



COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
JOURNAL OF POLITICS & SOCIETY
PUBLISHED BY THE HELVIDIUS GROUP

Integration by Education: A Study of Cameroon's Bakola-Bagyeli

Author(s): Sarah Tucker

Source: *Journal of Politics & Society*, Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 89-116

Published by: [The Helvidius Group](#)

Stable URL: <https://www.helvidius.org/tucker>

Your use of the Helvidius Group archive indicates your acceptance of the Helvidius Group's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.helvidius.org/termsandconditions>. The Helvidius Group's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that you may use content in the Helvidius Group's archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the Helvidius Group regarding any further use of this work. Contact information may be obtained at <http://www.helvidius.org/about/contact>.

Each copy of any part of a Helvidius Group transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

The *Journal of Politics & Society* is the premier undergraduate academic publication in the social sciences. Founded in 1989, *JPS* is published twice a year by the Columbia University based Helvidius Group and is available for purchase across the United States at Barnes & Noble and online at <http://www.helvidius.org/support>.

INTEGRATION BY EDUCATION: A STUDY OF CAMEROON'S BAKOLA-BAGYELI

Sarah Tucker

The process of Bakola-Bagyeli integration into the public school system of Kribi, Cameroon entails a delicate balance between modernization, preserving tradition, and protecting human rights. In the case of the Bakola-Bagyeli, education has the potential to foster empowerment, but also to erode culture. Increased integration into the education system decreases time spent learning traditional knowledge and skills, increases sedentarization, and creates a need for money to buy necessities such as books and school uniforms. Seeking money obliges Bakola-Bagyeli families to join the market economy through working and shopping, further detracting from their culture of self-sufficiency. The alternative to education is a continuing rural subsistence of their life in the forest, isolated from—and thus left vulnerable to—the processes that impact the forest and their way of life. The lack of Bakola-Bagyeli presence in the broader community in and around Kribi has meant that their voice has been largely missing from decision-making processes, despite the efforts of organizations and individuals to speak on their behalf. I focused my research on the challenges faced by the Bakola-Bagyeli, the potential of education as a tool to address these challenges, and the utility of education as perceived by the Bakola-Bagyeli themselves, school officials, and members of Kribi civil society.*

* I would like to thank Mr Félix Devalois Ombwa Ndi, who was kind enough to serve as my project advisor and supervisor, and the staff at RAPID for their constant advice and support. Mr. Ndi and Francis Ndi Owona were exceptional resources throughout my research, accompanying me on the ground in the encampments, sharing information, and serving as translators. I would also like to thank Christiane Magnido of SIT for helping me with every sort of challenge.

Sarah Tucker is a senior at Georgetown University, studying international politics and development with a focus on Sub-Saharan Africa. Combining her experiences at Georgetown, abroad, and from community service, with her passion for social justice, Sarah hopes to pursue a career in international development and human rights. After graduation she will volunteer abroad through the Peace Corps or a similar program.

METHODOLOGY AND LOGISTICS

My main sources of information were formal interviews and focus groups with Bakola-Bagyeli parents and children, school officials, and civil society members, with some observations at schools and meetings of civil society bodies.* Target group language barriers, literacy levels, and time availability ruled out the use of surveys. Among the Bakola-Bagyeli, focus groups were ideal because encampment structures were more conducive to group dialogue than individual dialogue, and focus groups reduced shyness around me and encouraged talkativeness, yielding more complete responses. Interviews with children helped me better shape the questions I asked teachers and parents; their responses are not included in my data or report.

Figure 1

Target Group	Interviews	Focus Groups	Total individuals reached
Civil Society Members	5	1	8
School Officials	4	1	7
Bakola-Bagyeli	10	7	29*
Total	19	9	43

* 8 children, 17 parents, 10 encampments

Anticipating negative impressions of the education system amongst the Bakola-Bagyeli, I originally structured my questions to discover the origins and nuances of this negativity, and how it influenced community behavior. My research, however, revealed both overwhelmingly positive perceptions and lingering frustration among parents and communities who are unable to assure their children's attendance or performance. As certain topics arose consistently in interviews with the Bakola-Bagyeli, I altered my interview questions slightly to ensure that every interviewee would give their opinion on these topics. This modification proved useful for identifying possible steps for improving access to

* Please see <http://www.helvidius.org/content/> for the list of questions asked in each interview.

education and perceptions of the utility of education in their lives.

Mr. Felix Devalois Ombwa Ndi, my research advisor, served as translator for the majority of my interviews with the Bakola-Bagyeli, including those partially conversant in French. Language versatility allowed freer and more detailed responses, but the translation process may have diluted or altered responses. I was forewarned about general Bakola-Bagyeli distrust of outsiders due to harm inflicted on their way of life by extractive industries and development projects. Though it is impossible to determine to what degree interviewees may have modified their true opinions in order to give agreeable responses, this could have contributed to the expression of highly positive perceptions of school and modernization among Bakola-Bagyeli parents. The encampments where I conducted interviews rest along a 105-kilometer dirt road through the forest, making research possible only through daylong motorcycle expeditions, and making frequent visits difficult. The encampments I visited, though quite isolated, were not the most isolated; each one had parents who sent their children to school. If I were able to see the most remote sites, I could have had a more diverse respondent pool.

The project was facilitated through an association with Réseau des Actions Participatives des Initiatives pour le Développement (RAPID), a small NGO started by the Cameroon Oil Transportation Company (COTCO) as part of their environmental impact mitigation requirements after building the Chad-Cameroon Pipeline. RAPID is currently the only organization providing services and advocacy for the Bakola-Bagyeli. First, integration of the Bakola-Bagyeli is very pertinent in Kribi; finding people willing to discuss the issue was easy. Second, associating with Mr. Ndi and RAPID at the encampments gave me a degree of credibility with the Bakola-Bagyeli that was vital to successful visits. It also allowed me to make relevant contacts, and exposed me to a wealth of research-oriented information. Arriving at an encampment or school, the adults already knew Mr. Ndi and as a result were very open with me and willing to answer my questions. Being at the RAPID

office and attending meetings in town with Mr. Ndi gave me the opportunity to make contacts with leaders of other organizations in Kribi. Finally, speaking with Mr. Ndi and other RAPID employees allowed me to learn about the situation of the Bakola-Bagyeli.

BACKGROUND

Education

Education is critical to sustainable development worldwide. With appropriate education comes empowerment, social mobility, communication, and other benefits that are vital to the success of individuals and of communities. The United Nations Education, Science, and Culture Organization (UNESCO) states that education is “central to giving children, youth and adults the knowledge and skills to make informed decisions and acquire better health, better living standards and safer, more sustainable environments.”¹ President Paul Biya of Cameroon cited education’s importance in his National Youth Day speech in Yaoundé in February, 2010, and matched this statement by devoting over 17 percent of the national budget to education.² Local perceptions mirror international fervor; education is a top priority among Cameroonian families. However, Cameroon’s primary school completion rate is 62 percent, and illiteracy among those over 15 years old is over 25 percent.³ While passion for education is pervasive throughout the country, data reveal the gap between what the government and international organizations envision, and what is currently being achieved.

One of Cameroon’s greatest obstacles to achieving Universal Primary Education (UPE) is reconciling its vast diversity with its centralized and uniform education system. Certain groups are particularly excluded, and require special attention to be successfully incorporated. UNESCO defines disfavored or marginalized groups as “youth without qualifications, who have never had access to instruction or who were prematurely excluded from instruction.”^{*4}

* Translation: “des jeunes sans qualification, qui n’ont jamais eu accès à l’enseignement ou qui en ont été exclus prématurément.”

This definition extends itself to “the poor, street children and children who work, populations in rural or isolated zones, and ethnic, racial, and linguistic minorities,”* due to their physical and social isolation from the formal education system.⁵ The Bakola-Bagyeli of Cameroon are an ethnic, racial, and linguistic minority living in isolated rural areas among the Bantu regional majority; they are not equitably incorporated into Cameroon’s broader development scheme, including education.

To integrate marginalized groups, UNESCO suggests three methods to governments and NGOs. First, it recommends that minority schools be given the materials and staff they need to improve performance, including teachers, books, and school infrastructure such as classrooms and desks.⁶ Second, it calls for the adaptation of teaching methods and curricula to meet the specific needs of the marginalized population. Third, UNESCO encourages the creation of an education system that is completely new in its structure and methods in zones that have never before had access to education. Successful approaches require extra resources and effort to ensure sufficient materials and cultural compatibility. Schools must also be flexible to accommodating student needs, rather than vice versa. This approach allows diverse groups to access education, and can permit cultural preservation by incorporating culture, customs, and traditions into the modified program. However, these methods are controversial because they contradict the notion that education should be uniform for all students in order to promote complete equality of opportunity. UNESCO’s recommendations reflect the opposite position: that reaching out to marginalized groups requires innovation in order to preserve culture and overcome structural obstacles to education.

Despite UNESCO’s recommendations, the reality is that in many countries, including Cameroon, education is organized at the national level, without the capacity to adapt to local needs. The perception is that Cameroonian education “cannot be bound down for

* Translation : “les pauvres, les enfants des rues et les enfants qui travaillent, les populations des zones rurales ou reculées, [et] les minorités ethniques, raciales et linguistique.”

specific people, for Bakola-Bagyeli students,”* because of the highly centralized decision-making involved in education.⁷ The nature of the education structure in Cameroon does not permit local-specific changes to incorporate groups like the Bakola-Bagyeli, and thus the education system remains a broadly standardized institution that does not meet the special needs of this marginalized population.

The Bakola-Bagyeli

The Bakola-Bagyeli are a subgroup of the population, pejoratively referred to as “Pygmies,” that live in Southern Cameroon, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, and the Congo. Around the small cities of Kribi and Lolodorf where I spent my research period, the Bakola-Bagyeli live in varying degrees of isolation from cities and neighboring villages. Some encampments are found deep within the forest with barely a footpath for access, while others are situated next to the main road that connects the aforementioned cities. A few Bakola-Bagyeli have moved out of the encampments into Kribi and Lolodorf. For the most part, the Bakola-Bagyeli continue to live as they have traditionally, through hunting, gathering, and fishing. Historically, before new roads and modernization led to increased sedentarization, the Bakola-Bagyeli were a semi-nomadic people that moved after a death in the community.⁸ Their food, housing materials, and medicines were all prepared by hand, exclusively with materials from the forest. Their diet consisted of honey and fruits, and meat from wild animals, obtained through hunting, gathering, and fishing. The Bakola-Bagyeli supported a friendly relationship with their Bantu neighbors, agricultural communities living in villages and cities, mostly through trading forest commodities for agricultural goods.

The traditional lifestyle of the Bakola-Bagyeli has encountered significant changes in recent years, many of which they have embraced. Among the benefits listed in interviews include improved attire, agriculture, and better sanitation practices. The Bakola-Bagyeli are now semi-sedentary; their houses are often built

* Translation: “ne peut pas être arrimé pour certaines gens, pour les élèves Bakola-Bagyeli.”

with more durable man-made materials like tin and fabric clothing is now standard.⁹ They continue to live through hunting, fishing, and gathering, going on hunting expeditions that can last up to several months. This diet now includes purchased items such as rice and dried fish. Cultivation of food is increasingly used to supplement traditional food supplies that are diminishing as a result of deforestation; encampments usually had chickens as well as fields of macabo and corn. Despite favorable aspects of modernization, the majority of the Bakola-Bagyeli interviewed said they do not want their lifestyle and close relationship with the forest to change. This sentiment was often accompanied by a sense of defeat; 13 out of 22 Bakola-Bagyeli adults interviewed identified diminishing forest resources as a major threat to their way of life, rendering hunting and gathering either difficult or impossible. For this reason, several respondents asked for help in adapting to the new lifestyles that sedentary life require, though they preferred their traditional existence. When asked which type of lifestyle is preferable, one woman responded, with enthusiastic agreement from four fellow focus group subjects, that “we don’t want to change, but we don’t want to stay like the Bagyeli of the past. We want to develop. But living like the Bantu does not interest us.”¹⁰ Many changes have come to the Bakola-Bagyeli, and there is increasing pressure to continue changing and become more modernized. Certain improvements in quality of life are welcomed by the Bakola-Bagyeli, but the majority of Bakola-Bagyeli were not interested in leaving their traditions behind in favor of a modern lifestyle.

While the Bantu have been integrated into the modern economy and civil society, the Bakola-Bagyeli are increasingly excluded. As sedentary farmers, the Bantu lifestyle has made them more compatible with modernization than the Bakola-Bagyeli, and the relationship between these groups has changed to one of distinct subjugation with increasing modernization and urbanization in Cameroon. Bakola-Bagyeli unfamiliarity with the social, legal, and political system has left them vulnerable to exploitation. For

* Translation: “nous ne voulons pas changer, mais nous ne voulons pas rester comme les Bagyeli du passé. Nous voulons développer. Mais vivre comme les Bantou ne nous intéresse pas.”

example, the Bantu have sold land traditionally inhabited by the Bakola-Bagyeli to the government and extractive industries, capitalizing on Bakola-Bagyeli under-representation in the land title system and their lack of legal and valid ownership of the land on which they live.¹¹ The Bakola-Bagyeli are also semi-dependent on the Bantu for information about changes and events in Kribi and the region at large, as educational integration has enabled the Bantu both to speak French and English and to be more informed about current events and issues in the community.¹² In addition, there is a general stigmatization of the Bakola-Bagyeli as subordinate and primitive compared to the Bantu.¹³ Tensions between these groups sometimes escalate into conflict, such as a recent violent incident in Ngoyang that led to the closing of a Ngoyang-area boarding school for Bakola-Bagyeli students.

CHALLENGES FACED BY THE BAKOLA-BAGYELI

The Bakola-Bagyeli around Kribi and Lolodorf face a multitude of complex and interrelated challenges. Among these are poverty, limited access to social services, and lack of representation, all stemming from the underlying lack of integration.

The Bakola-Bagyeli exist in a unique state of poverty. Their way of life excludes them from the channels that enable them to earn cash income. Though the forest has historically provided the Bakola-Bagyeli with everything they need, deforestation has rendered traditional resources scarce, while modernization and outside contact have led to a need and desire for manufactured products that require money. Sturdier construction materials, shoes, and schoolbooks are among the items that the Bakola-Bagyeli now require, necessitating money which subsequently requires employment. Yet, with forest isolation, stigmatization by the Bantu, and lack of education, the Bakola-Bagyeli have trouble finding employment. In addition, economic and social globalization, activated by new means of communication that have allowed cities and villages to develop, "do not make a favorable environment for reducing

inequalities.”^{*14} As the Bantu become more integrated and familiar with processes introduced by globalization, the gap between them and the Bakola-Bagyeli widens, making it harder for the Bakola-Bagyeli to insert themselves into the economy.

Isolated from networks of cities and villages, the Bakola-Bagyeli are removed from access to basic social services and amenities. Unfamiliarity with delivery systems for these services, language barriers, and physical distance from services combine to restrict their access to basic necessities, including clean water and health facilities. Angoh Albert, a father at the Bandevouri encampment, elaborates that “our health bothers us. There was one month when the clinic open ... was closed. ... All the children were sick with diarrhea.”^{†15} The problem of health is two-fold: poor water and sanitation at the encampments and inconsistent access to quality health services. Poverty makes amenities that could improve health conditions unaffordable. False perceptions create an additional challenge: “Many people confuse this poverty with their culture.”^{‡16} Because the Bakola-Bagyeli live off of the forest and use traditional medicine, many outsiders believe that introducing modern medicine and sanitation practices would be contrary to their culture. In reality, Albert retorts, “Their poverty manifests itself by the disappearing health situation: many are sick.”^{§17}

The presence of natural resources in their homeland creates challenges for the Bakola-Bagyeli. The forest is full of resources that the Cameroonian government and international companies seek to exploit. There is already a thriving timber industry, both legal and illegal. The impending construction of a deep-sea port in Kribi will facilitate the arrival and development of other industries such as mining. The Chad-Cameroon Pipeline, an oil pipeline extending from Chad through Cameroon, ends in Kribi. The pipeline itself,

* Translation: “ne constitue pas un environnement favorable à la réduction des inégalités.”

† Translation: “la santé nous dérange. Il y avait un mois ou l’infirmière, ça n’est pas. C’était fermé. Tous les enfants étaient malades avec la diarrhée.”

‡ Translation: “beaucoup des gens confondent cette pauvreté avec leur culture.”

§ Translation: “Mais en réalité, ...” cette pauvreté se manifeste par la situation de la santé qui est disparaissant; beaucoup sont malades.”

and its accompanying access road, cut through the forest just meters from several encampments. Certain food-bearing species are becoming more rare, while noise and activity drives animals away. Encroachment of development on the forest poses unique threats to the Bakola-Bagyeli culture, as “[they] cannot be Bagyeli without the forest.”^{*18} The Bakola-Bagyeli are cognizant of these threats. When asked what changes she expects in the future, Namende Nicole claimed, “We will not hunt anymore. The trees where we have found fruit and honey will be destroyed. The fruits will disappear. The forest is on its way to disappearing.”^{†19}

Companies seeking to do business in the forest must submit environmental impact mitigation plans to Cameroon’s Ministry of the Environment, and seek to limit their adverse effects on the habitats and people they touch. RAPID often represents the Bakola-Bagyeli before development bodies, and Bantus frequently volunteer to speak on behalf of the Bakola-Bagyeli, but the Bantu often “want to exploit this position for personal gains.”^{‡20} Unlike the Bantu, the Bakola-Bagyeli lack prominent spokespeople of their own, making their voice weak or misrepresented. Their limited representation exacerbates their marginalization, as “They don’t have the strength or the power to limit impositions, or say that ‘this is our territory.’”^{§21} Unable to directly defend their interests at the local, national, and international level, the Bakola-Bagyeli have had their land and their rights encroached upon by actors at each of these levels.

The common thread between the issues of poverty, lack of access to resources, and lack of direct representation is marginalization. The Bakola-Bagyeli are physically, linguistically, culturally, and physically isolated. Their isolation leaves them open to exploitation by opportunistic actors, including their Bantu neighbors and ex-

* Translation: “il ne peut pas être Bagyeli sans la forêt.”

† Translation: “nous n’allions plus faire la chasse. Les arbres où nous avons trouvé des fruits et du miel seront abattu. Les fruits vont disparaître. La forêt est en train de disparaître.”

‡ Translation: “veulent exploiter cette position-là pour des effets personnelles.”

§ Translation: “Ils n’ont pas le force ou le pouvoir de limiter les impositions, ou dire que ‘ça c’est notre territoire.’”

tractive industries. Forty-three percent of civil society members, 71 percent of Bakola-Bagyeli parents, and 100 percent of school officials identified integration and achieving familiarity with the society in which they live as the primary goal of education for the Bakola-Bagyeli. This is why Rodrigue Kebeh says that, despite all other challenges faced by the Bakola-Bagyeli today, "The main menace is the lack of education."²² The exclusion of the Bakola-Bagyeli begins early, as the Bantu children begin going to school and the Bakola-Bagyeli children remain at home with their parents.

My research has shown that this exclusion slowly erodes Bakola-Bagyeli society as it is known today. Integration can be a solution, starting with participation in the formal education system. However, integration must be carefully defined, and its goals delineated, in order to ensure that it is not synonymous with assimilation and absorption.

ROLE OF EDUCATION FOR THE BAKOLA-BAGYELI

While the majority of interviewees agreed that integration is the main benefit of education and that it is vital to the Bakola-Bagyeli, there was a wide range of interpretations of its proper connotation. Each revealed a different attitude towards the Bakola-Bagyeli, the future of their way of life, and the value of incorporation into schools. The three main categories of responses were social integration, political integration, and economic integration.

Social integration was the most popular reason given for the Bakola-Bagyeli to participate in the public education system. This type of integration comes from both the school curriculum and the interaction of children from different backgrounds. Children learn basic lessons in school about societal functions, communication, and important issues affecting their lives. Cameroonian primary education includes civic education, wherein students learn about their "rights and responsibilities"[†] as citizens.²³ Consciousness of

* Translation: "le principale menace est le manque de l'éducation."

† Translation: "droits et devoirs"

their rights from an early age would allow the Bakola-Bagyeli to protect themselves from the previously described infringements that capitalize on the ignorance of their rights. Addressing these problems requires that the Bakola-Bagyeli have an equal opportunity to understand their rights as Cameroonian citizens, starting with lessons in school.

Social integration also includes language and literacy. At school, children learn to speak and read French and English in the classroom and Bantu languages through social interaction. Learning Bantu languages allows the Bakola-Bagyeli to communicate with their immediate neighbors, a skill necessary for maintaining cordial relations. The vast majority of Bakola-Bagyeli interviewees identified being able to speak and read these languages as a benefit of education. Without speaking French or English, one mother explains, "We must call a Bantu to translate,"* when confronted with a French speaker or a document in French, furthering the relationship of dependency and inequality between these two groups.²⁴ With language skills the Bakola-Bagyeli "can listen and be listened to,"† improving their access to information and opportunities.²⁵ Dr. Ahanda Sosthène of the World Wildlife Foundation cites the environmental impact of mitigation efforts used by extractive industries as an example: "Imagine that they don't know A or Z, and the only details [of the projects] are written, the negative aspects. They will have to consume them to the utmost."²⁶ Thirteen out of twenty Bakola-Bagyeli interviewees mentioned the disappearing forests as a threat to their way of life, and there are more potentially hazardous projects yet to come. If the Bakola-Bagyeli are unable to read the details of these proposals for such projects themselves and understand their potential impact, they cannot voice their opinions to defend their interests and will suffer from that which they do not possess the means to prevent. "And that," he added, "fulfills the

* Translation: "nous sommes obligés d'appeler un Bantou pour traduire."

† Translation: "peuvent écouter et être écouté."

‡ Translation: "Imagine qu'ils ne savent ni de A ni de Z, et les seuls détails [des projets] sont écrits, les aspects négatifs. Ils vont les consommer de plan fort."

extinction of a people.”*²⁷ It is for this reason that Veronique Follack states, “You cannot develop yourself if you do not know how to read, if you do not know how to write.”†²⁸ In order to be informed and involved in pertinent events impacting their lives, the Bakola-Bagyeli must have access to language and civic education.

Social integration also includes learning about diseases such as HIV/AIDS and sanitation. There have already been several cases of HIV/AIDS reported among the Bakola-Bagyeli, and without knowing how it is spread or treated, their very existence as a people could be threatened. Furthermore, knowledge about these issues is constantly updating, and schools are an appropriate means of transmitting these updates to the population.

The second theme in the importance of education was Bakola-Bagyeli political integration. The Bakola-Bagyeli currently have no direct representatives at the international, national, or local level. Extractive industries’ environmental impact mitigation plans consult the local people; take into account the negative effects that projects will have on them, the animals, and their habitat; and seek to compensate for damage. However, many projects’ details can only be found in writing, excluding illiterate populations. In other cases, participation in hearings about the mitigation plans is opt-in only, requiring previous knowledge of the hearings in order to participate. The impacts of certain projects could be deadly, and exclusion from the impact mitigation process limits the Bakola-Bagyeli’s ability to protect themselves and preserve their way of life.²⁹ While RAPID promotes their interests, they can only convey messages indirectly. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, other Bantu who volunteer to represent them often take advantage of this position.³⁰ Full awareness of these dangers and ability to defend their interests before the companies in question requires the Bakola-Bagyeli to represent themselves, explain where they live and hunt, identify the resources they use, and convey other relevant vital information. Direct representation would allow them to advocate for culturally

* Translation: “et ça...” “peut remplir d’une extinction d’un peuple.”

† Translation: “tu ne peux pas te développer si tu sais pas lire, si tu ne sais pas écrire.”

compatible compensation and mitigation efforts. As the situation now stands, companies that cut down areas of forest and diminish vital animals and plants often compensate damage with money.³¹ While this may suffice for certain populations, the real damage to the Bakola-Bagyeli is that nourishing themselves through hunting and gathering becomes more difficult. Replacing the plants and animals on which they depend with money imposes a cultural shift on the Bakola-Bagyeli from hunting towards purchasable food items. The only people who should decide if this is a welcome change are the Bakola-Bagyeli themselves.

On a broader scale, the Bakola-Bagyeli are unrepresented in Cameroon's government at the national and local level. The Bakola-Bagyeli need an individual in a position of power who understands the laws and political systems as well as the reality of Bakola-Bagyeli life. Without self-representation, the Bakola-Bagyeli voice will continue to go unheard. This problem is indicative of the structure of democracy itself: "The democratic system is such that, if one does not insert oneself, they can also disappear."³² Democracy is driven by self-advocacy, and if the Bakola-Bagyeli do not partake, they will more easily fall victim to other groups who are better equipped to promote their own interests. There are numerous actors with strong lobbies in their favor that pose a threat to their traditional lifestyle, and there is no substantial counter-lobby on the part of the Bakola-Bagyeli. Politics is a process of balancing conflicting interests: "the world is constructed in a way that...everyone seeks to exploit everyone."³³ Without the ability to actively defend themselves, the Bakola-Bagyeli are left vulnerable to this exploitation that threatens their current way of life.

To achieve a presence in the Cameroonian political and civil society system, the Bakola-Bagyeli must be incorporated into the formal education system, which enables them to gain vital tools such as literacy, language skills, and familiarity with the legal sys-

‡ Translation: "le system démocratique est tel que si on ne s'insert pas, ils peuvent aussi disparaitre."

§ Translation: "le monde est constitué tel que... tout le monde cherche à exploiter toute le monde."

tem that can permit them to insert themselves in the government. Angoh Albert highlighted empowerment as the driving force behind his decision to send his children to school. With sufficient education, he claims, “We can arrive at important positions. I had friends who are priests, who are prefects—I went to school with them, these Bantu friends. I must, I am obligated to educate my children so that they can find these important jobs tomorrow.”^{*34} With representation at the government and civil society level, the Bakola-Bagyeli would have the opportunity to voice their concerns and advocate for their interests that can argue on behalf of their traditions, ties to the forest, and way of life. To prevent demolition of their habitat and culture, they must integrate in order to advocate for themselves.

The final reason given by interviewees for the importance of education was to integrate into the economy, find jobs, and modernize their means of consumption. Twelve out of seventeen Bakola-Bagyeli parents interviewed stated that having a chance at employment was a major motivating factor for sending their children to school. Namende Nicole and Angoh Albert argued that employment is instrumental in preparing for a future without the forest. Other Bakola-Bagyeli interviewees mentioned that modernization has touched their lives in ways that require money, and finding jobs is the only way to afford purchasable items. “Before, our parents fed us nothing but meat,” but due to changing forest conditions and a growing population, “we are obligated to buy frozen fish to feed ourselves. And the money to buy it, we do not have.”^{†35} The ability to buy other basic necessities such as clothing, soap, medicine, and toothbrushes improves their health, raises their standard of living, and garners greater respect from the Bantu. According to one mother, community members with jobs “can help us—not only [their own families], but also the entire community,”[‡] to af-

* Translation: “on peut arriver aux postes importantes. J’ai des camarades qui sont prêtres, qui sont préfets – j’ai fréquenté avec eux, les camarades Bantou. Je dois, je suis obligé d’éduquer mes enfants pour qu’ils puissent trouver des postes demain.”

† Translation: “Avant, nos parents ne se nourrissaient que de la viande”... “on est obligé d’acheter du poisson congelé pour nous nourrir. Et de l’argent pour l’en acheter, nous n’en avons pas.”

‡ Translation: “pourront nous aider – pas seulement [leurs propres familles], mais aussi toute

ford amenities.³⁶ While parents acknowledged the importance of maintaining cultural practices such as hunting and gathering, employment opens avenues for improving living standards through purchasable goods.

Individuals in and outside of the Bakola-Bagyeli community expressed a compulsion to change their means of subsistence. Veronique Folack and Antoine Bouedjila suggested that leaving behind hunting and gathering would help them modernize, and that education is an important means of learning about modern practices. Bouedjila noted that “they must learn to work to earn money”^{*} in order to achieve the same level of development as the Bantu.³⁷ Nsim, a parent at the Bilolo encampment, compared hunting and gathering to living “like animals.”^{†38} This perception of integration implies that their traditional way of life must change and that education should facilitate these changes. School becomes dangerous for the Bakola-Bagyeli when it becomes a transition mechanism away from their traditional lifestyle, perpetuating ideas of Bakola-Bagyeli cultural inferiority with respect to the Bantu. School can provide children equal opportunity, but should not be seen as a cultural equalizer as well. School must allow children to grow and flourish while simultaneously learning to appreciate their own culture, heritage, and identity. Education must also allow equal opportunity for children to pursue the lifestyle of their choice. In this respect, the education system in Cameroon faces several challenges to accommodating Bakola-Bagyeli students.

PROBLEMS WITH THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

Before delving into educational problems it is helpful to elaborate Bakola-Bagyeli perceptions of the education system. My research revealed an overwhelmingly positive impression of school amongst interviewees. Eight out of seventeen parents interviewed cited better health and hygiene habits as benefits of school, and

la communauté.”

* Translation: “il faut qu'ils apprennent travailler pour gagner de l'argent.”

† Translation: “comme des animaux.”

eleven out of seventeen said that children were better behaved as a result of schooling. After starting school, "they are better organized, they do their work and the cleaning themselves. They take initiative for themselves,"* says Angoh Albert.³⁹ Parents generally appeared proud to say their children were enrolled, and described their life after beginning school as much better than before. However, they emphasized the difficulty in doing so. Because of the challenges they face, children often perform poorly, are frequently late or absent, or are unable to finish the school year. There are three major types of challenges: material, structural, and cultural.

The most visible problem is the lack of financial means and subsequent lack of materials, stemming from their economic exclusion and the fact that school costs add up quickly. Primary education in Cameroon is theoretically free, but, "There are always financial costs that one has to pay, and we do not have the money."⁴⁰ Without incomes from jobs, Bakola-Bagyeli children can be easily identified in class because they are usually dirty, wearing torn clothing, and barefoot. Their tattered state invites harassment from Bantu children; Ngally Lucien laments that, "When children go to school, they are always poorly dressed, [and] that means that the Bantu children ... make fun of them."⁴¹ Their relative poverty makes them feel ashamed and isolated; they can be found leaning against walls or sitting quietly by themselves during recess.

Poverty also affects the students' ability to learn at home as well as at school. Their homes are not as weatherproof as Bantu homes. Mr Biyogmam Emile, Director of Bissou-I School, claims, "As soon as we give them a book, before the end of a trimester, the book is already torn because they do not have the discipline to keep their things well."⁴² Even when given materials, these are frequently lost or destroyed in the children's inhospitable home environ-

* Translation: "Ils sont mieux organisés, ils font les travaux, le ménage eux même. Ils prennent les initiatives pour eux même."

† Translation: "il y a surtout les frais financier qu'il faut payer, et nous n'avons pas des moyennes."

‡ Translation: "quand les enfants vont à l'école, ils sont mal habillés, [et] ça fait que les enfants Bantou... se moquent d'eux."

§ Translation: "dès qu'on les donne un livre, avant le fin d'un trimestre, le livre est déjà déchiré parce qu'ils n'ont pas le maitrise de garder les choses."

ment. Finally, the parents' attempts to cope with poverty can also hinder their children's studies. Parents often take their children hunting instead of sending them to school because, "They know that in hunting they can trap many animals, and by selling them, they will have money right away."^{*43} Children help their parents to earn money for the family, but must miss school in order to do so. For these reasons, six of seven school officials and the majority of Bakola-Bagyeli parents interviewed agreed that poverty is the biggest challenge in the education of Bakola-Bagyeli children.

The second major challenge of sending Bakola-Bagyeli children to school is Bakola-Bagyeli culture and the role of children within that culture. According to Dr. Ahanda Sosthène, "The Bagyeli child has a place in Bagyeli society. ... If there is an interference between education and the place of the child in the Bagyeli community, it is the education system that will lose out."^{†44}

The role of children in Bakola-Bagyeli society is clearly defined and focused on preparing the child for his or her adult life.⁴⁵ This process entails learning about the various plants, animals, and properties of the forest and how to gather and utilize them. With this education also comes training in "group values," and how "to be responsible to the family."^{‡46} Children learn from their parents how to hunt, gather, prepare food, find and process medicines, perform traditional dances, tell stories, learn cultural values, and maintain spiritual harmony. In this training, the family is the "primary agent of children's socialization."^{§47} For this reason, I asked all subjects whether school impeded the acquisition of cultural knowledge. Ten Bakola-Bagyeli said that education does not infringe because children can learn these things when they are home during weekends and vacations. Only two interviewees felt that school attendance threatened their culture.

* Translation: "ils savent que en allant à la chasse ils vont attraper beaucoup des gibiers, et en les vendant ils auront de l'argent tout de suit."

† Translation: "L'enfant Bagyeli a un place dans la société Bagyeli....S'il y a interférence entre l'éducation et la place de l'enfant dans les peuples Bagyeli, c'est la système éducatif modern que va perdre."

‡ Translation: "les valeurs du groupe"... "être responsable d'une famille."

§ Translation: "première responsable de la socialisation de l'enfant."

Throughout the traditional training they receive, children contribute to the family by hunting, gathering, preparing food, and performing other tasks. Families needing extra help from their children will often pull them out of school.⁴⁸ The responsibility to help feed the family prevents children from attending school consistently, making keeping up in class difficult. When asked, most parents said that hunting is just as easy without children as it is with them, but elaborated that in order to trap large animals, “the presence of children is necessary,”* while smaller animals such as rats are simple to catch hunting in groups of two or three.⁴⁹ To bring in large kills, they must pull children from school in order to hunt as a group.

Teachers expressed frustration at absenteeism due to hunting. Across primary schools serving the Bakola-Bagyeli in January and March, reported Bakola-Bagyeli tardies and absences were significantly elevated: there were sixty-seven late arrivals and 102 absences in January, and forty-seven late arrivals and 102 absences in March, out of 209 students.⁵⁰ Of these absences, forty-eight in January and seventy-one in March were due to hunting and gathering—far more than in the other months. Simultaneous with the increase in hunting and gathering was absenteeism due to illness; forty-five in January and thirty-seven in March. During these times of the year, animals are more abundant. Children brought hunting often fall sick during the outings, leading to increased absences and tardiness. While most parents agreed that their ability to learn cultural practices is not inhibited by attending school, their obligations to hunt keep children in the forest and out of school.

The final conflict between the education system and the Bakola-Bagyeli is structural: schools are incongruent with their traditional education models. The Cameroonian education system is organized at the national level and does not accommodate for local needs. For marginalized groups like the Bakola-Bagyeli without historical access to education, this standardized system does not make the necessary efforts as defined by UNESCO to incorporate them.⁵¹ Instruction methods differ from those used traditionally among the Bakola-Bagyeli. Bakola-Bagyeli traditional education

* Translation: “le présence des enfants est nécessaire.”

“gives itself directly in the forest environment and does not obey a single constraint that makes one think of schedules, methods, time, and evaluations.”*⁵² Bakola-Bagyeli education also traditionally consists of activities directly related to daily life. “Education among the Pygmies is purely functional in the measure that it is tied to productive activities.”†⁵³ Furthermore, “it is attached much more to results than to processes.”‡⁵⁴ By contrast, Cameroon’s mainstream education system emphasizes processes, such as mathematics and sentence construction as well as results. Subjects may not directly relate to daily life, and can thus be frustrating and uninteresting for students who are used to being outdoors and occupied with activities that have immediate gratification. Teachers expressed difficulty in engaging the Bakola-Bagyeli students in class. “It’s the program that does not interest them... sometimes it’s like I’m bringing someone to war,”§ explains one teacher.⁵⁵ Lack of engagement in lessons, combined with the family role that children often play, makes staying in school much less appealing for Bakola-Bagyeli students. Even when not required to hunt, the lifestyle of movement and interaction that daily food gathering engenders is part of their culture. In coming to school, “They will be obligated to change their way of life,”¶ becoming more stationary than before.⁵⁶ Bantu parents are more acclimated to this type of system and can explain and encourage their children to continue, having been through school themselves. Many Bakola-Bagyeli parents have not adapted as it is often in their immediate interest for their children to discontinue school so that they can help with the hunt.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVEMENTS

* Translation: “se donne directement dans le milieu forestier et n’obéit à aucune contrainte qui ferait penser aux programmes, méthodes, horaires et évaluations.”

† Translation: “L’éducation chez les pygmées est purement fonctionnelle dans la mesure où elle est liée aux activités productives.”

‡ Translation: “Elle s’attache beaucoup plus aux résultats qu’au processus.”

§ Translation: “C’est le programme qui ne les intéresse pas..., quelquefois c’est comme on a amené quelqu’un en guerre.”

¶ Translation: “ils seraient obligés de changer leurs mode de vie.”

Based on responses from parents, teachers, school officials, and civil society members, the conclusions on how to improve schools to meet Bakola-Bagyeli needs were, in order of popularity: place children in boarding schools; give materials to parents, teachers, schools, and students themselves; and incorporate Bakola-Bagyeli culture and reality of life into the schools. These responses align with UNESCO's recommendations for incorporating marginalized populations: giving students and educators the tools they need to teach; devoting special attention to the children in question; and developing entirely new approaches to and methods of educating this population.

Putting children in boarding schools was the most widely agreed-upon method of improving schools. Out of all of the Bakola-Bagyeli and teacher interviewees, none spoke negatively about boarding schools. In the Dakar Framework on Education for All, UNESCO stated that in order to make education as inclusive as possible, it is necessary to "assure basic rights to food, shelter, security and health to enable African children to participate fully in education."⁵⁷ Boarding schools provide children with adequate food and shelter, keeping them focused on school, and ensuring that they arrive to class healthy and on time every day. Their physical living situations disadvantage Bakola-Bagyeli children with respect to their school performance, and many of the challenges that they face at home can be eliminated by putting them in boarding schools.⁵⁸ Boarding schools, however, also present certain problems. There are only two Bakola-Bagyeli boarding schools that are currently functional: one in Bipindi, and one in Lolodorf. Boarding schools also suffer from chronic underfunding, a common problem among public institutions in Cameroon.⁵⁹ Because of the boarding school's responsibility to provide for all of the students' needs, costs add up quickly. Lack of financial means limits the number of students that can be accepted into each boarding school and the quality of services provided within them.⁶⁰ The final problem is the limited family time and subsequent reduction in cultural transmission that living apart from one's family engenders. Though most

parents said there was no conflict, the extended separation from the family that boarding schools require significantly restricts cultural absorption and may threaten cultural continuity.

The second most popular recommendation for improving schools was to give schools, families, and students the materials they need. Twelve out of seventeen Bakola-Bagyeli parents interviewed said that in order for their children to succeed in school, they need to be given materials. Six out of seven school officials interviewed agreed. The materials requested include school uniforms, shoes, notebooks, pens, and food. UNESCO cites providing adequate materials as a basic means for promoting education equity.⁶¹ Having the necessary materials allows each child to have an improved chance to learn and places less of a burden on families and schools to provide them.

Schools require structural changes to incorporate the Bakola-Bagyeli. Veronique Folack summarizes the three necessary steps: "We must adapt education to their reality. It is necessary to try to take their culture into consideration. It is necessary to sensitize teachers."⁶² The public school system was created outside of Bakola-Bagyeli influence and founded on values, traditions, and organizational structures that are largely culturally incompatible. My research and UNESCO's recommendations concur that successful incorporation requires schools to integrate their values and realities as well.⁶³ Teaching Bakola-Bagyeli children requires special methods, skills, and attention. Curricula must be more flexible. Decentralization of education decision-making would support this flexibility, creating "a localized political system, allowing for better incorporation of the needs expressed by populations, and by local initiatives."⁶⁴ To compliment this political shift, parents must be given channels to be involved, express their concerns, and voice their opinions. Through these alterations, education can be adapted to meet needs as expressed by the population themselves. Finally,

* Translation: "on doit adapter l'éducation à leur milieu. Il faut essayer de les tenir compte de leur culture. Il faut sensibiliser les enseignants."

† Translation: "une politique de proximité, permettant de mieux prendre en compte les besoins exprimés par les populations, et les initiatives locales."

teachers must be given the training necessary to meet the needs of Bakola-Bagyeli.⁶⁵ Because they are not accustomed to the structure of school, have largely illiterate parents, and are more timid compared to other students, the Bakola-Bagyeli can get lost in the midst of other students and thus fall behind at school. Teachers must make special efforts to ensure that they remain engaged and keep pace with the other students in class.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RAPID

In order to better integrate Bakola-Bagyeli students into Cameroonian schools, RAPID and the Cameroonian government must focus on constructing additional boarding schools, increasing provision of school supplies, and conducting teacher training programs, as explained above. Additionally, I recommend that RAPID expand existing programs of cultural transmission and pilot a hunting dog incentive program.

RAPID should seek to expand existing programs that encourage students to learn and appreciate Bakola-Bagyeli culture. Less time at home means less time to learn traditional activities done at home.⁶⁶ At the Bipindi boarding school, children are taken on weekend group hunting trips, and given the opportunity to learn traditional dance and storytelling together. These programs are crucial to the survival of customs and practices that may be threatened as Bakola-Bagyeli children transition into the school system. Integration into the education system is a large step toward modernization and away from the traditional lifestyle led by the Bakola-Bagyeli. Education should not be a step in the absorption of the Bakola-Bagyeli into modern Cameroonian society, but rather for them to integrate, for their culture and way of life to become a part of this society without diluting its elemental components. Programs such as these can also promote cultural understanding between the Bantu and the Bakola-Bagyeli and reduce societal tensions.

The final program I recommend is a pilot program whereby

RAPID gives a hunting dog to every family that demonstrates a commitment to sending their children to school. In order to merit the dog, the family must have each child of school age complete one year of school, with a limited number of absences, and graduate to the next level. Children are thus encouraged, by their parents and RAPID, to both attend and succeed in school. The dogs serve as incentives for families to educate their children, and also to continue hunting. Hunting dogs are an already commonly used method of increasing hunting effectiveness; several encampments that I visited had them. If families could hunt with dogs instead of children, enrollment may increase and absenteeism may reduce without threatening the family's ability to sustain itself through hunting. The dogs would have to be trained before being given to the families to ensure that they are quality hunters and will be useful to the family. I propose that RAPID pilot this program in the area around Grand Zambé where there are many more absences than the other schools. During the 2007-2008 school year, Grand Zambé contributed 102 of the 195 absences among all of the schools combined, with most of them attributed to hunting.⁶⁷ If parents in this region can be incentivized to keep their children consistently in school while simultaneously continuing to hunt, this would help to solve the problem of absenteeism in Grand Zambé, and, if successful, could potentially be applied to address the same problem in other encampments.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, my research demonstrates that Bakola-Bagyeli face many challenges today, including limited access to public services, a diminishing forest habitat upon which they depend for most of their needs, and stigma and oppression from their Bantu neighbors. The all-encompassing benefit of education that I found throughout my research was "integration," a word that took on three primary interpretations: social, political, and economic. To fulfill each of these goals, education in a formal school setting is necessary. So-

cial integration entails literacy and language skills, learning about rights as Cameroonian citizens, and about pertinent issues such as HIV/AIDS. The second goal, political integration, requires achieving advocacy and direct political representation for the Bakola-Bagyeli community and enabling them to vocalize their interests on a political level. The final goal is economic integration, whereby the Bakola-Bagyeli alter their means of consumption by finding jobs. This would enable them to buy manufactured items that improve their quality of life, but also to abandon practices such as hunting and gathering. In certain cases, respondents listed this final interpretation as a means of "civilizing" the Bakola-Bagyeli by making their mode of subsistence more similar to that of the Bantu and Cameroon in general. This definition of "integration" is what renders schooling dangerous for the Bakola-Bagyeli.

To improve the schools, my research has led me to believe that Cameroon should build more and better-quality boarding schools, give materials to teachers and students, and incorporate aspects of Bakola-Bagyeli culture into the schools. I recommend that RAPID make efforts to train teachers, give more materials to teachers and students, and work towards the construction of additional boarding schools. Additionally, I recommend that they adopt two new programs. The first program would celebrate and share Bakola-Bagyeli culture that would make school more engaging, preserve traditions, and reduce stigma. The second program would reward parents who send their children to school with trained hunting dogs to make hunting more efficient.

Notes

1 UNESCO, "Dakar Framework for Action."

2 "Cameroon Education Statistics," Nation Master, <http://www.nationmaster.com/country/cm-cameroon/edu-education>.

3 "Cameroon Education Statistics."

114 Tucker • A Study of Cameroon's Bakola-Bagyeli

- 4 UNESCO, "Strategies alternatives d'éducation pour les groupes defavorises."
- 5 UNESCO, "Strategies alternatives d'éducation pour les groupes defavorises."
- 6 UNESCO, "Strategies alternatives d'éducation pour les groupes defavorises."
- 7 Francis Owona Ndi, Animateur for RAPID. Formal Interview. 14 :00 8/4/2010
- 8 Felix Zeh, Focus Group with Bouedjila Antoine, Zeh Félix, and Kebeh Rodrigue.
- 9 Jeanne Silpen, mother at Ndtoua encampment. Formal interview. Translated by Ndi Ombwa Felix Devalois. 14:00 14/4/2010
- 10 Nicole Namende, Sumimbo encampment. Formal Interview. Translated by Ndi Ombwa Félix Devalois. 11 :30 13/4/2010
- 11 Félix Devalois Ombwa Ndi, Presentation on Pygmies in Cameroon.
- 12 Silpen.
- 13 Francis Owona Ndi.
- 14 UNESCO, "Strategies alternatives d'éducation pour les groupes defavorises."
- 15 Albert Angoh, father at Bandevouri encampment. Formal Interview. Partially translated by Felix Devalois Ombwa Ndi, 15 :00 14/4/2010.
- 16 Dr. Ahanda Sosthène, Chef De L'unit Socio-Economique, World Wildlife Foundation. Formal Interview. 13 :30, 9/4/2010.
- 17 Sosthène.
- 18 Sosthène.
- 19 Namende.
- 20 Eyebe Eyebe Andre Joseph, Deuxieme Adjoint Prefectoral de Kribi. Formal interview. 13:30 25/4/2010.
- 21 Formal Interview with Rodrigue Kebeh, President of Youth Council, Kribi. 15:00 10/4/2010.
- 22 Eyebe Eyebe, Andre Joseph.
- 23 Ndi, Owona Francis.
- 24 Silpen.
- 25 Silpen.
- 26 Sosthène.
- 27 Formal interview with Dr. Ahanda Sosthène, Chef De L'unit Socio-Economique, World Wildlife Foundation. 13 :30, 9/4/2010.
- 28 Formal interview with Veronique Folack Sijou, WOPA president. 13:30 12/4/2010.
- 29 Sosthène.
- 30 Eyebe Eyebe, Andre Joseph.
- 31 Eyebe Eyebe Andre Joseph. [observations in conversation]
- 32 Sosthène.
- 33 Sosthène.
- 34 Angoh.
- 35 Lucien Ngally. Focus Group with Ngally Lucien; Gervais Biyang; and Julienne Bika.
- 36 Pauline Massila. Focus Group with Pauline Massila; and Jean-Pierre Mangwele.
- 37 Antoine Bouedjila. Focus Group with Antoine Bouedjila, Félix Zeh, and Rodrigue Kebeh.
- 38 Nsim.
- 39 Angoh.
- 40 Silpen.
- 41 Ngally.
- 42 Emile Biyogmam, Director of Bissou-I School. Formal Interview. 11 :00 13/4/2010
- 43 Ngally.

- 44 Sosthène.
- 45 A. Koulaninga, "L'Education Chez les Pygmées de Centrafrique: These Pour le Doctorat de 3ème Cycle," (Paris: Université de Paris V. René Descartes, Sciences Humaines-Sorbonne, 1987).
- 46 Koulaninga, "L'Education Chez les Pygmées de Centrafrique."
- 47 Koulaninga, "L'Education Chez les Pygmées de Centrafrique."
- 48 Christine Yvette Ndjock. Focus Group with Christine Yvette Ndjock; Jean Eman; and Felicien Nzie.
- 49 Silpen.
- 50 Félix Devalois Ombwa Ndi. Rapport de Fin d'Année Scolaire des Activités de Suivi Des Enfants Bagyeli et Bakola de la Zone PPAV.
- 51 Sosthène.
- 52 Koulaninga, "L'Education Chez les Pygmées de Centrafrique."
- 53 Koulaninga, "L'Education Chez les Pygmées de Centrafrique."
- 54 Koulaninga, "L'Education Chez les Pygmées de Centrafrique."
- 55 Simon-Pierre Ondoa, enseignant and director of Ecole Publique Ndtoua, Formal Interview. 13:00 14/4/2010
- 56 Ondoa.
- 57 UNESCO, "Dakar Framework for Action."
- 58 UNESCO, "Dakar Framework for Action."
- 59 Samuel Samba, parent and teacher at Bipindi Internat. Formal Interview. 11:00 24/4/2010
- 60 David Foue, ex-student at Kourmintoum Encampement. Formal Interview. 11:00 27/4/2010
- 61 Veronique Folack Sijou, WOPA president. Formal Interview. 13:30 12/4/2010.
- 62 UNESCO, "Strategies alternatives d'éducation pour les groupes defavorises."
- 63 UNESCO, "Strategies alternatives d'éducation pour les groupes defavorises."
- 64 Ondoa.
- 65 Félix Devalois Ombwa Ndi, Rapport Trimestriel pour le Suivi Scolaire des Enfants Bagyeli et Bakola. Année Scolaire 2007-2008.

Bibliography

- Devalois, N. O. "Rapport de Fin D'Annee Scolaire des Activités de Suivi des Enfants Bagyeli et Bakola de la Zone PPAV." RAPID. Kribi, Cameroon, 2008.
- _____. "Rapport de Suivi de Fin d'Année Scolaire 2006-2007 des Enfants Bakola-Bagyeli." RAPID. Kribi, Cameroon, June 2007.
- Devalois, N. O. "Rapport Trimestriel pour le Suivi Scolaire des Enfants Bagyeli et Bakola: Année Scolaire 2007-2008." RAPID. Kribi, Cameroon, December 2007.
- Koulaninga, A. "L'Education Chez les Pygmées de Centrafrique: These Pour le Doctorat de 3ème Cycle." Paris, Université de Paris V. René Descartes, Sciences Humaines-Sorbonne, 1987.
- "Cameroon Education Statistics." Nation Master. <http://www.nationmaster.com/country/cm-cameroon/edu-education> (accessed March 2010).
- UNESCO. "Dakar Framework for Action, Education for All Initiative." UNESCO. Dakar, Senegal, 2000.
- UNESCO. "Strategies Alternatives d'Education pour les Groupes Desfavorises." UNESCO. Paris, Institut International de Planification de l'Education, 1997.
- UNESCO. "Ten Things You Need to Know About Education for All." UNESCO, 2010.

Interviews (Chronological Order)

- Ndi Owona, Francis. Animateur for RAPID. Interview by author. Kribi, Cameroon, April 8, 2010.
- Sosthène, Dr. Ahanda. World Wildlife Foundation. Interview by author. Kribi, Cameroon, April 9, 2010.
- Kebeh, Rodrigue. Président d'Association des Jeunes, Kribi. Interview by author. Kribi, Cameroon, October 4, 2010. April 10, 2010.
- Folack Sijou, Veronique. WOPA president. Interview by author. Kribi, Cameroon, April 12, 2010.
- Mekoma, Madame Ida Laure. Teacher at Bissou-I School. Interview by author. Kribi, Cameroon, April 13, 2010.
- Biyogmam, Emile. Director of Bissou-I School. Interview by author. Kribi, Cameroon, April 13, 2010.
- Namende, Nicole. Sumimbo encampment. Interview by author translated by Ndi Ombgwa Félix Devalois. Kribi, Cameroon, April 13, 2010.
- Anonymous Man. Ndoua Encampment. Interview by author translated by Ndi Ombgwa Félix Devalois. Kribi, Cameroon, April 13, 2010.
- Ondoa, Simon-Pierre. Enseignant and director of Ecole Publique Ndtoua. Interview by author. Kribi, Cameroon, April 14, 2010.
- Silpen, Jeanne. Mother at Ndtoua encampment. Interview by author translated by Ndi Ombgwa Félix Devalois. Kribi, Cameroon, April 14, 2010.
- Angoh, Albert. Father at Bandevouri encampment. Interview by author partially translated by Ndi Ombgwa Félix Devalois. Kribi, Cameroon, April 14, 2010.
- Louanga, Solange. Mother at Makorondzong encampment. Interview by author translated by Ndi Ombgwa Félix Devalois. Kribi, Cameroon, April 24 2010.
- Samba, Samuel. Parent and teacher at Bipindi Internat. Interview by author. Kribi, Cameroon, April 24, 2010.
- Eyebe Eyebe, Andre Joseph. Deuxieme Adjoint Prefectoral de Kribi. Interview by author. Kribi, Cameroon, April 25, 2010.
- Foue, David. Ex-student at Kourmintoum Encampment. Interview by author. Kribi, Cameroon, April 27, 2010.
- Nsim. Parent at Bilolo Encampment. Interview by author translated by Francis Ndi Owona. Kribi, Cameroon, April 29, 2010.

Focus Groups (Chronological Order)

- Bouedjila, Antoine, ONG non-spécifié; Zeh, Félix, Coordonateur de l'Association Equilibre Humanitaire du Cameroun; Kebeh, Rodrigue, Président d'Association des Jeunes. Focus Group at Meeting of Comités Locaux de Suivi Participatif de l'Exécution de l'Investissement Public. April 8, 2010.
- Ndjock, Christine Yvette, Enseignante; Eman, Jean, Headmaster; Nzie, Felicien, Enseignant at Ecole Publique Bandevouri. Focus Group. April 14, 2010
- Ngally, Lucien, parent; Biyang, Gervais, parent; Bika, Julienne, parent; of Bikwalo Encampment. Focus Group at Bikwalo Encampment translated by Ndi Ombgwa Félix Devalois. April 24, 2010.
- Massila, Pauline, parent; Mangwele, Jean-Pierre, parent. Focus group at Bitoumbo Encampment translated by Ndi Ombgwa Félix Devalois. April 24, 2010
- Majoelle, Anne, parent; Misanga, Emilienne, parent; Mazigi, Josephine, parent. Focus group at Kourmintoum Encampment. April 27, 2010.
- Abougo, Alexander, parent; Engamba, Henriette, parent; Akom, Jean, parent; and Nandongo, Clotilde, parent. Focus group at Bissiang Encampment. Partially translated by Francis Ndi Owona. April 29, 2010