actors from both sides could surely provide concurrent or additional historical information about the projects. Thus, a comparative study of more expert interviews (experts from Germany and Cameroon) could improve the quality and the validity of the above-discussed empiric findings. Such a study could interview participants of the project, such as specialists from the EEC education board and German teacher education experts, who cooperated with the EEC to develop in-service teacher-training programs within CPF.

Moreover, interviews with local inhabitants or parents could be interesting for investigating how the projects were/are viewed by the local inhabitants, how significant the projects were for the local community's educational development, and how the projects contributed to the economic and urban development of the locality. All these research interests are valuable in assessing the quality impact of a successful model (though for a limited time of EP, ER) of cooperative research on intercultural pedagogical reform and cooperative intercultural commitment to improving the quality of teaching and learning process in EEC educational systems. For a comparative study of the significance of the actors' SCBs for quality teaching and learning pro-

cesses in classroom situations, many sessions of class conferences could be recorded and analyzed. Many lessons of MT could be compared to lessons of his other colleagues. Lectures at the university level (UEC) could also be recorded and studied to investigate how effective these are on the founding principles of UEC and how working according to these principles brings more quality effects for the various professional training going on UEC.

Further research interests could concern how significant the reform principles of diversity of meaning, interaction and reciprocal responsibility are in advocating and improving an inclusive, diversity-oriented education in the EEC schools. A question might be: How could these founding principles of UEC effectively irrigate its training philosophy and practice for a better-quality emergence, distinction and development in Cameroon? In other words, how could intercultural and international cooperative research and training programs help the UEC qualitatively emerge as an excellent private university institute in Cameroon and Africa?

For more insight into the drawbacks, the conflicts and the forces of the pedagogical research and reform endeavors in Mbouo, other international participants from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Germany, India and Rwanda could be interviewed as well. In this perspective, the aspects of an intercultural and international cooperative interaction within the pedagogical reform projects in Sub-Saharan Africa could be paid more attention to. A question might be: How significant were/are the SCBs of the intercultural and international participants (especially participants from Germany) for the quality improvement of teaching and learning practices within the cooperative pedagogical reform projects in Mbouo? At the beginning of the doctoral studies, the author included a field research stay in PIASS Rwanda and at the *Université Évangélique du Congo*. The intention was to investigate the pedagogical reforms endeavored in similar contexts (cooperation with German scholars and the German protestant services for development EZE-EED-DÜ emerged now in Brot für die Welt), interests (quality improvement of teaching and learning practices within protestant church schools), and conditions (economic crisis, political transition crisis, challenges of social and cultural transformation).

The author could not undertake such a comparative research objective because of time and resource limitations and the topic's scope. However, a comparative research might have given a broader view of the intercultural and international cooperative endeavors of pedagogical reforms in the private education sectors in Sub-Saharan African contexts. Therefore, these fields and research interests are open for future qualitative inquiries related to the question of the roles of the participants' SCBs within cooperative project endeavors of a quality teacher education. It could be worth investigating more on the power relations within the projects to highlight and discuss implicit SCB differences and their potential effects on the development of coop-

erative pedagogical projects. Even though the present work generally addressed the problem of power relationships within the projects of EP, ER, IPSOM, and UEC, this could be more intensely researched, including different narrations of different participants of the projects.

Overall, this investigation has found that features of actors' SCBs back, structure, and sustain inclusion-exclusion dynamics of interaction in everyday social life and thereby in pedagogical interactions in Cameroon, Africa. Communitarian-group dynamics generally orient individual and collective actions, although actors' SCBs in multisocial and multicultural contexts of Cameroon, Africa. Therefore, considering actors' SCBs is significant for QTE in Cameroon, Africa. Effective QTE in Cameroon, Africa, considering this complexity, opens room for diversity, interaction, and reciprocal responsibility in teaching-learning processes. The more pedagogical concepts and reform projects relate and imply actors' SCBs, the more they transform (changing) their teaching and learning routines (habitus), and the more quality develops in the teaching and learning processes. In other words, the success and sustainability of cooperative pedagogical reform projects are deeply linked to how far features of actors' SCBs are taken into consideration.

This qualitative case study provides exciting insights into typical challenging contexts of pedagogical reform projects in international cooperation. It is also an empirical exemplary Cameroonian perspective of research on *Bildungsprozess*. Therefore, the study recommends that the actors' SCBs be considered in reflections on the QTE, the conception, implementation and evaluation of cooperative pedagogical reform projects, the teaching-learning practices in classrooms, and the state's efforts for quality education in Cameroon, Africa.

References

Agbor Eta, E., Vuban Afuh, J. (2018). Educational Policy Borrowing in the Cameroonian Higher Education System: A debatable Paradigm from Stakeholders' Perspectives. In. *FIRE Forum for International Research in Education* 4(3), pp. 77-94, online, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/329415369.

Atangana, E. (1996). *Cent Ans d'Education Scolaire au Cameroun, Réflexion sur la Nature, les Moyens et les Objectifs de l'Entreprise (1885 à nos jours),* (Etudes Africaines). Paris: L'Harmattan.

Atkinson, P. (1988). Ethnomethodology: A Critical Review, In *Annual Reviews Social,* 14: pp. 441-465 www.annualreviews.org/aronline.

Babka, A. und Posselt, G. (Hgs.) (2016). *Homi K. Bhabha Über kulturelle Hybridität, Tradition und Übersetzung*. Wien-Berlin: Verlag Turia + Kant.

Bähr, I., Gebhard, U., Krieger, C., Lübke, L., Pfeiffer, M., Regenbrecht, T., Sabisch, A., Sting, W. (Hrsg.). (2019). *Irritation als Chance Bildung fachdidaktisch denken*. Wiesbaden: Springer.

Banfegha Ngalim, V. (2014). Harmonization of the Educational Sub-Systems of Cameroon: A Multi-cultural Perspective for Democratic Education. In. *Creative Education*, 5, pp. 334-346. http://dx.doi.org/10.4236/ce.2014.55043

Barrett M. A., Chawla-Duggan, R., Lowe, J., Nikel, J., Ukpo, E. (2006). The concept of quality in education: a review of the "international" literature on the concept of quality in education, In *EdQual Working Paper No.3*. EdQual RPC: UK.

Baye, F. (2010). Implications of the Bakassi conflict resolution for Cameroon. In. *AJCR 2010/1, ACCORD.* Online, https://www.accord.org.za/ajcr-issues/implications-of-the-bakassi-conflict-resolution-for-cameroon/.

Beach, W. A. (1982). Everyday interaction and its practical accomplishment: progressive developments in ethnomethodological research. In. Leff Michael, C. (eds.) Book Reviews. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 68, pp. 314-344.

Belibi, A. (2010). De la réalité d'un enseignement enraciné au Cameroun. In: Foaleng, Michel (sous la direction). *Des innovations pédagogiques dans les systèmes éducatifs en Afrique* (coll. Penser l'éducation). Yaoundé: éditions terroirs, pp. 81-88.

Berger, P. et Luckmann, T. (2005). *La construction sociale de la réalité*. Paris: Armand Colin.

Betché, Z. (2016). *Le phénomène Boko Haram: Au-delà du radicalisme*, (Coll. Ètudes africaines, Série Politique). Paris: L'Harmattan.

Bhabha, H. K. (2011). *Die Verortung der Kultur*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag.

Biko, S. (2004). *I Write What I Like*. Johannesburg: Picador Africa.

Bikoï, F. N. (2008). L'aventure ambiguë d'un pays bilingue. Le cas du Cameroun, Documents pour l'histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde [En ligne], 40/41 2008, mis en ligne le 17 décembre 2010, online: http://journals.openedition.org/dhfles/451. Retrieved on Avril 19, 2019.

Biya, P. (1987/2018). *Pour le libéralisme communautaire*, Lausanne: Favre.

Blumer, H. (1969/1986). *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*, 1st ed. Prentice-Hall, Inc.: Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 2nd ed. (1986). Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

Bohnsack, R. (2014). *Rekonstruktive Sozialforschung, Einführung in qualitative Methoden*, (9. Auflage). Opladen & Toronto: Verlag Barabara Budrich.

Bohnsack, R. (2017). *Praxeologische Wissenssociologie*, Opladen & Toronto: Verlag Barbara Budrich.

Bohnsack, R. (2018). Praxeological Sociology of Knowledge and Documentary Method: Karl Mannheim's framing of empirical research, In Kettle, D. and Meja, V. (Hgs.) *The Anthem Companion to Karl Mannheim.* London, New York, Delhi: Anthem, pp. 199-220.

Bohnsack, R., Hoffmann, N. F., Nentwig-Gesemann, I. (Hrsg.) (2018). *Typenbildung und Dokumentarische Grundlagen.* Opladen, Berlin, Toronto: Verlag Barabara Budrich.

Bohnsack, R., Nentwig-Gesemann I., Nohl, A.-M. (Hrsg.) (2013). *Die Dokumentarische Methode und ihre Forschungspraxis*, (3. Auflage). Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Bohnsack, R., Pfaff, N. and Weller, W. (eds.) (2010). *Qualitative Analysis and Documentary Method in International Educational Research*. Barbara Budrich Publishers: Opladen & Farmington Hills.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In. J. Richardson (ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood Press, pp. 241-258.

Bourdieu, P. ([1990] 2010). *The logic of Practice*. Stanford University Press: Stanford.

Bourgonje, P., Tromp, R. (2011). *Des éducateurs de qualité: Etude international des compétences et normes régissant la profession enseignante*. International de l'Education et Oxfam Novib. Paris: UNESCO.

Breton, R., et Fohtung, B. (1991). *Atlas administratif des langues nationales au Cameroun*. Paris: ACCT; Yaoundé: MESIRES/CERDOTOLA.

Brousseau, G. (1986). *Fondements et méthodes de la didactique des mathématiques. Recherche en didactique des mathématiques*. Grenoble: La Pensée Sauvage.

Brousseau, G. (1998). *Théorie des situations didactiques*, Grenoble: La Pensée Sauvage.

Campbell, E., Brennan, J. H. (1994). *Dictionary of Mind, Body and Spirit: Ideas, people, and places*, Harper Collins Publishers. Collins COBUILD online Dictionary, retrieved on January 29, 2021, https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/cultural-background.

Cappai, G. (2010). Die unbewältigten Aufgaben der Kulturforschung. Ein handlungstheoretischer Aufriss. In. Cappai, Gabriele; Shimada, Shingo und Straub, Jurgen (Hg.) *Interpretative Sozialforschung und Kulturanalyse: Hermeneutik und die komparative Analyse kulturellen Handelns*. Bilefeld: transkript Verlag, pp. 11-35.

Clandinin, D. J., and Husu, J. (eds.) (2017). The SAGE Handbook of Research on Teacher Education (Volume 2), SAGE: Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington DC, Melbourne.

Clandinin, D. J., Long, J., Schaefer, L., Downey, C. A., Steeves, P., Pinnegar, E., Robblee, S., Wnuk, S. (2015). Early career teacher attrition: intentions of teachers beginning, Teaching Education, pp. 1-16. retrieved on March 5, 2021,

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/271603222_Early_career_teacher_attrit ion_intentions_of_teachers_beginning,

Combe, A. und Gebhard, U. (2012). *Verstehen im Unterricht. Die Rolle von Phantasie und Erfahrung.* Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Cros, F., De Ketele, J.-M., Dembélé, M., Develay, M., Gauthier, R.-F., et al., (2009). Étude sur les réformes curriculaires par l'approche par compétences en Afrique. [Rapport de recherche] Centre international d'études pédagogiques (CIEP).

D'ambrosio, U. (2001). What is ethnomathematics, and how can it help children in schools? In: *Teaching Children Mathematics 7(6)*. Reston, pp. 308-310.

Deltombe, T., Domergue, M., Tatsitsa, J. (2016). *La guerre du Cameroun, l'invention de la Francafrique*. Paris: La Découverte.

Ducrot, O. (1991/2003). *Dire et ne pas dire: Principes de sémantique linguistique*, (Coll. Savoir: Sciences). Paris: Hermann.

Eboussi Boulaga, F. (1977). *La crise du Muntu, authenticité africaine et philosophie*, Paris Dakar: Présence Africaine.

Eboussi Boulaga, F. (2010). Principes et objectifs de l'Ipsom. In. Foaleng, Michel (sous la direction) *Des innovations pédagogiques dans les systèmes éducatifs en Afrique* (coll. Penser l'éducation). Yaoundé: éditions terroirs, pp. 31-34.

EFA/GMR (2004) Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2005: The quality imperative. Paris: UNESCO.

EFA/GMR (2012). Policy Paper 04: Reaching out-of-school children is crucial for development. Paris: UNESCO.

EFA/GMR (2013a). Policy Paper 06: Education for All is affordable by 2015 and beyond, Paris: UNESCO.EFA/GMR (2013b) 2013 Education for All Global Monitoring Report: Teaching and learning for Development. Paris: UNESCO.

Ekane, W. N. (1992. Summative evaluation of an experimental bilingual program in Cameroon. In. *Studies in Educational Evaluation*. Vol. 18. Great Britain: Pergamon Press Ltd, pp. 207-220.

Ekembe, E. (2008). Education, Human Behaviour, and the Pedagogic Approach of IPSOM, contribution in colloquium IPSOM February 2008.

Eloundou, E. D. (2008). Disciplines dites de "mémoire" et sens divers, mariage impossible? Le cas de l'Histoire, contribution au colloque de février 2008.

Eloundou, E. D. (2009). Innovation pédagogique: un impératif pour l'école d'aujourd'hui et de demain? In. *L'Ecole dans les sociétés africaines en mutation: Défis, enjeux et perspectives,* (Coll: Penser l'Education). Yaoundé: Editions Terroirs, pp. 85-88.

Eribon, D. ([2009]2010). *Retour à Rheims*, Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, Flammarion.

Everett ([2009] 2010). *Don't sleep, there are snakes: Life and language in the Amazonian Jungle*. London: Profil books.

Florian von Rosenberg (2016). Education as habitus transformation. In: *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 48:14, pp. 1486-1496.

Foaleng, M. (2005). *Schulreform, Nord-Süd-Kooperation und postkoloniale Gesellschaft: Anspruch und Wirklichkeit eines Reformansatzes in Bandjoun (Kamerun).* Frankfurt am Main: IKO.

Foaleng, M. (2006). IPSOM: Bilan de l'année académique 2005/2006, une esquisse. (Report not published).

Foaleng, M. (2008a). A l'école comme dans une chefférie Bamiléké? Des fondements de l'approche IPSOM, contribution 3 au colloque IPSOM février 2008.

Foaleng, M. (2008b). L'ISP et les enjeux actuels des institutions de formation des enseignants en Afrique, contribution 4 au colloque IPSOM février 2008.

Foaleng, M. (sous la direction) (2010). *Des Innovations pédagogiques dans les systèmes éducatifs en Afrique* (Coll. Penser l'éducation). Yaoundé: éditions terroirs.

Foaleng, M., Kenmogne, J.-B. (sous la direction) (2009). *L'école dans les sociétés africaines en mutation: défis, enjeux et perspectives*, (Coll. Penser l'éducation). Yaoundé: éditions terroirs.

Fonkeng, E. G. (2007). *The History of education in Cameroon*, *1844-2004*. New York: Edwin Melle Press.

Fonkoua, P. (2005). Les dispositifs de formation des enseignants. In. *Capacity Building of Teacher Training Institutions in Sub-Saharan Africa Les institutions de formation des enseignants en Afrique sub-saharienne Pour un renforcement des capacités*. Paris: UNESCO, pp. 109-119.

Fonssi, E. (2008). Réception du projet IPSOM par les enseignants de l'ER: Enjeux scientifiques, organisationnels et éthiques, contribution colloque IPSOM février 2008.

Fonssi, E. (2012). *L'Université autrement, les principes de base de l'Université Évangélique du Cameroun et leurs enjeux de transformation sociale* (Cahiers de l'Université Évangélique du Cameroun N°3). Mbouo/Bandjoun: Presses de l'UEC.

Fonssi, E. (2016). *La qualité de l'éducation au Rwanda, Rapport d'une mission de découverte d'une équipe de l'Université évangélique du Cameroun*. (Cahiers de l'Université Évangélique du Cameroun N°3). Mbouo-Bandjoun: Presses de l'UEC.

Fonssi, E. (2018). *L'école autrement: esquisse d'une pédagogie active et créative*. Yaoundé: Éditions Clé.

Foucault, M. (1979). *Omnes et Singulatim: Towards a Criticism of 'Political Reason,'* The Tanner Lectures on Human Values, delivered at Stanford University (October 10 and 16, 1979) online https://tannerlectures.utah.edu/_documents/a-to-z/f/foucault81.pdf.

Gade, C.B.K. (2012). What is *Ubuntu*? Different Interpretations among South Africans of African Descent. In. *South African Journal of Philosophies*. (Volume 31, Issue 3). pp.48-503.

Garfinkel, H. ([1967] 2003). *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gass-Bolm, T. (2005). *Das Gymnasium 1945-1980. Bildungsreform und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Westdeutschland*. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag.

Gbadegesin, S. (1991). *African philosophy: Traditional Yoruba Philosophy and contemporary African realities*. New York: Peter Lang.

GCE Global Campain for Education (2012). Closing the trained teacher gap, GCE: Johannesburg.

Glewwe, P. W.; Hanushek, E. A.; Humpage, S. D., Ravina, R. (2011). *School Resources and Educational Outcomes in Developing Countries: a review of the literature from 1990 to 2010,* online: https://www.nber.org/papers/w17554.

Goffman, E. (1959). The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. p.17-25. From *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York: The Overlook Press, 1959). Online

http://crossculturalleadership.yolasite.com/resources/Goffman%20%281959%29 %20Presentation%20of%20Self%20in%20Everyday%20Life.pdf. Retrieved on 26.04.2021.

Golder, B. (2007). Foucault and the Genealogy of Pastoral Power, *Review of* Michel Foucault. *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France*, 1977-1978. New York & Basingstoke: Trans. Graham Burchell, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 384, online http://ssrn.com/abstract=1348831.

Gumperz, J. J. and Levinson, St. C. (1996). *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity,* (Studies in Social and Cultural Foundations of Language 7). Cambridge Cambridge: University Press.

Gyekye, K. (2004). *Beyond cultures*. Washington, DC: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy.

Haiden, W. (1987). *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Hameni, B. (2005). *Les méthodes actives dans le système éducatif camerounais: le cas de la NAP dans l'enseignement de la philosophie en classes de terminale à Yaoundé.*, Master's Work, Université de Rouen, online, https://www.memoire online.com/05/08/1095/m_methodes-actives-systeme-educatif-camerounais0.html consulted on october 14.

Harker, R. K. (1984). On Reproduction, Habitus and Education, In *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 5:2, pp. 117-127.

Hartmann, K., Nyssen, F., Waldeyer, H. (Hg.) (1974). *Schule und Staat im 18. Und 19. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt am Main: Edition suhrkamp.

Hassana, H. (2013). *Recherche d'Accompagnement du* Forum Hebdomadaire pour la redynamisation des Principes Fondateurs de l'Université Evangélique du Cameroun, Mémoire de Master II en Sciences de l'Education, Mbouo-Bandjoun, FSE-UEC.

Hauser, M. D., Chomsky, N., and Fitch, Tecumseh W. (2002). The Faculty of Language: What Is It, Who Has It, and How Did It Evolve? In: *Science, New Series*, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Vol. 298, No. 5598 (Nov. 22, 2002), pp. 1569-1579.

Heath, S. (1986). Sociocultural contexts of language development. *Beyond language: Social and cultural factors in schooling language minority students*. Los Angeles: CA: Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center, pp.143-186.

Heinrich, M. and Wernet, A. (Hrsg.) (2018). *Rekonstruktive Bildungsforschung, Zugänge und Methoden.* (Band 13). Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Holstein, J. and Gubrium, J. F. (1997). *Active Interviewing.* In. Qualitative research: Theory and Practice. SAGE: pp. 113-129.

Hörner, W. (1978). L'évolution de la notion de culture dans la discussion pédagogique française. Paedagogica Historica, 18:2, pp. 342-355.

Hotou, G. et Fozing, I. (2016). *Enseigner la culture nationale au Cameroun, Résistences, approches, défis* (Coll. Enseignement et éducation en Afrique). Paris: L'Harmattan. http://www.public.asu.edu/~gelderen/Hauser2002.pdf, retrieved on April 23, 2021.

Humboldt, W. v. ([1960] 1981). *Werke in fünf Bänden*. In: Flitner, *v*. A., Giehl, u. K. (Hrsg). Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Husserl, E. ([1913] 1982). *Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and to a phenomenological philosophy*, (Vol.1: General Introduction to a Pure Phenomenology). The Hague: Nijhoff.

Ingris, C. (1996). Multiculturalism, New policy responses to diversity. In. UNESCO, *Development, and the Differentiation of Growth Patterns*, History and Observation of Social Transformations (HOST), (Policy Paper N°4, 1995). Network, Vietnam: MOST/Statistical Publishing House.

International Crisis Group (2017). Cameroon's Anglophone Crisis at the Crossroads, In *Africa Report* N°250.

IPAM (1978). *Pédagogie pour l'Afrique nouvelle, Guide des enseignants et responsables de l'éducation, élèves-Maîtres, instituteurs, conseillers pédagogiques et élèves-inspecteurs*. Paris: Edicef.

Iroegbu, P. (2005). Beginning, purpose and end of life. In. Iroegbu, P. & Echekwube, A. (Eds.), *Kpim of morality ethics* (pp. 440–445). Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books.

Jamil Salmi et al. (2002). *Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Education.* Washington, D.C: The World Bank.

Jardin, E. (2003). *Une école pour la modernité? Le Collège Lycée Expérimental d'Hérouille-Saint-Clair,* (coll: Savoir et Formation). Paris: L'Harmattan, p. 265.

Kä Mana (2009). Juguler la crise du système éducatif en Afrique: le problème et ses dimensions. In. *L'Ecole dans les sociétés africaines en mutation: Défis, enjeux et perspectives,* (Coll: Penser l'Education). Yaoundé: éditions terroirs, pp. 17-29.

Kä Mana (2012a). *L'éducation scolaire en Africque entre crise et pratiques de réforme: Paroles d'un pédagogue camerounais, Michel Moukouri (*Cahiers de l'UEC N°6). Bandjoun: Presses de l'UEC.

Kä Mana (2012b). *Éduquer l'imaginaire africain, Le devoir d'aujourd'hui et les enjeux d'avenir (*Cahiers de l'UEC N°4), Bandjoun: Presses de l'UEC.

Kalafunja Mlang'a O-Saki (2005). Pre-service Teacher Education Programmes. In: *Capacity Building of Teacher Training Institutions in Sub-Saharan Africa Les institutions de formation des enseignants en Afrique sub-saharienne Pour un renforcement des capacités*. Paris: UNESCO, pp. 120-122.

Kant, I. (1900). *On Education,* (über Pädagogik) *Thoughts on Education,* translated into English by Annette Churton, with an Introduction by C.A. Foley Rhys Davids. Boston, USA: D.C: Heath & CO. Publishers.

Kanu, Y. (2003). Curriculum as Cultural Practice: Postcolonial Imagination. In. *Journal of the Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies, Volume 1, Number 1. Online,* https://www.researchgate.net/publication/251585994.

Kenmogne, J.-B. (2003). L'IPSOM dans le contexte de l'enseignement protestant au Cameroun, Forum de présentation de l'Institut Pédagogique pour Sociétés en Mutation (IPSOM) le vendredi 10 janvier 2003 au Centre Polyvalent de Mbouo/Bandjoun.

Kenmogne, J.-B. (2007). Une ambition novatrice dans le champ éducatif camerounais l'Institut Supérieur de Pédagogie pour Société en Mutations (IPSOM), Communication à la deuxième Conférence sur l'Enseignement Supérieur et Universitaire Protestant en République Démocratique du Congo à Kinshasa du 30 juillet au 4 août 2007.

Kenmogne, J.-B. (2009). L'ISP-IPSOM, une expérience féconde d'engagement protestant dans l'éducation, Intervention lors de la Journée de réflexion sur le thème:

Responsabilité protestante et éducation au Cameroun, Yaoundé, UPAC, le 9 octobre 2009.

Kenmogne, J.-B. (2012). *Pour une révolution de l'école par la révolution de l'intelligence* (Cahiers de l'Université Évangélique du Cameroun N°1). Mbouo-Bandjoun: Presses de l'UEC.

Kenmogne, J.-B. and Kokemohr, R. (1990). Communication interculturelle et pédagogie de réforme.

Kenmogne, J.-B. and Kokemohr, R. (1993). Conditions for the successful development of an École Pilote, Project proposal document.

Kenmogne, J.-B. et Kä Mana (2002). *Pour la vie en abondance, l'expérience du Cercle International pour la Promotion de la Création* (CIPCRE) (Coll. Foi et Action N°1). Bafoussam: CIPCRE-Edition.

Kenmogne, J.-B. et Kä Mana (2010). *Manifeste pour l'Université de la Renaissance Africaine: les nouveaux enjeux de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche universitaire en Afrique*, Bandjoun: Presses de l'UEC.

Kokemohr, R. (1989). Bildung als Begegnung? Logische und kommunikationstheoretische Aspekte der Bildungstheorie Erich Wenigers und ihre Bedeutung für biographische Bildungsprozesse in der Gegenwart. In. Hansmann/Marotzki (Hrsg.). *Diskurs Bildungstheorie II: Problemgeschichtliche Orientierungen. Rekonstruction der Bildungstheorie unter Bedingungen der gegenwärtigen Geselschaft.* Weinheim: Deutscher Studien Verlag, pp.327-372.

Kokemohr, R. (1996a). Ecole Pilote de Mbo, Cameroun – Schulreform in Schwarz Afrika. In. *EWI-Report. Nr. 14*, Hamburg.

Kokemohr, R. (1996b). Einige Bemerkungen zur Tradition, zum gesellschaftlichen Umbruch und zur professionellen Lehrerausbildung.

Kokemohr, R. (1998). L'idée et les principes à la base du projet de l'Ecole Pilote de Mbô.

Kokemohr, R. (1999a). Les sociétés en transition, l'exigence de l'école et la formation des enseignants, communication au colloque de Batié.

Kokemohr, R. (1999b). *On* – Vagheit des Sprachgebrauchs und soziale Synthese, in: *Sprachtheorie und sprachliches Handeln*. Tübingen 1999, pp. 143-158.

Kokemohr, R. (2001). Inferential analysis as qualitative methodology: case studies in biographic research. State University of Taiwan, Taipei.

Kokemohr, R. (2002a). Die Ecole de Référence von Mbouo, Kamerun.

Kokemohr, R. (2002b). Biographical Analysis and Educational Science, an Introduction to the workshop on March 29 and 30. Cheng-Chi University, Taipei.

Kokemohr, R. (2003). Zeitartikulationen autobiographischer Texte – eine Skizze im Kulturvergleich. In. Andreas Kablitz, Wulf Oesterreicher, Rainer Tarning (Hrsg.) *Zeit und Text, Philosophische, kulturanthropologische, literarhistorische und linguistische Beiträge*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, pp. 146-180.

Kokemohr, R. ([2005] 2009b). Idées et principes de l'IPSOM. In. *L'Ecole dans les sociétés africaines en mutation: Défis, enjeux et perspectives,* (Coll: Penser l'Education). Yaoundé: éditions terroirs, pp. 129-132.

Kokemohr, R. (2007a). Bildung als Welt- und Selbstentwurf im Fremden. Eine theoretisch-empirische Annäherung an eine Bildungsprozesstheorie. In. Hans-Christoph Koller, Winfried Marotzki, Olaf Sanders, *Bildungsprozesse und Fremdheitserfahrung. Beiträge zu einer Theorie transformatorischer Bildungsprozesse*. Bielefeld: Transkript, pp. 13-68.

Kokemohr, R. (2007b). Geglaubte Wirklichkeit – kulturelle Kontexte abweichenden Verhaltens in der Bamiléké-Gesellschaft. In. *Psychotherapie und Sozialwissenschaft.* Zeitschrift für qualitative Forschung und klinische Praxis, 9. Jg, 2/2007, pp. 117-131.

Kokemohr, R. (2007c). Quelques dispositions biographiques du côté des étudiants de l'IPSOM, Contribution au premier atelier de recherche d'accompagnement de l'IPSOM, Février 2007, IPSOM, Bandjoun.

Kokemohr, R. (2008). Recherche et enseignement au niveau des études universitaires et analogie structurelle entre la pensée et une certaine pédagogie à l'époque de la mondialisation, Contributions soumises à l'Atelier de recherche d'accompagnement du projet IPSOM sous le thème général de *Recherches éducatives et pesanteurs socioculturelles en Afrique: incarner les principes de l'IPSOM dans une pédagogie concrète,* IPSOM, Bandjoun.

Kokemohr, R. (2009a). Pour une pédagogie de la créativité. In. *L'Ecole dans les sociétés africaines en mutation: Défis, enjeux et perspectives,* (Coll: Penser l'Education). éditions terroirs: Yaoundé, pp. 89-108.

Kokemohr, R. (2009b). L'Education en Afrique et ses enjeux Nord-Sud. In. *L'Ecole dans les sociétés africaines en mutation: Défis, enjeux et perspectives,* (Coll: Penser l'Education). éditions terroirs: Yaoundé, pp. 129-132.

Kokemohr, R. (2011). Défis des sociétés africaines et les études universitaires. Communication du 24 février à l'UEC, Bandjoun.

Kokemohr, R. (2012/2016). Does linear education meet the requirements of complex societies? (Draft, Communication in Taiwan, March 6, 2012, actualized January 6, 2016).

Kokemohr, R. (2015). Fremdheit im schulischen Einheitsprinzip des Wissens. In. Buchenhorst, R. (Hg.). *Von Fremdheit Lernen. Zum produktiven Umgang mit Erfahrungen des Fremden im Kontext der Globalisierung.* (Global Studies). transcript Verlag: Bielefeld, pp. 41-68.

Kokemohr, R. (2017). Der Bildungsvorhalt im Bildungsprozess. In. Chr. Thompson, S. Schenk (Hg.), *Pädagogische Zwischenwelten.* Schöningh: Paderborn, pp. 173-194.

Kokemohr, R. (2018b). Der Bildungsprozess – einige Grundlagen und ein Beispiel empirisch gehalvoller Analyse und Interpretation: Notes for his communications in *Wittenberger Gespräch* 26.04.2018.

Kokemohr, R. (2019). Wahrheit, Gewisheit, Ungewissheit: eine Skizze systematisch und empirisch gehaltvoller Bildungsprozessetheorie und ihre didaktische Bedeutung. In. I. Bähr et al. (Hrsg.) *Irritation als Chance Bildung fachdidaktisch denken.* Springer: Wiesbaden.

Kokemohr, R. (2021). Der Bildungsprozess – ein "Verfahren der Einbildungskraft, einem Begriff sein Bild zu verschaffen". In. Koller, Hans-Christoph; Sanders, Olaf (Hrsg.): *Rainer Kokemohrs Der Bildungsprozess und sechs Antwortversuche.* Transcript: Bielefeld. Forthcoming

Kokemohr, R. and Chan J. C. (2018a). *Intercultural Pedagogical Reflections on Taiwan's Education.* Chengchi University press: Chengchi.

Koller, H.-Ch. (2009). Bildung als Habituswandel? Zur Bedeutung der sozialisationstheorie Bourdieus für ein Konzept transformatorischer Bildungsprozesse. In. J. Budde & K. Willems (Eds.), *Bildung als sozialer Prozess. Heterogenitäten, Interaktionen, Ungleichheiten.* Weinheim: Juventa, pp. 19-34.

Koller, H.-Ch. (2010/2017). *Grundbegriffe, Theorien und Methoden der Erziehungs-wissenschaft: Eine Einführun*g. (5. Auflage bzw. 8. aktualisierte Auflage). Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag.

Koller, H.-Ch. (2011). The Research of Transformational Education Processes: exemplary considerations on the relation of the philosophy of education and educational research*.* In. *European Educational Research Journal*. Vol. 10; Number 3. www.wwwords.eu/EERJ.

Koller, H.-Ch. (2016). Ist jede Transformation als Bildungsprozess zu begreifen? Zur Frage der Normativität des Konzepts transformatorischer Bildungsprozesse. In. D. Verständig et al. (Hrsg.), *Von der Bildung zur Medienbildung,* (Medienbildung und Gesellschaft 31). Wiesbaden: Springer.

Koller, H.-Ch. (2017). *Bildung* as a Transformative Process. In. A. Laros et al. (Eds.), *Transformative Learning Meets Bildung*. Chapter 3, p.33–42. Sense Publishers*.*

Koller, H.-Ch. (2018). *Bildung anders denken, Einführung in die Theorie transformatorischer Bildungspozesse*. (2. aktualisierte Auflage). Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag.

Koller, W. (2011). *Einführung in die Übersetzungswissesnchaft.* (8. Auflage). Tübingen und Basel: A. Francke Verlag UTB.

Kouega, J.-P. (2018). The Anglophone Problem in Cameroon: Focus on Education. *Open Access Library Journal, 5, e4408.* Online, https://doi.org/10.4236/oalib.1104408.

Laburthe-Tolra, P. and Warnier, J.-P. (2003). *Ethnologie-Anthropologie*. Quadrige/PUF: Paris.

Laroche, S. (1998). Les mécanismes de la mémoire. In. *Pour la Science*, *N°254.* Online file:///C:/Users/WISSMI~1.DES/AppData/Local/Temp/LAROCHE-Pour_la_Science-1.pdf.

Luckmann, T. ([1970] 1983). On the boundaries of the Social World, In. *Life-world and Social realities*. London: Heinemann, pp. 40-67.

Makaké, M.; Soffo, P-C.; Kengne, J.-P. (1998). Les différentes formes de responsabilité réciproque dans la tradition Bamiléké et à l'Ecole Pilote, *Symposium de Hambourg*, Université de Hambourg.

Mapto Kengne, V. (1998). Des systèmes de formation sous influence, *Revue internationale d'éducation de Sèvres* [En ligne] mis en ligne le 17 avril 2013, http://journals.openedition.org/ries/2846, retrieved on Avril 19, 2019.

Marotzki, W. (1990). *Entwurf einer strukturalen Bildungstheorie: Biographietheoretische Auslegung von Bildungsprozessen in hochkomplexen Gesellschaften*. Studien zur Philosophie und Theorie der Bildung 3. Weiheim: Deutscher Studien Verlag.

Materu, P. (2007). Higher Education Quality Assurance in Sub-Saharan Africa: Status, Challenges, and Promising Practices. In. *World Bank Working Paper No.124*. Washington, D.C: The World Bank.

Mballa Ze, et Nkeck Bidias, R. S. (2015). L'APC et sa contribution à la qualité de l'éducation. Communication au Séminaire-Atelier sur le thème: L'APC et la PAC: Quels enseignements pour améliorer la qualité de l'Education? Mbouo-Bandjoun, UEC.

Mbuyinga, E. (1989). *Tribalisme et problème national en Afrique Noire*, Paris: L'Harmattan.

Mead, B.H. (1992). *Mind, Self and Society: from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist.* Edited and with an Introduction by Charles W. Morris. Chicago And London: The University of Chicago Press, Online, http://tankona.free.fr/mead1934.pdf.

Mehan, H. and Wood, H. (1975). *The reality of ethnomethodology*. New York, London, Sydney, Toronto: John Wiley and Sons.

Meppa, W. S. (2008). Approche de l'IPSOM et pratiques didactiques en classe de lecture. Communication au colloque de recherche d'accompagnement du projet IPSOM, Mbouo-Bandjoun.

Messina, J.-P. and Van Slageeren, J. (2005). *Histoire de la mission protestante au Cameroun*, *des origines à nos jours: approche œcuménique*. Paris: Editions Karthala et Yaoundé: Editions Clé.

Metz, T. (2009). The Final Ends of Higher Education in Light of an African Moral Theory. In. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, Vol. 43, No. 2.

Metz, T. (2013). Communitarian Ethics and Work-Based Education: Some African Perspectives. In: Gibbs, Paul (Ed.) *Learning, Work and Practice: New Understandings*. Dordrecht, Heidelberg, New York, London: Springer, pp. 191-206.

Metz, T. (2014). Harmonizing global ethics in the future: a proposal to add south and east to west, *Journal of Global Ethics*, 10:2, pp. 146-155. https://doi.org/10.1080/17449626.2014.931875.

Metz, T. (2015). How the West Was One: The Western as individualist, the African as communitarian. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 47:11, 1175-1184, DOI: 10.1080/00131857.2014.991502.

Metz, T. (2017). Replacing Development: An Afro-Communal Approach to Global Justice, *Philosophical Papers*, 46:1, pp. 111-137, online, https://doi.org/10.1080/05568641.2017.1295627.

Mezirow, J. (1991). Transformative Dimensions of Adult Learning. Jossey-Bass: San Francisco.

Mills, C. (2008). Reproduction and transformation of inequalities in schooling: the transformative potential of the theoretical constructs of Bourdieu. In. *British Journal of Sociology of Education.* Vol. 29, No. 1, January 2008, pp. 79-89.

Mokgoro, Y. (1998). Ubuntu and the Law in South Africa. In. *Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal 1* (1). Pp. 15-26.

Momanyi, M. (2016). Enhancing Quality Teacher Education Programs in Developing Countries, retrieved on May 31, 2019, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/307040922_Enhancing_Quality_Teacher_Education_Programs_in_Developing_Countries.

Moukoko Priso, P. (1999). L'auto-formation par rapport aux besoins des pays africains.

Moukoko Priso, P. (2008). Projet IPSOM, risques d'involutions et concepts de réflexivité, contribution au colloque IPSOM février 2008.

Moukoko Priso, P. (2009). Mathématiques abstraites, mathématiques concrètes: éléments pour les les 'maths utiles' en Afrique. In. Foaleng, M et Kenmogne, J.B. (sous la direction) *L'école dans les sociétés africaines en mutation: défis, enjeux et perspectives*, (coll. Penser l'éducation). Yaoundé: éditions terroirs, pp. 177-191.

Moukoko Priso, P. (2012). *Innovation et dynamisation pédagogiques, L'expérience de l'Université Évangélique du Cameroun.* (Cahiers de l'UEC, N°2). Mbouo-Bandjoun: Presses de l'UEC.

Mpoche, K. (2008). The IPSOM Approach and Local Pedagogical Exigencies. Communication during the colloquium of February 2008 at IPSOM, Mbouo-Bandjoun.

Ngonga, H. (2010). *Efficacité comparée de l'enseignement public et privé au Cameroun. Education.* Thèse de doctorat en sciences économiques, Université de Bourgogne, 2010. Français.

Njimoluh, H. K. (2010). *Les Fonctions politiques de l'école au Cameroun, 1916-1976.* Paris: L'Harmattan.

Nkemleke, D. (2010). Methodological issues in the teaching and learning of English as Second/Foreign language. In. Foaleng, Michel (sous la direction) *Des innovations pédagogiques dans les systèmes éducatifs en Afrique.* (coll. Penser l'éducation). Yaoundé: éditions terroirs, pp. 53-64.

Nkemleke, D. (2011). *Exploring academic writing in Cameroon English: A corpus-based perspective* (REAL Studies 6). Cuvillier Verlag: Göttingen.

Nkemleke, D. (2015). Teaching English in the 21st century: Some Methodological Approaches. A Lecture presented on May 22, 2015, during a pedagogical exchange with the Team of ISTP-Bamenda at the Faculty of Education, Mbouo-Bandjoun, UEC.

Nkoutchou, H. (2018). Report on Cameroon's 2019 Budget. Yaoundé: Nkafu Policy Institute, Denis & Lenora Foretia Foundation.

Nohl, A.-M. (2017). *Interview und Dokumentarische Methode*, *Anleitungen für die Forschungspraxis.* (5. aktualisierte und erweiterte Auflage), Qualitative Sozialforschung, Springer VS: Wiesbaden.

Nsamenang A., Bame and Tchombe M. S. Th. (eds.) (2012). *Handbook of African Educational theories and practices: A generative teacher education curriculum.* Bamenda: Human Development Resource Centre (HDRC).

OECD (2010). *Résultats PISA 2009: Synthèse.* (Voir aussi www.pisa.oecd.org ou www.oecd.org.

OECD (2012). Does Money Buy Strong Performance in PISA? *PISA* in *Focus 13.*

OEPP (2002). *Rapport 1er Forum de Yaoundé 2001: Enseignement Protestant au Cameroun, Éducation chrétienne gage de la transformation sociale et spirituelle au Cameroun.* Yaoundé: OEPP.

PASEC (2016). PASEC 2014 – Performances du système éducatif Camerounais: Compétences et facteurs de réussite au primaire. Dakar: PASEC, CONFEMEN.

Paynay, L. (2005). Au-delà des cloisonnements entre divers types de recherche, quels critères de qualité, in: Paghay, L; Crahay, M.; De Ketele, J. M. (Eds). *L'analyse qualitative en éducation: Des pratiques de recherche aux critères de qualité.* Bruxelles: De Boeck-University.

Pradelles de Latour, C.-H. (1997). *Le crâne qui parle*, Deuxième édition de *Ethonopsychanalyse en pays bamiléké.* Paris: E.P.E.L.

Pradelles de Latour, C.-H. (1998). The ritual socialisation of the Bamiléké, *Hamburg Symposium*, University of Hamburg.

Quan, X., Simmee, C., and Yi, L. (2017). Teacher Education in English as an Additional Language, English as a Foreign Language and the English Language Arts. In. Clandinin, D. J., and Husu, J. (eds.). *The SAGE Handbook of Research on*

Teacher Education (Volume 2). Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington DC, Melbourne: SAGE. pp. 633-648

Quirk, R. and Greenbaum, S. (1973). *A University of Grammar of English*. London: Longman.

Rawls, J. (1999). *A theory of justice*. Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication, revised edition of *A Theory of Justice*, published in 1971. Washington, DC: Harvard University Press.

Rodney, W. (1982). How Europe underdeveloped Africa. Washington, DC: Howard University Press.

Rodriguez, L.; McLaughlin, S.; Cummins, P. (2009). *Mid-term Assessment of the Liberia Teacher Training Program*. Liberia: QED Group, LLC. USAID.

Rohle, E. (1990). *Chefférie Bamiléké – Traditionelle Herrschaft und Kolonialsystem, Eine Studie zu den Veränderungsprozessen im Herrschafts- und Gesellschaftssystem der Bamiléké-Vorlker in West-Kamerun*, (Hamburger Studien zur Afrikanischen Geschichte Bd. 1). Münster, Hamburg: Lit.

Rosenberg, v. F. (2016). Education as habitus transformations. In. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 48:14, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, pp. 1486-1496. Online https://doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2016.1144168.

Schütz, A. ([1953] 1962). Common-Sense and Scientific Interpretation of the Social World, In Maurice Natanson (ed.) *Collected Papers, Vol. I: The Problem of Social Reality*. The Hague: Nijhoff, pp. 40-67.

Schwab, J. (1973). The practical 3: Translation into curriculum. In. *The School Review*, 81(4), pp.501-522.

Schweder, R. A. and Les Beldo ([2001] 2015). Culture: Contemporary Views. In. *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences (Second Edition)*. Elsevier, pp. 3151-3158 (1st ed.), pp. 582-589 (2nd ed.).

Secrétariat Permanent de l'Enseignement Catholique (1992). *L'enseignement catholique au Cameroun 1890-1960*. Yaoundé: Publication du Centenaire.

Silverman, D. (2005). *Doing qualitative* research*: A Practical Handbook*. 2nd ed. London: SAGE.

Soffo, P.-Cl. (1998). La responsabilité réciproque, *Symposium de Hambourg*, Université de Hambourg.

Soffo, P.-Cl. and Kengne, J.-P. (2010). Approche pédagogique de l'Ecole de Référence de Mbouo: expériences d'enseignants. In. Foaleng, Michel (sous la direction) *Des innovations pédagogiques dans les systèmes éducatifs en Afrique,* (Coll. Penser l'éducation). Yaoundé: éditions terroirs, pp. 19-29.

Straub, J. (2010). Das Verstehen kultureller Unterschiede. Relationale Hermeneutik und komparative Analyse in der Kulturpsychologie. In. Cappai, G.; Shimada, S. and Straub, J. (Hgs.). *Interpretative Sozialforschung und Kulturanalyse: Hermeneutik und die komparative Analyse kulturellen Handelns*. Bilefeld: transciption Verlag, pp. 39-99.

Tanang Tchouala, P. and Efon Etinzoh, H. J. (2013). Les dynamiques démolinguistiques au Cameroun de 1960 à 2005*, Rapport de recherche de l'Observatoire démographique et statistique de l'espace francophone*. Université Laval, Québec: ODSEF, p .100.

Tanang Tchouala, P. et Efon Etinzoh, H. J. (2014). Dynamique des langues nationales et officielles au Cameroun de 1987 à 2005, 2014, Actes du XVIIe Colloque in-

ternational de l'AIDELF sur *Démographie et politiques sociales*, Ouagadougou, novembre 2012, p. 23.

Tchamabe Njeumeni, M. (2015). La formation pratique des enseignants au Cameroun. In: *Formation et profession 23(3), Chronique International*. Université Laval, pp. 169-180.

Tchombe, M. Th. (1999). Structural Reforms in Education in Cameroon.

Tchombe, M. Th. (2010). Progressive Transformative Teacher Education in Cameroon. In: *E-Journal of All India Association for Educational Research*, 22 (2), pp. 53–72.

Tchombe, M., Th. et Fonkoua, P. (sous la direction) (2006). *Professionnalisation et formation des enseignants au Cameroun*, (Les cahiers de terroirs N°1). Yaoundé: éditions terroirs/Academia Africana – ROCARE-Cameroun.

Teklu Abate Bekele (2008). Education systems in Sub-Saharan Africa: Trends and developments. In. *Norvegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education* (NUKUT) Annual Seminar: October 13-14, 2008. University of Oslo: ASKER, NUKUT.

The World We Want 2015 (2013). Consultation thématique mondiale sur l'éducation après 2015: Compte rendu de la discussion en ligne sur la qualité de l'éducation du 8 au 25 janvier 2013.

Ting, S-S and Ni, M-S. (2018). Teaching as Production of Assembly-Line: Classroom Interaction Analysis in a Junior High School. In: Kokemohr, R. and Chan J. C. (eds.). *Intercultural Pedagogical Reflections on Taiwan's Education.* Chengchi: Chengchi University Press, pp. 077-093.

Tutu, D. (1999). *No Future Without Forgiveness*. University of Michigan: Doubleday.

UNESCO (1972). *Cameroun: Institut de pédagogie appliquée à vocation rurale (IPAR) Rapport sur les résultats du projet, conclusions et récommandations*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (2000). The World Education Forum: Dakar Framework for Action-Education for All: Meeting our collective commitments, in *World Education Forum*. Dakar, Sénégal.

UNESCO (2005). *Capacity Building of Teacher Training Institutions in Sub-Saharan Africa*: *Les institutions de formation des enseignants en Afrique sub-saharienne Pour un renforcement des capacités*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (2005). *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2005: Education for All – The quality imperative*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (2010). *Assessing Education Data Quality in the Southern African Development Community (SADC): A Synwork of Seven Country Assessments*. Windhoek, Namibia: UNESCO.

UNESCO (2012). *Global Education for All Meeting November 20-23: Sub-Saharan Africa 2012 EFA report.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (2014). Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2014: *Teaching and learning: Achieving quality for all.* Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO-UIS (2006). *Teachers and Educational Quality: Monitoring Global Needs for 2015*. Montreal, Canada: UNESCO-UIS.

UNICEF (2000). *Defining Quality in Education*, UNICEF: New York.

Vernon-Jackson, H. O. H. (1968). *Schools and School Systems in Cameroon, 1844-1961*. Columbia: Columbia University Press.

Walzer, M. (1983). *Spheres of Justice. A Defence of Pluralism and Equality*. Basic Books: New York.

Wang, J., Lin, E., Spalding, E., Klecka, C. L., and Odell, S. J. (2011). Quality Teaching and Teacher Education: A Kaleidoscope of Notions. In. *SAGE Journal of Teacher Education 62(4)*, American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. SAGE Publishers, pp. 331-338.

Wiredu, K. (2004). Prolegomena to African philosophy of education. In. *South African Journal of Philosophy, 18*, pp. 17-26.

Wittgenstein, L. (1970). *Über Gewißheit*. In. Anscombe, von G.E.M., Wright, G.H. v. (Hrsg.). Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

World Bank (2008). Curricula, Examination, and Assessment in Secondary Education in Sub-Saharan Africa, a Working Paper N°128. In. *Africa Human Development Series*.

Xanthos, Nicolas (2006). Wittgenstein's Language Games. In. Louis Hébert (dir.), *Signo* [online], Rimouski. http://www.signosemio.com/wittgenstein/language-games.asp.

Yasukawa, K., Rogers, A., Jackson, K., and Street, B. (eds.) (2018). *Numeracy as Social Practice: Global and Local Perspectives*. London and New York: Routledge.

Official texts and archives

Circular letter N°: 28/08/MINESEC/IGE of December 2, 2008, organizes the implementation of the SBEP in secondary schools in Cameroon.

Constitution of 1996 of the Republic of Cameroon.

Décision N°: 587/12/MINESEC/SEESEC-EN/CAB du 23 Août 2012 fixant le Règlement Intérieur Commun des Ecoles Normales d'Instituteurs.

Decree N°: 2017/013 of January 23, 2017, to lay down the Establishment, Organization and Functioning of the National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism.

Decree N°: 88/1328 of September 28, 1998, on the organization, the regime of studies, and the ENS Yaoundé I status.

Decree N°: 90/1461 of November 9, 1990, laying down the terms of creation, opening, operation and financing of private schools and training in Cameroon.

Decret N°: 2001/832/PM du 19 Septembre 2001 fixant les règles communes applicables aux institutions privées d'enseignement supérieur.

Decret N°: 2008282 of August 9, 2008, on the administrative and academic organization of the ENS Maroua.

Document de Stratégie de Croissance et l'Emploi (2010-2020) élaboré en 2009.

Etats généraux de l'éducation au Cameroun de 1995.

Law N°: 98/004 of April 14, 1998, on the Orientation of Education in Cameroon.

Law N°: 2019/019 of December 24, 2019, on the Promotion of official languages in Cameroon

Law N°: 2004/022 of July 22, 2004, lays down the rules governing the organization and functioning of private education in Cameroon.

Loi N°005 du 16 Avril 2001 portant Orientation de l'Enseignement Supérieur.

MINEDUB (2012). Référentiel du dispositif de supervision pédagogique.

MINEDUB and Coopération Française (2007). Cameroun: Evolution du recrutement et de la formation des enseignants depuis 1960. La professionnalisation des enseignants de l'Education de base. Les recrutements sans formation initiale. Séminaire international du 11-15 juin 2007, MINEDUB, Yaoundé, Cameroun.

MINEDUB, MINESEC, MINESUP, MINEFOP, UNESCO (2013). Document de Stratégie du Secteur de l'Education et de la Formation (2013-2020).

MINESEC (2012). Décision N°: 556/12/MINESEC/SEESEC-EN/SE/DECC/SDOEC du 06 Août 2012 Portant ouverture des concours d'entrée aux Ecoles Normales Privées d'Instituteurs (ENIEG-ENIET), session 2012, MINESEC, Yaoundé, Cameroun.

MINESEC (2014). Programme d'études officiel des Ecolles Normales d'Instituteurs de l''Enseignement Général (ENIEG), Niveau: BEPC.

MINESEC (2017). Decision N°: 620/17/MINESEC/SEESEN/SE/IGE/IP-EN of September 18, 2017, on the Implementation of the curriculum for Technical Teacher Training Colleges.

Ministerial circular letter N°: 18/13/MINESEC/IGE/IP-BIL of June 19, 2013, defining measures for the admission into the second cycle of students from bilingual classes of pilot schools involved in the SBEP.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

APC	Approches par les Compétences (competency-based approach of teaching, learning)
APEE/PTA	Association des Parents d'Elèves et des Enseignants (Parents and Teachers' Association)
BACC/GCE AL	Baccalaureate or General Certificate of Education Advanced Level
BEPC/GCE OL	Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle du Secondaire (General Certificate of Education, Ordinary Level)
CAFMEG/DMEG	Certificat d'Aptitude à la Fonction de Maître d'Enseignement Général, Diplôme de Maître d'Enseignement Général
CAP	Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle
CAPE/BSC	Certificat d'Aptitude Pédagogique Elémentaire (Certificate of Pedagogic Elementary Aptitude) and the Brevet Supérieur de Capacité
CAPIEMP	Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle des Instituteurs de l'Enseignement Maternel et Primaire
CAPIET	Certificat d'Aptitude Pédagogique des Instituteurs de l'Enseignement Technique
CEBEC	Conseil des Eglises Baptistes et Evangéliques du Cameroun (Council of Baptist and Evangelical Churches of Cameroon)
CEP/E /FSLC	Certificat d'Etudes Primaires (Elémentaires), First School Certificate
CEPCA	Conseil des Eglises Protestantes du Cameroun (Council of Protestant Churches in Cameroon)
CERP	Comité d'Etudes et de Réflexion (Rénovation) Pédagogique (Comitee of Pedagogical Reflections and Research)
CETI/SAR-SM	Collège d'Enseignement Technique Industriel, Section Artisanal-Section Ménagère (Technical and Industrial College/ Handicraft and Household section)
CNPBMC	Commission Nationale pour la Promotion du Bilinguisme et du Multiculturalisme (NCPBM: National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multi-Culturalism)

CPF	Centre Polyvalent de Formation (Polyvalent Center of Training)
DIPCO	Diplôme de Conseiller d'Orientation Scolaire et Universitaire (Professional Diploma of School and University Orientation Counsellors)
DIPEN I/II	Diplôme de Professeur de l'Enseignement Normal Grade I et II (Grade I, II of the Diploma of Normal School Teachers)
DIPES I/II	Diplôme de Professeur d'Enseignement Secondaire Grade I et II (Grade I, II of the Diploma of Secondary School Teachers)
DIPET I/II	Diplôme de Professeur de l'Enseignement technique Grade I et II (Grade I, II of the Diploma of Technical School Teachers)
DSEP/BTS	Diplôme Supérieur d'Etudes Professionnelles, Brevet de Technicien Supérieur (Higher Professional Diploma)
DYFOP-POSF	Dynamisation Fonctionnelle des Objectifs Pédagogiques et Procédé d'Optimisation des Stratégies Fonctionnelles
EEC	Eglise Evangélique du Cameroun (Evangelical Church of Cameroon)
ENI/ENIR/ENIA	Ecole Normale d'Instituteur (à Vocation Rurale), Adjoint
ENIEG	Ecole Normale d'Instituteur de l'Enseignement Général (Teacher Training College for General Primary Schools)
ENIET	Ecole Normale d'Instituteur de l'Enseignement Technique (Teacher Training College for Technical Schools)
ENS/HTTC	Ecole Normale Supérieure (Higher Teacher Training College)
ENSET/HTTTC	Ecole Normale Supérieure Technique (Higher Technical Teacher Training College)
EP	Ecole Pilote (Pilot Primary School)
ER	Ecole de Référence (Reference Primary School)
EZE-EED	Evangelische Zentralstelle für Entwicklungshilfe, Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst (German Church Development Services Organization)
FASE	Faculté d'Agronomie et des Sciences de l'Environnement (Faculty of Agronomy and Environmental Sciences)

FMSS/FST	Faculté de Médecine et des Sciences de la Santé (Faculty of Medicin and Health Sciences), Faculty of Sciences and Technology
FSE	Faculty of Sciences of Education
FTPSR	Faculté de Théologie Protestante et des Sciences de la Religion (Faculty of Protestant Theology and Sciences of Religion)
GBHS	Government Bilingual High School
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPAM	Institut Pédagogique Africain et Malgache (Pedagogical Institut of Africa and Madagascar)
IPAR	Institut de Pédagogie Appliquée à Vocation Rurale (Applied Pedagogic Institute for Rural Vocation)
IPSOM	Institut de Pédagogie pour Sociétés en Mutation (Pedagogical Institute for Transitional Societies)
ISP	Institut Supérieur de Pédagogie (Higher Institute of Pedagogy)
IUEC	Institut Universitaire Evangélique du Cameroun (Evangelical University Institute of Cameroon)
MINAC	Ministère des Arts et de la Culture (Ministry of Arts and Culture)
MINEDUB	Ministère de l'Education de Base (Ministry of Basic Education)
MINESEC	Ministère des Enseignements Secondaire (Ministry of Secondary Education)
MINESUP	Ministère des Enseignements Supérieurs (Ministry of Higher Education)
NAP	Nouvelle Approche Pédagogique (New Approach of Pedagogy)
OBC/GCE Board	Office of Baccalaureate of Cameroon, General Certificate Education Board
OEPC	Organisation de l'Enseignement Privé Catholique (Organization of Catholic Private Education)
OEPI	Organisation de l'Enseignement Privé Islamique (Organization of Islamic Private Education)
OEPL	Organisation de l'Enseignement Privé Laïc (Organization of Laic Private Education)
OEPP	Organisation de l'Enseignement Privé Protestant (Organization of Protestant Private Education)

PAC	Pédagogie Active et Créative (Active and Creative Pedagogy)
PAAQEP	Projet d'Appui à l'Amélioration de la Qualité de l'Enseignement Protestant (Project to Support the Improvement of the Qaulity of Protestant Education)
PASEC	Programme d'Analyse des Systèmes Éducatifs (Program of Analysis of Educational Systems) de la CONFEMEN (Conférence des Ministres de l'Éducation des États et Gouvernements de la Francophonie)
PIASS	Protestant Institute of Arts and Social Sciences in Rwanda
PPO	Pédagogie par Objectifs (Objective-based Pedagogy)
PPTE	Pays Pauvres Très Endettés (Highly Poor and Endept Countries)
QTE	Quality Teacher Education
RED	Réseau Ecole et Développement (Network of School and Development)
SBEP/PSEB	Special Bilingual Education Program/Programme Spécial d'Education Bilingue
SCBs	Sociocultural Backgrounds
SDN	Société des Nations (Society of Nations)
SPEC	Secrétariat Permanent de l'Enseignement Catholique (Permanent Secretariat of Catholic Education)
UEC	Université Evangélique du Cameroun (Evangelical University of Cameroon)
UNESCO	United Nations Organization for Education, Society, and Culture

Transcript Codes

Simple transcript codes adapted from Kokemohr (2006) *Leçon de Monsieur Bélibi* (own translation)

(…):	Unintelligible due to noise or many people speaking at the same time
(word or phrase):	Word, expression, or sentence of the transcriber giving indications on the setting, the climate of the work through the video, or describing the gestures of the speakers, or giving indications on the time of the transcribed recording
//:	The person is interrupted or interrupts a speaker
Phrase//:	The person (Name) speaks simultaneously as the person whose sentence was interrupted.
Word::	The Word is stretched out
<u>Word</u>:	Word laud articulated (or spoken)
Phrase::	The phrase is stretched out
<u>Phrase</u>:	Phrase laud articulated (or spoken)
Word/word:	The speaker corrects himself, repeats himself, or restarts the sentence.

List of Tables

List of Figures

Annexes

Hassana_Annexes Transcripts used in D.Diss_UHH-2021.pdf
https://ediss.sub.uni-hamburg.de/handle/ediss/9193

Transcript of the colloquium at IPSOM
Transcript of the interview with RK
Transcript Exchange with RK
Transcript of the interview with JBK
Transcript of the class conference in class 4 at the ER
Transcript of the group discussion with MP and MT
Transcript of the lesson in class 6 at the ER
Transcript of the group interview with MP and MT
Transcript of the group interview with five college teachers

Index

Postface

The subject of this book is a series of pedagogical reform projects of the Evangelical Church of Cameroon (EEC) in Mbouo-Bandjoun in West Cameroon, which were initiated in the 1990s and successively established a model school, a teacher training college, and a university. These projects, with their goal of a more learner-centered way of teaching, hold the potential to transform the educational landscape and prepare students for the challenges of contemporary Cameroonian societies. The author assumes that the sociocultural backgrounds of the actors involved play a central role during these reform projects. The book examines, therefore, the significance of sociocultural backgrounds for the pursued reform of teacher training in the contexts mentioned.

As a theoretical framework, the author adopts the theory of *Bildung* as a transformative process, which perceives processes of *Bildung* as transformations of an individual's relationship to the world and him-/herself, which can always take place when people face challenges that cannot be dealt with using their existing relationship to the world and themselves. According to this theory, relations to the world and the self are conveyed socio-culturally and can be captured using Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus. The concept goes beyond Bourdieu, however, as it is particularly interested in changes of habitus, whereas Bourdieu focuses more on explaining the relative stability or the reproduction of social structures. Therefore, Hassana's study conceptually understands the sociocultural backgrounds with Bourdieu as habitus, on the one hand, and – going beyond Bourdieu – addresses questions regarding the conditions for and the courses of transformations of the habitus, i.e., processes of *Bildung*, of people involved in the reform projects, on the other hand.

In terms of method, the book is a qualitative-reconstructive case study based on a broad range of different data, most of which were collected by the author himself. These data include interviews with the two founders of the reform projects, video recordings of a class conference and a lesson at the reform school, in-depth discussions with teachers, and teaching profession-related biographical group discussions with teachers who were trained within the reform projects. The evaluation methods used are the documentary method, according to Ralf Bohnsack, and the inference analysis developed by Rainer Kokemohr. Following Bourdieu's habitus theory, the documentary analysis serves to capture collective spaces of experience and activity orientations. In contrast, the inference analysis is primarily used to determine the potential for change found in verbal utterances.

In the first main part of the book, the author provides an overview of teacher education reforms in Cameroon in general and the reform projects of the EEC in Mbouo-Bandjoun in particular, embedded in a description of the educational policy context of the EEC's reform projects. The particularity of these projects

consists of their underlying pedagogical principles. Based on publications within the reform projects, Hassana emphasizes that the projects in Mbouo-Bandjoun, unlike most other reform measures, do not focus on the curriculum or the teaching content but rather on the forms of interaction. Three principles are described as particularly significant: the *principle of the diversity of meaning* (which calls for taking the diversity of different perspectives on teaching content into account), *the principle of interaction* (which, in contrast to monological front-of-class teaching, emphasizes the importance of interaction and dialogue between teacher and learner) and the *principle of reciprocal/corporate responsibility* (which, in contrast to hierarchical structures, focuses on the mutual responsibility of all actors).

After depicting the pedagogical principles and goals, the author outlines the actual development of the reform projects. It is a process that began with the establishment of a model primary school ("Ecole Pilote," later "Ecole de reférence") and regular in-service training for teachers, then continued with setting up a teacher training institute (IPSOM[1]) and eventually led to the foundation of a university with an educational, medical, and agricultural faculty (UEC[2]). The "conjugation of individual interests" of the leading actors and the strategic handling of power relations are described as important factors for this development.

The presentation of the contextual framework of the reform projects is finally topped off by a description of the Cameroonian reception of these projects, which comprises fundamental theoretical or philosophical reflections and didactic specifications for different subjects, pedagogical-political criticism dealing with local traditions, as well as an attempt at pedagogical systematization. These practical implications make the research directly relevant to the field of education and sociocultural studies.

In the second main part of the book, the author empirically reconstructs the sociocultural backgrounds – conceptually understood as habitus – of students and teachers on different levels. With a view to a class conference and the related conversation with two teachers, an effective mode of problem-solving by the students was deduced, which aims at maintaining social harmony through solidarity-based conflict resolution and avoiding the exclusion of individuals. It is an "arranger modus" of problem-solving in social relations at school following the social habitus in society. The author interprets this as being beneficial for the pedagogical principle of the diversity of meaning. Concerning the teachers' professional biographies, a habitus could be reconstructed, which is characterized by an attitude of adaptation or "muddling through". This adaptation refers to external circumstances and the conditions of the labor market, as well as to the requirements of the teaching profession.

---

1   Institut de Pédagogie pour Sociétés en Mutation.
2   Université Evangélique du Cameroun.

The present work is undoubtedly a significant, original and innovative contribution to educational research on the importance of sociocultural backgrounds in educational reform projects as well as on teacher training in Cameroon. The thorough development of a theoretical framework and a matching methodological approach for the empirical investigation characterizes the work. It includes a broad spectrum of empirical documents that is suitable to reconstruct exemplary extracts from everyday educational life in the reform school as well as the professional careers and biographical backgrounds of teachers involved in the reform projects or trained there. The empirical part of the thesis consists of impressive, careful, detailed, and material-related analyses of the empirical documents. It produces, on the whole, a differentiated and ambivalent picture of the significance of the actors' sociocultural backgrounds for the reform projects. On the one hand, the significance of the sociocultural backgrounds, which are understood as habitus, appears to be an obstacle to educational reforms due to the inertia of the habitus emphasized by Bourdieu, for example, when the analysis of the teaching practice of the two teachers shows that they at least partially do not meet the demands established by the three reform principles. These findings suggest that the sociocultural backgrounds of the actors can be seen as an important factor in the failure of reform efforts or the "gap" between "discourse" and "practice". On the other hand, there are indications that elements of the sociocultural background of the actors can also be understood as an important resource for the goals of the reform – for example, when the "arranger" mode of problem-solving in the class conference, which is supposed to prevent social exclusion, is interpreted as a potential for realizing the principle of the diversity of meaning in the sense of taking diverse perspectives into account.

The book also includes a critical assessment of the generalizability of its results as well as conclusions for further research. Since this is an individual case study that relates exclusively to the reform projects in Mbouo-Bandjoun, the results cannot be generalized readily. It would require case comparisons with similar projects in Cameroon or other African countries. Nevertheless, some hypotheses can be derived from the results of the study, which can also apply to other reform projects. This includes the hypothesis that the success of teacher training reforms depends not least on its success in addressing specific situations of interaction, in taking the problems, interests and experiences of the students as a starting point, and in taking the sociocultural backgrounds of prospective teachers into account when designing teacher training.

Hans-Christoph Koller

Hamidou Hassana

Quality Teacher Education in Cameroon

The Role of Sociocultural Backgrounds
in Pedagogical Reform Projects

Quality teacher education improves the quality of teaching and learning processes. What role do the sociocultural backgrounds play here? The book highlights how actors' sociocultural backgrounds influence the quality of teacher training within a pedagogical reform project involving participants from Cameroon and Germany. The analysis and interpretation of qualitative data shows that actors' sociocultural backgrounds are important factors influencing international, intercultural dialogues on teacher education as well as teaching-learning interaction dynamics in classrooms. The book further discusses the influence of sociocultural contexts on learner-centered classrooms based on principles of diversity, interaction and reciprocal responsibility.

The author: Dr. Hamidou Hassana is Assistant Lecturer at the University of Hamburg, Germany.

9 783966 650526