MINISTRY OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL RESEARCH

The Development of General Models of Bilingual Education:
the Mundani Example of the Transfer from Informal
Experimentation with the PROPELCA Primary School programme
to the Adoption of the Formal Programme

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Société Internationale de Linguistique B.P.1299, Yaoundé Republic of Cameroon The Development of General Models of Bilingual Education: the Mundani Example of the Transfer from Informal Experimentation with the PROPELCA Primary-school Programme to the Adoption of the Formal Programme

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1.0 Introduction

1.1 Goal

The goal of this operation was to research, monitor and document the various steps involved in making the transfer from informal experimentation with the PROPELCA primary—school programme to the adoption of the formal programme. (PROPELCA is the French acronym for the Operational Research Project for the Teaching of Languages in Cameroon.) The aim of the operation was to gain a better understanding of the procedures and adjustments involved, with a view to facilitating the transfer process in other situations where it might be desired.

1.2 Special features of the Mundani experiment

The Mundani experiment is unique in several ways. It is the only example of informal experimentation with the PROPELCA programme in South West Province. Nor has the formal PROPELCA programme yet been introduced in the Province. With regard to the transfer process under study, the Mundani case is unique. Unlike the situation in North West Province, for example, the informal experimentation has been introduced here in the public schools context only, a context where it has been tolerated rather than welcomed by the authorities. In North West Province, the transfer process has also taken place only within the private schools context where it has been facilitated by the evident effectiveness of the formal programme in some neighbouring area.

In the light of these facts, the transfer envisaged in the Mundani context, with no precedent to guide the way, promises to be a challenging undertaking.

1.3 The method used

The researcher's presence in the Mundani area during the research period was limited to a total of eight visits lasting one to three weeks, as permitted by her overall programme. This was supplemented by various contacts, planned and unplanned, with Mundani people whom she met outside the area. It is felt that these limitations did not seriously affect the monitoring process involved in the operation.

In keeping with the character of this operation, 'research, monitor and document', the researcher adopted the 'naturalistic'

research paradigm. This approach suggests that human behaviour be studied as it naturally occurs, in natural settings, and within its total context. This paradigm is further described by H.S.Bhola (1990:29) as follows:

"...unlike the rationalistic researcher/evaluator, the naturalistic (researcher) seeks first to describe phenomena and then search for regularities and patterns. The naturalistic (researcher) searches for understandings of the specific situation that may later illuminate other somewhat similar situations. The naturalistic (researcher) does not search for generalizable laws, but rather for insights that can be transferred from one context to another."

It was required, therefore, that the researcher have a good basic knowledge of the Mundani setting, and, in particular, that she be able to identify those features of special significance to the study in hand. In order to do this, Bhola's CLER model was applied. This research model takes as its basis the social configurations, linkages, environment and resources pertaining to the process under study. Its stated purpose is to help put a 'frame on the flux' of field realities (pp 163-4, 171-2). This model is presented in more detail in a later section. The researcher has been acquainted with the Mundani area for 16 years.

Data collection included unstructured interviews, observation, note-taking and the interpretation and summarising of these notes in quarterly reports.

As typically with 'naturalistic' research operations, the findings are presented in the form of a case study.

- 2.0 Background
- 2.1 The Mundani area
- 2.1.1 Geography

The Mundani language area correlates with the new Wabane Subdivision, Lebialem Division, South West Province. Although subdivisional status was conferred in September 1992, the actual implementation has not yet taken place. The nearest government presence continues to be at distant Fontem, the seat of the new Divisional administration of Lebialem. Efforts are being made to develop sub-divisional headquarters at Wabane, a centralised resettlement zone in the Mundani area.

The Mundani area comprises two regions: the precipitous mountains and valleys of Upper Mundani and the low-lying, level rain forest of Lower Mundani. The upper area suffers from poor soil, lack of infrastructures, and geographical isolation. The lower area is more fertile and potentially more open to the outside world, although still inaccessible by road for much of the year. The schools involved in this study are located in the upper area.

Travel throughout the area is on foot and all goods are transported on the heads of individuals. Almost all Mundani settlements are within a four-hour hike from the Fon of Bamumbu's Palace (Upper Mundani), which lies in the centre of the language area. Efforts are continuing to develop motorable roads in this very difficult terrain.

2.1.2 Population

Estimates in 1989 put the Mundani population at around 30,000 in the home area, with up to 20,000 outside the area. Only a handful of non-Mundani live in the area.

2.1.3 Social stratification

In Mundani society there is rigid social ranking: Fon/chief, sub-chief, quarter head, family head. In addition, prestige increases according to the number of wives and children and also position in the traditional social structure. Decisions are made at the appropriate level by the Fon, subchief, quarter head or family head, along with his elders. There must be a consensus among the elders. Those holding divergent views are seen as trouble-makers. At the local level, there are rivalries between chiefs. Decisions are often made more with a view to preserving position and power than in response to the needs of the people. Such a climate has not encouraged locally- organized initiatives in community service.

However, the emphasis is now tending to shift due to the movement of people out of the home area, the gradually widening educational opportunities and the formation of the Mundani Elite Development Association (MEDA) in April 1987. Educational level and type of job held (government employee, teacher, etc.) now beginning to confer prestige. There is considerable respect in the home area for those who have 'made it' outside the area.

The MEDA has taken leadership in trying to solve the longstanding problems of the area, isolation and disunity, resulting in underdevelopment. They see the development of the language as fostering ethnic pride and solidarity. MEDA has been attempting to stimulate development projects, both by urging the people to self-help and by seeking aid from outside agencies. Such projects are hard to initiate due to the remoteness of the area and the difficult terrain.

2.1.4 Economy

The main economic activities are farming and other forms of manual labour and trading. Women are responsible for subsistence farming, while men control the cash crops. The people work very hard in the main planting-season **[June-September)* and women have less leisure than men. Men also control the income from livestock and the complex system of bride-prices. Savings societies ('contributions') are the chief means used to raise money for bride-prices and other individual needs.

2.1.5 Language use

Mundani is used in the home and at most social occasions. English is the official language in schools, although much instruction is given in Mundani, especially in Class 1. Pidgin and English are used along with Mundani in the church context. In the home area, the prestige of Mundani does not enter much into people's thinking since no other language seriously competes with it.

2.1.6 Education

The Mundani area has 12 public primary schools, in which the majority of teachers are Mundani, but untrained. The first local secondary school is just completing its third year. Verbally, parents want education for their children, but they resist paying the fees for books, etc. Most school age children attend school for a number of years. About 20% complete Class 7, and the proportion of these continuing to secondary level, though still small, has increased with the opening of the local secondary school.

2.1.7 Literacy rate

No detailed investigation has been done, but it is estimated that there may be between 20-35% semi-literacy in the home area. The overall literacy rate is probably low in comparison with neighbouring groups.

2.2 The PROPELCA project

PROPELCA is the French acronym for the Operational Research Project for the Teaching of Languages in Cameroon. The following section offers a brief description of the project.

1977-81 PLANNING

The teaching of languages in Cameroon touches various areas which are covered by the 4 models of PROPELCA:

- Model 1: bilingual instruction in French (for English speakers) and in English (for French speakers) in secondary schools
- Model 2: instruction of the national language (L1) and the official language (OL) of the particular region during the first years of primary school
- Model 3: the teaching of national languages in secondary schools
- Model 4: the teaching of national languages in kindergartens

It is Model 2 which is in focus in this study.

1981-87 EXPERIMENTAL PHASE

A bilingual programme was launched for the first 3 years of primary school, aiming to produce balanced bilinguals in the mother tongue and official language. The project began in 1 private school

in each of 4 language areas (Duala, Ewondo, Fe'efe'e, Lamnso') and grew to 11 private schools in 8 languages by the end of the experimental phase. Over 3000 children went through the programme, and about 100 teachers were trained. In 1985 PROPELCA undertook the harmonisation of the teaching of national languages in secondary schools.

1987-95 EXTENSION PHASE

Extension to other languages: The bilingual primary school programme is to be extended to 12 languages. Zonal extension: Where the experimentation has already begun, the programme will be extended to other schools, and eventually, will be implemented in all schools in that language area.

1995- GENERALISATION PHASE

When the Ministry of National Education adopts the programme, primary and secondary schools in the languages chosen as viable for standardisation will teach the PROPELCA programme. This means that every Cameroonian completing primary school will be able to read and write in a national and official language. Every secondary school graduate will be able to read and write at least 3 languages, the third one being a second national or the second official language.

2.2.1 PROPELCA Model 2

The following information has been extracted from Tadadjeu et al., 1990: 33,36.

The PROPELCA model in focus in this study is Model 2, bilingual instruction (L1-OL1) in primary schools. The programme for the primary schools covers the first three years. From the time the children start school, two languages are used, the national and the official language spoken in the respective areas. The national language is the language of instruction for all subjects; the first official language is taught as a subject. Over the course of the three years, the status of the two languages progressively changes. The first official language becomes the language of instruction and it is anticipated that the mother tongue should still have a place in the schedule of the more advanced classes as a subject.

The following table shows the instructional content for each year (classes 1,2 and 3) and in each subject.

Class 1 Class 2 Class 3

Mother Tongue

(L1)

Mother Tongue Alphabet

-fluent reading -correct spelling

-introduction -improvement of to reading reading and and writing writing skills

-grammatical concepts -writing short compositions

Oral Stories, songs, recitations and narrations

-complete the -transition to -vocabulary Official bridge to the reading and -structure of Language writing of OL1 official the official (OL1)programme language -special features (increase vocadrawn from bulary, use OL1 orthography daily life, grammatical orally terms) -numbers 1-1000 Arithmetic numbers 1-20 -numbers 1-100 -the 4 operations -the 4 operations (concepts & incl.carrying figures) (L1 and OL1) -geometrical -addition concepts, money, -subtraction units, weights (L1)(L1 and OL1)

Teaching materials are designed and developed for each class; primer and postprimer content is specific to each language in order to portray the culture and immediate environment. The use of the same method in the textbooks provides a homogeneous frame.

2.2.2 Informal experimentation with the teaching of Cameroonian languages in the primary school

After viewing this outline of the formal PROPELCA programme as essential background information, we now move to consider what has come to be known as 'informal experimentation' of the PROPELCA approach.

For several years, there have been efforts in various places to teach certain Cameroonian languages on an informal basis. This basically involves teaching a Cameroonian mother tongue to children who are native speakers, outside of the formal primary school system. In some schools, however, the organisers have been granted approximately two hours of regular class time a week for mother tongue courses. The use of these few class hours in no way undermines the official schedule or course content; rather it means an extension and reorientation of the time destined for cultural and spiritual activities.

We may define the informal experimentation of teaching the mother tongue in primary school as an experiment carried out on the fringe of the present school system. It is not integrated into the system as are the various experiments carried out through the PROPELCA project, but it is very important. In the course of experiments carried out by PROPELCA in the schools, it has been observed that conditions are more favourable for experimentation with those languages that had previously seen informal experimentation than for other languages. The logical conclusion is that success with those languages is more likely. (p41)

The Training Manual (Tadadjeu et al, 1991:44,45) presents a set

of conditions which, if obtaining, would maximise the effects of informal experimentation. It comprises the following:

- i) the existence of at least a preliminary version of a primer for the particular language
- ii) the existence of other reading materials
- iii) the expected stability of the organiser
 - iv) effective support from local education
 authorities
 - v) close collaboration with programmes and institutions specializing in linguistic research

3.0 The Mundani situation

3.1 Mundani prior experience in informal experimentation

This began in the 1988-89 school year with the completion of the training of one government school-teacher in the PROPELCA language teaching method. Thanks to approval given by the Headmaster, he was able to teach Mundani as the Class 1 teacher in GS Bamumbu, the most prestigious primary school in the area. In the same year, permission was also given to the Mundani Literacy Coordinator, also trained in the primer teaching method, to teach Mundani to Classes 3 and 4 daily for half an hour respectively, in the same school.

This informal experimentation has continued in the school until the present; in 1990 a new Headmaster gave his approval for its continuation. Since the trained Class 1 teacher was transferred to Class 7 the following year, and able to teach Mundani only sporadically to the lower classes, two Parent-Teacher Association teachers were trained in the method and taught Mundani to Classes 3 and 4 during the 1990-91 school year. At this point, they, too, became no longer available to teach Mundani. The past two school years have seen Mundani being taught to Classes 1 to 4 on a daily half-hour basis for each class by the Literacy Coordinator.

In the meantime, five teachers in other Mundani schools received training in the method, two of them trained government teachers and three Parent-Teacher Association teachers. The latter three teachers taught Mundani in their respective schools during one school year with the approval of their Headmasters and under the supervision of the Literacy Coordinator. The two government teachers, both Headmasters, were unable for various reasons to get experimentation launched in their schools.

By March 1992, there had been a three-to-four year period of informal experimentation, albeit sporadic in nature. It was felt, however, that the results were sufficiently promising to pave the way for proposing the transfer to the formal PROPELCA programme, as outlined above. It was to the recently constituted Mundani Language Committee that the proposal was formally made.

3.2 Analysis of the process towards transfer to the formal PROPELCA programme in the Mundani situation

3.2.1 Outline of Bhola's CLER model

Before proceeding to a study of the steps taken with a view to transferring to the formal PROPELCA programme, and of their implications, it is necessary to introduce Bhola's CLER model which we shall be applying to the Mundani context. This model is designed to provide the required 'frame on the flux' of field realities and to provide boundaries to the research.

Naturalistic research requires particular kinds of theory that are not in control, but are in collusion with the researcher - an :"empty conceptual set of containers", as Bhola terms it. The CLER model is an apt one with its focus on the changes being effected in a particular context and on their impact. It meets both these criteria: change and an "empty conceptual set".

The 'C' of the model represents the social configurations involved in the process under study and their relationships. 'L' stands for linkages between the planner system and the adopter system and linkages among the actors in both these systems. 'E' is the environment surrounding the planning system and the adopter system. 'R' stands for resources. The planner system needs these resources to promote change and the adopter system needs them to incorporate change.

The model suggests that in order to research, monitor, and document a process of change effectively, one should take as a basis these four variables, studying the developments within them and among them. Change is to be understood not in a vacuum, but in terms of realities such as these that underlie it, effect it, and are affected by it. One should see 'what is happening' to the meanings held by configurations and to the quality of relationships among and between them; what is happening to the linkages among people, groups and institutions; what is happening to the generation and allocation of resources, and what is happening to the environment within which individuals and communities are living.

3.2.2 The CLER model applied to the Mundani context

We shall consider the developments in the Mundani context in the light of the above four variables at the following intervals:

- i) the point of initiation of the transfer process and
- ii) significant points during the attempted transfer process

3.2.2.1 i) the point of initiation of the transfer process

As we have noted, it was at this point that the formal PROPELCA programme was presented at the first Language Committee meeting, March 1992. Since many of its members were school-teachers, the informal experimentation of Mundani teaching was familiar to them. Emphasis was, therefore, placed on the essential differences between the informal and the formal PROPELCA programme (section 2.2). The

Committee's reaction towards the proposed transfer was positive. The members readily grasped the implications of embarking on the formal programme, and were quick to recognise the obstacles barring the way. Official approval from the Ministry of National Education at Subdivisional level, at Teast, would be needed. For this, they asked the SIL researcher to request the Director of the PROPELCA project in Yaoundé to apply to the Subdivisional Inspector for authorisation to proceed with the transfer.

Another notable obstacle identified was the acute shortage of trained Mundani teachers in the home area. The committee decided to tackle this problem by requesting the Subdivisional Education Inspector to have additional trained Mundani teachers assigned to the home area or have trained non-Mundani teachers assigned to teach the senior classes, thus freeing the Mundani teachers for the lower classes involved in the PROPELCA programme.

3.2.2.1.1 Configurations

At the outset of the transfer process, we may note the significant roles of certain groupings and institutions.

On the 'adopter system' front, the Language Committee, recently constituted from elected representatives from the various sectors of the community, is recognised as the chief decision-maker in matters relating to the development of the Mundani language. Comprising as it does some headmasters, several teachers, and a good number of parents of pupils, it appears, at the outset, well-placed to give the leadership in the transfer process.

We find the schools' scene represented at the local level by the Headmaster and the Parent-Teacher Association. As noted above, there is considerable overlap in the school and community representations.

The higher level educational authorities, located in distant Fontem (subdivisional) and Buea (provincial), also have a significant role to play in developments. However, their remoteness from the local scene tends to make for long delays in handling matters and to contribute to a certain lack of 'feeling' for local realities in an area where access is difficult. The local authorities, for their part, feel a strong measure of accountability towards their superiors.

On the 'planner system' front, the PROPELCA team is most directly represented by the researcher, and less directly by other members of the team. They are involved in the annual teacher-training sessions in Bamenda. The researcher also 'doubles up' as the SIL representative on this 'planner' front. It should be noted that, for the Mundani, the PROPELCA role is a secondary responsibility for the researcher, while her primary role is to be SIL researcher in the language and technical advisor to the Language Committee.

It would appear that roles and relationships are not well defined on this front; the PROPELCA team proper is a rather shadowy

concept, while the distinction between PROPELCA and SIL is not a clear one.

3.2.2.1.2 Linkages

At the outset, the linkage between the planner and the adopter systems at the local level, while not optimal, is probably adequate. A reasonable foundation has been laid during the informal experimentation period and the sporadic nature of the planner 'presence' in the area should make for greater local initiative in the transfer process.

At higher levels, as was anticipated, the linkage is more tenuous. Up to this point, there has been a marked reluctance on the part of the Ministry of National Education to endorse the PROPELCA project even where it has been producing significant results. This degree of reserve is naturally compounded in an area where the formal PROPELCA project is scarcely known.

3.2.2.1.3 Environment

The environment at the outset of the period under study could be termed hopeful with regard to the potential success of the transfer operation. The informal experimentation in the teaching of Mundani has created interest and the recent establishment of the local Language Committee has also served to focus community attention on language development. On a broader front, there is evident discontent in that part of the country regarding the current political and educational situations; at this point, however, its effects are not felt on community life generally.

3.2.2.1.4 Resources

In the CLER model, the variable 'resources' covers such factors as knowledge, influence, materials, personnel, institutions, and time. Thanks to the informal experimentation period, many of these resources are available in sufficient measure at least for the launching of the transfer process on the limited scale envisaged. The personnel factor, namely teachers trained in the PROPELCA method, is probably the weakest link in the chain.

3.2.2.1.5 Summary

The various developments at this point indicate a relatively healthy situation in the areas of the four variables, as outlined above in section 3.2.1.

- 3.2.2.2 Significant points during the transfer process:
 August 1992, November 1992, July 1993, March 1994
- 3.2.2.2.1 August 1992.

3.2.2.2.1.1 Situation

At this point in the process, a letter requesting authorisation to introduce the PROPELCA experiment has been obtained from the

Director of the project. The Director was reluctant to concede to the Language Committee's request, believing that such official authorisation was not absolutely essential for the experiment to go ahead. However, given the strength of the Language Committee's request, he agreed to provide the letter. Plans were made to have it delivered to the Subdivisional Inspector by one of the Mundani Headmasters and the Literacy Coordinator in September. Both are committee members. Two Headmasters also attended the annual PROPELCA teacher-training course in Bamenda in July for the first time.

3.2.2.2.1.2 Configurations

The Language Committee has continued to function, though showing signs of needing stimulus. The committee is meeting on a monthly basis, but attendance is not regular. Members could probably benefit from having small language assignments to work on, but time constraints on the SIL researcher prevent her from being a consistent adviser/supervisor.

Thanks to the continuing support of the respective Headmasters and the supervision of the Literacy Coordinator, the informal experimentation in Mundani teaching was carried on in several schools until the end of the school year. Two Headmasters attended the annual Bamenda PROPELCA teacher training course in July for the first time.

3.2.2.2.1.3 Linkages

The SIL researcher, also in her PROPELCA liaison role, attended the May meeting of the Language Committee. She also visited several Mundani classes in the schools and interacted with Headmasters and teachers. The participation of two Headmasters in the Bamenda PROPELCA course also served to reinforce the adopter-planner relationship.

The planned visit to the Subdivisional Inspector to present the request for authorisation will sound out the linkage between the planner and adopter systems at the higher level.

3.2.2.2.1.4 Environment

Dissatisfaction has been more evident regarding the political situation during the intervening months, particularly in the Anglophone zone. Since it is school vacation time, the effects of this are currently not being dramatically felt on the school scene, but may affect the new school year.

3.2.2.2.1.5 Resources

The participation of two Headmasters at the PROPELCA teacher training course has meant some gain in the areas of trained personnel, knowledge, and influence. There might have been greater participation had there already been favourable signals from the higher authorities regarding the introduction of the PROPELCA programme.

3.2.2.2.1.6 Summary

The initial local impetus to action in the transfer process appears to be slackening, while there is more dependence on stimulus from the outside.

3.2.2.2.2 November 1992

3.2.2.2.1 Stuation

Certain significant events have taken place since August. The Sub-Inspector has given a non-committal response to the request for authorisation to experiment in the formal PROPELCA programme. He has referred the PROPELCA Director rather to the Provincial Delegate in Buea, but the Director does not feel inclined to pursue the matter with the higher authorities. In the meantime, the local primary school Headmaster and the Secondary School Principal continue to accommodate the informal experimentation in their timetables, while it falls into abeyance in the other schools.

3.2.2.2.2 Environment

We take this variable first, as there have been a number of critical developments in this context which have considerably affected the other variables. The post-election crisis of October 1992 and the subsequent imposition of a state of emergency in North West Province have had a stunning and all-pervasive effect on life in general there, and in neighbouring zones, including the Mundani area. Serious rifts, reflecting opposing political camps, have developed in the community, adversely affecting the functioning of the Language Committee. The climate of uncertainty arising from the political crisis has all but cancelled out any enthusiasm for new initiatives such as PROPELCA.

3.2.2.2.3 Configurations

As indicated above, groups such as the Language Committee and the Parent Teacher Association were affected by the very unsettled political climate. A Language Committee meeting did take place at this time but was very poorly attended.

3.2.2.2.2.4 Linkages

Here, too, there was deterioration. On the higher adopter-planner level, in particular, the degree of reluctance on both sides for interaction and collaboration resulted in a cooling of initiative on the local level. A case in point was the two Headmasters, who attended the July course and who had stated their intention to introduce the programme into their respective schools, did not do so.

3.2.2.2.5 Resources

The much hoped for resource of official authorisation for the transfer to the formal programme did not materialise. So the next best alternative was to continue with the informal experimentation

where possible. However, this diminished in scale at this point, mainly, I believe, due to the withholding of the higher level support.

3.2.2.2.6 Summary

The combination of the political crisis and the withholding of official authorisation for the transfer process during this period now dealt a fatal blow, I feel, to the process. All real commitment to implementing the formal programme was drained away at this point, although some traces of the initial impetus for it still remained.

3.2.2.2.3 July 1993

3.2.2.2.3.1 Situation

At this point another school year has ended with the informal experimentation continuing on a reduced scale. No Mundani teachers attended the July PROPELCA teacher training course in Bamenda.

3.2.2.3.2 Configurations

The Language Committee has barely functioned during the interval. The local Headmaster has been the key to the continuing informal experimentation. The SIL researcher (and PROPELCA liaison person) was on home leave for almost 5 months.

3.2.2.2.3.3 Linkages

No further approach has been made towards either the Provincial Delegate for Education or the Sub-Inspector by either the adopter or planner fronts. However, the PROPELCA team did make contact with the secondary school principal in Bamenda in July. As a result, he states that his intention is to present the PROPELCA approach at the secondary level to the relevant authorities.

Local interest in the transfer process, however, has considerably waned in the interval.

3.2.2.2.3.4 Environment

The climate of disillusionment regarding the political situation has continued to generate apathy towards new initiatives.

3.2.2.2.3.5 Resources

The absence of Mundani teachers at the July training course has meant a further loss in trained personnel for the project. The discontinuation of classes in some schools also means that those teachers are losing expertise and pupils are to some degree losing what knowledge they have gained.

3.2.2.3.6 Summary

The real source of the decline in interest is difficult to detect. Is local apathy the primary cause or is it because there is

a lack of support from external sources? The two factors have a reciprocal effect, resulting in diminished interest.

3.2.2.2.4 March 1994

3.2.2.2.4.1 Situation

The 1993-4 school year, to date, has been an extremely unsettled one, particularly in the Anglophone zone. Little of consequence has been achieved mainly as a result of the on-going teachers' strike. The informal experimentation has also borne the brunt of the strike action.

3.2.2.2.4.2 Environment

This variable is again the dominant one, with the teachers' strike effectively blocking any revival or progress in the transfer process. The resulting inertia is compounded by the currency devaluation in January 1994. The variable 'environment' is probably the least susceptible to control and tends to have the greatest influence.

3.2.2.2.4.3 Configurations

The Language Committee did not function either as a result of the practically non-functioning of the schools, and the consequent 'dispersal' of the teachers.

3.2.2.4.4 Linkages

Since the various groupings involved ceased to function, no meaningful linkages could be made.

3.2.2.2.4.5 Resources

The absence of activity in the other areas further reduced the profitable use of existing resources and discouraged working towards improvement in this area.

4.0 Conclusion

Bhola's CLER model has helped to uncover, in systematic fashion, some of the dynamics of this particular initiative for change at a deeper than surface level. We have been able to appreciate the essential roles of the four variables in the change process, their degree of interlinkage, and the importance of harnessing them as a set.

At the outset, we were able to note certain unique features of the Mundani case which promised to add to the challenge of the undertaking (section 1.2). Other equally exceptional and daunting features only became apparent as the process took its course, namely the major upheavals which arose on the political and educational fronts. The addition of these features spelt inevitable doom for the transfer initiative.

4.1 Useful pointers

However, having noted these overwhelming obstacles, there are some useful pointers that may still be drawn from our application of the CLER model to the situation, and which may be profitably noted for application in similar circumstances.

On the <u>configurational</u> front, it is probably important for the promotion of change that stability and balance be maintained in those groups or parties playing key roles. In the Mundani case, not enough care was given to nurturing the fledgling Language Committee, especially in a setting where such organisms normally struggle to survive (section 2.1.3). As a result, wider community participation in the initiative was sacrificed with the key role residing with the headmaster.

Regarding the <u>linkages</u> variable, the inadequate definition of the planner system, PROPELCA, both at local and higher levels, probably constituted a serious weakness. Efforts need to be made to remedy this should a future initiative take place. The SIL researcher's triple role as SIL worker, PROPELCA liaison, and Language Committee adviser may have served to cloud certain distinctions pertinent to the success of the transfer process, although the triple role might also be viewed as a strength.

The tendency to neglect all aspects of this variable in the Mundani context contributed much, it seems, to the loss of impetus and sense of direction.

We have noted that certain aspects of the <u>environment</u> variable lie beyond the control of change agents. However, some 'management' may be feasible, for example, in facilitating smooth relationships where possible and in keeping expectations reasonable.

With regard to <u>resources</u>, it may be all too easy in a given situation to overlook some of the more abstract ones such as knowledge and influence. A conscious effort should be made to monitor this area and to encourage the community to develop its own resources, wherever possible. This will help counter an inherent tendency to depend on outside sources.

It is not clear yet whether the Mundani attempt to transfer from informal experimentation with the PROPELCA primary school programme to the adoption of the formal programme should be considered abandoned or merely adjourned. Whatever the case, certain insights have been gained as to the dynamics involved in one particular change process and these may usefully be considered and judiciously applied in future initiatives of a similar nature in the Mundani context or elsewhere.

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