

22A - 4 -

**RURAL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM (CAMEROON)
PANAFRICAN INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT (PAID)**

**Board Approval: September 20, 1973
Total Budget: \$479,000
File Number: 3-P-73-0049**

See Appendix A for a complete list of people interviewed to obtain information for this evaluation.

BACKGROUND

The project was organized and managed by the Panafrican Institute for Development (PAID) an international association founded in 1964 to offer training in integrated rural development for middle level civil servants of both French speaking and English speaking African countries. In the decade 1965-1975 the Association was able to found and develop:

- a) Two institutes, one French speaking (Douala 1965) and the other English speaking (Buea 1969), for training middle level development personnel, basing their instruction on field work (long term training);
- b) A Centre of Applied Research (1971), whose activities are organically linked with field and training projects;
- c) A Programme for Project Management (1972), giving instruction to senior officials by a series of seminars spread out over a two-year period (long term discontinuous in-service training);
- d) National seminars and refresher courses (short term in-service training).

PAID's Governing Council is an international group whose President for the period 1974-1977 was Cheikh Hamidou Kane (see Appendix B for complete list).

The Secretary-General of PAID is Fernand Vincent (Swiss) who works out of an office in Geneva. Funding for the organization comes from various European and North American governments and Foundations. Only a small portion of their budget is raised from African governments.

In 1976 the PAID budget was slightly over \$2 million. The percentage contributions were as follows: U.S.A. - 23.3; Switzerland - 17.6; IDRC - 7.1; Common Market - 5.8; Germany - 5.8; Holland - 5.8; UNICEF - 5.1; Ford Foundation - 5.4; CIDA - 4.4; Cameroon - 3.0; Other African Governments - 5.7; U.K. - 4.9; Others - Belgium, France. The Dutch and West German governments recently built a new training college in Buea.

For further details of the background of PAID see Appendix C "Progress Report 1973-1976".

In 1971 a Centre of Applied Research (CAR) was established to carry out major research projects on rural development and to transfer the experience gained in this research experience to the teaching situation in the two training colleges: L'Ecole des Cadres at Douala and Du Sautoy College at Buea.

OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH PROJECT:

The components and objectives of the IDRC supported project were as follows:

- a) to assist the Ministry of Agriculture in establishing eight pilot-vocational-agricultural education projects and to help them find ways of linking the resources and programs of a number of other ministries with these projects to facilitate their success. Some of the ways in which assistance will be given are as follows:
 - i) case studies will be made of selected existing rural youth training projects being run by non-governmental agencies;
 - ii) extensive data gathering and fact finding efforts will be carried out, with some efforts directed to socio-economic surveys of the project areas and other efforts directed to documenting the resources of various government departments in the project area and the policy decisions necessary to allow these varied resources to be applied in a complementary fashion to achieve the goals of the pilot projects;
- and

- iii) a procedure will be developed for monitoring the formulation, implementation and management of these projects.

These fact finding and monitoring procedures will be used in analyzing the pilot projects but will also provide the government with instruments for fact finding, communication and coordination of future integrated rural development programs involving inter-agency coordination;

- b) to upgrade the research skills of some staff members of the two training institutes of PAID; and
- c) to provide, on the basis of this research, case studies and other materials suitable for the training activities of the Panafrican Institute and of similar institutions engaged in training government officials and others for rural development programs.
- d) with regard to the Ministry of Education's new rural education program, the objective will be to provide the following elements:
 - i) the means for out-of-school education to be linked to production and employment opportunities;
 - ii) materials for use in teaching and in teacher training to relate the content of rural primary school teaching to practical concerns with the physical, economic, and social environment;
 - iii) the means of assessing innovative educational systems in rural communities, linking primary schooling with out-of-school and adult educational programs, which could feasibly be introduced on a massive scale throughout the population and at low cost;
 - iv) controlled experimental and pilot projects in which teacher trainees could be given the opportunity to learn about the conduct of programs linking schools with their communities in educational and development programs generally;

- v) the means of utilizing primary school teachers in village based out-of-school programs concerned with the acquisition and use of literacy, but also with production skills development and with health and nutritional education; and
- vi) the means of assessing the use of new materials and media in rural education as a whole, including the provision of low cost reading matter and the use of educational radio.

This "Rural Education Project" was the first major project of CAR and thus the project was utilized not only to gather the specific research data but to build up the staff and working procedures of CAR and to determine the relationships between CAR and the training colleges. These additional goals beyond the stated objectives of the project were fully discussed before the grant was given and were seen as additional important reasons for making this grant. IDRC was interested in monitoring the development of a new research centre and particularly in identifying the problems faced in grafting the work of a new research centre on to the activities of two well established training centres.

AMOUNT OF GRANT:

The grant approval was for \$479,000. The total paid out was \$415,729.77.

MANAGEMENT OF THE PROJECT AND CONFUSION OVER THE OBJECTIVES:

Our early negotiations on this project were first with the acting Secretary-General of PAID, Mr. Lamert-Lamond and then with Mr. John Pilgrim the director of CAR. We took on faith that the project being presented to us was a project of PAID. Soon after signing the contract we found out that the project was almost entirely the brainchild of John Pilgrim. The staff of CAR had not been assembled and thus were not available to assist in drafting the proposal. The directors of the training college had no

input into the drafting of the proposal, the selection of staff or the choosing of research sites and the Secretary General Fernand Vincent was returning from sabbatical just as the negotiations with IDRC were reaching a conclusion. The procedure used by PAID in preparing this proposal was to cause troubles later on.

During the first two monitoring visits it became clear that the project faced a number of serious problems such as:

1. personality problems among the staff
2. administrative difficulties between IDRC and both CAR and the Geneva office of PAID
3. difficulties with PAID management committee
4. difficulties in hiring staff
5. problems of research management
6. poor relationships with other institutions in Cameroon doing education research

Let me elaborate on these problems:

1. Personality Problems:

It has been noted that the project was very much the project of John Pilgrim (Director of CAR). Few others in PAID, at least in the early months, had a complete idea of what the project was about. Personality clashes which arose between: 1) John Pilgrim and his staff, 2) John Pilgrim and the directors of the training colleges, and 3) between John Pilgrim and the Secretary-General all added to the problems of the project. Half way through the project John Pilgrim was replaced as director of CAR by Louis Bissek, a Cameroonian economist. Although Bissek had a lengthy experience within PAID he was young, had no major management experience and spoke little English. Thus, it was to be a slow process for him to exert his control over the project. John Pilgrim stayed on for some months as consultant paid by ODM of the United Kingdom.

The relationship between the Secretary-General and the CAR director became a strained one. There were open clashes between Pilgrim and Vincent and as a result there was a tendency by the Secretary-General to blame all the project's problems on John Pilgrim.

2. Administrative Difficulties:

It was clear that John Pilgrim was not at home with the bookkeeping details of administration. It was difficult for us to obtain clear progress reports, budgetary explanations and plans for future work. We were not always sent research reports as they became available. Indeed we did not obtain them all until the evaluation trip.

The budget was changed many times to accommodate PAID and at that the budget guidelines were not followed.

Although we had many disagreements with John Pilgrim we have no complaint about his openness with us. Whenever we visited he spent considerable time with us, gave us a chance to visit all aspects of the projects in the English speaking area (including village sites) and set up opportunities for us to speak to many people who, in some way, were involved or who had an interest in the project including many whom he knew would be critical of his leadership. We were given ample opportunities to discuss our concern with the progress of the project with the researchers both as a team and individually. Pilgrim did not hide issues. Rather with confidence he defended his approach and was certain that in the end things would work out successfully. With some accuracy he pointed out that the Geneva office and the two training colleges were upset by the fact that the arrival of CAR was forcing them to evaluate their management structures and their own priorities. Rather than move slowly to change their ideas his approach appeared to be to expand CAR rapidly to give it the leverage to speak with some force within the meeting of PAID - although we disagreed.

Our relationship with the Secretary-General in Geneva were not satisfactory. Officially we were to deal through the Secretary-General's office although early on we insisted on the right to communicate directly with the director of CAR with copies of correspondence going to Geneva. All official progress reports and financial statements came to us through Geneva and these were the source of many problems. At first the problems of financial reporting were legitimate ones related to the fact that almost all the CAR staff were involved in the project in some way. This raised the difficulty as to what items should be charged to general CAR expenses (funded from other sources) and which should be charged to IDRC. As the project progressed the budget problems revolved around John Pilgrim's casual administrative procedures plus the fact that the project activities were changing from month to month.

Some of the problems were due to the system of financial reporting which existed between Douala and Geneva. Each side tended to blame the other for the problem. Early on in the life of the project all records were put in a computer in Geneva. This appeared to increase the difficulties. When pressed we could always get clearer financial answers from the finance officer in Douala than we could from Geneva which was supposed to be the source of this information.

Although the budget guidelines were changed many times to accommodate PAID these guidelines were frequently bent or ignored in a way to bring maximum returns to PAID. Because of this both the Social Science representatives and the people from the Treasurers office in IDRC spent much more time on the financial aspects of this project than should have been necessary. However, if the Social Science officers had not had a good working knowledge of the field work of this project we would not have been able to pick up the many inconsistencies and mistakes in the financial reports. This argues for our project officers continuing to have a close relationship with all the administrative details of a project.

At the same time it was difficult for us to get a clear picture from the Geneva office of what was happening in the project. Fernand Vincent tended to function as a super salesman telling us what he thought we would like to hear, changing his position quickly if he had misread our bias or interest and keeping us in the dark about many developments. For example, although we knew that structural changes were being planned we did not know until we arrived in Geneva on the evaluation trip that CAR no longer existed. Added to that he appeared to be out of touch with the research results and their implications although quite prepared to make sweeping generalizations about what the research has proven. For example, he claimed that the research proved: a) that primary education was not important, b) that the introduction of outside funds ruins projects, c) all projects must come from the grass roots up. These results we later found were not supplied by the researchers.

The relationship between IDRC and the Geneva office of PAID was a frustrating one. The final disappointment was to find upon our arrival in Geneva that the final report on the project for which we had been waiting, had been ready for some months but had not been sent to us..

3, Difficulties Within PAID Management Committee:

Early in the life of the project the directors of the training colleges were criticizing the IDRC representatives because of some of the staff that had been hired by CAR and because of the location of the field sites. Our answer was to ask them if they had raised these questions at the PAID management committee meetings. It soon became clear that the PAID management committee which existed on paper, was not functioning in any meaningful way. In the past, periodically, the director of both the French speaking and English speaking colleges told each other and the Secretary-General what they were doing. The two colleges operated independently in two different parts of the country and got along beautifully because there was no need to interfere with each other. There was no need for coordination and no need for tough management priorities between the

two institutions which functioned separately. The arrival of CAR on the scene (and later the Centre of Project Management) would force them to establish some procedures and priorities.

In the beginning, IDRC's expectations were that the project would be focussed primarily, if not entirely, in the South West Province which is English speaking. This would have necessitated a close management relationship between CAR and Du Sautoy College. Early on, two existing projects in francophone areas were included in the research to be undertaken. These projects were a fishing project in the Basse-Sanaga District of Littoral Province and an agricultural production project at Ombessa in the Mbam Division of Central South Province. This project required a close management relationship between CAR and L'Ecole des Cadres. The management relationship between CAR and L'Ecole des Cadres improved. This is not surprising as Bissek had been a member of that institution. (For a more detailed statement on the Project Areas see Appendix D).

Our understanding with PAID was that staff members from the training colleges would be given released time to develop their research skills with CAR before returning again to teach. In reality the directors of the two colleges were reluctant to loan their staff to CAR. They were uneasy both about what work CAR was undertaking and what arrangements could be made to secure replacement staff for them. PAID then became interested in using the money budgeted for this staff training in research, to hire expatriate consultants. We did not agree to this switch in funds.

4. Difficulties In Hiring Staff:

When the project began there was not a complete research line on sight. For most of the time there was no researcher in education on the project, and other researchers moved in and out of the project.

5. Problems of Research Management:

Within CAR itself the director's style was to allow these researchers a good deal of leeway to follow their own research interests and only gradually to have these diverse skills come together and focus on the project. Thus, at an early project seminar, it was only when the IDRC representative began to ask questions about education aspirations of the villagers did some researchers realize that the major focus of the project as far as IDRC was concerned was education. The researcher drawing up the village questionnaire saw it mainly as a socio-economic survey and was including no education questions. Others saw the project as being strictly concerned with production projects in the rural areas while others who were interested in education had decided in advance that the formal school system was useless and that only non-formal education could assist in improving rural production.

6. Poor Relationships With Other Institutions Doing Education Research:

With regard to research on the conventional school, the intent was to collaborate with two other institutions attached to the Ministry of National Education who were actively conducting research into the reform of the conventional school in the Cameroonian context. These two institutions are IPAR (Institut Pédagogique à Vocation Rural - Institute of Rural Education) in Buea and Youndé; and INE (Institut Nationale de l'Éducation - National Educational Institute) in Youndé. Although discussions were held and one attempt was made by a member of INE to present a research proposal to CAR to be included in this project the relationship between CAR and these institutions never got off the ground. Much of the reason for this appears to have been the management style of CAR's first director.

Because of all of these internal confusions, conflicts and changes one would have to say that management of the program on site was confusing and inconsistent. Further comments as to how management might have been approved will be held until later as changes in PAID management structures is one of the major results to come out of this project.

METHODOLOGY

It is necessary to look at the methodology in the English and French speaking areas separately.

South West Province (English speaking)

The methodology adopted was based on the hypothesis that innovative measures for education and training have to be based on production and employment opportunities within the rural community. Design of educational projects should therefore be based on socio-economic and environmental studies of production systems as well as on studies of existing educational institutions and on the attitudes and behaviour of the target population.

The procedure adopted for the research was to combine intensive and statistically based studies of zone, village, and household with analysis of production and employment opportunities based on study of the characteristics of human resources and of the overall social and economic conditions governing development. As an integral part of the research operation this analysis was to be applied to the planning of project, their implementation by government or private agencies concerned and subsequent evaluation..

Interviewers were hired to conduct surveys in each of six customary court areas. Four surveys were administered involving the following areas:

- 1) land and agricultural practices
- 2) labour utilization
- 3) infrastructure: roads, water supply, general structure of village councils, land tenure, money use, etc.
- 4) behaviour and attitudes relating specifically to education and training activities.

From these surveys the following six reports were to be prepared:

- 1) Introduction to South West Province

- 2) Education and Training in South West Province
- 3) Attitude of Youths to Education and Training Activities
- 4) Reports on the Environmental Characteristics of Four Project Areas
- 5) Migration Patterns in South West Province
- 6) Economics of Food Production in South West Province.

It was clear that throughout the project there was a basic disagreement among the researchers in the South West Province. Most wanted to do these socio-economic studies and then pass these results both to government and the villagers for reactions and for guidance on future action. John Pilgrim saw the desirability of injecting some new production of projects in rabbit breeding, tie dying, and the intensification of food production under the supervision of young farmers' clubs in certain villages of the Fako division. These projects were stimulated and supported with funds and technical personnel from the PAID.

One of the key questions raised in an integrated development project is, "How do you pull the different ministries together at the regional level to supply resources for any projects organized by the peasants?" It may be done initially by a group of enthusiastic people, but the question is how to institutionalize it. The Governor's Co-ordinating Committee was CAR's answer to this question. This Committee was set up as the provincial government reacted to the early stimulation of CAR's work. The Committee involved the key people in all the ministries and institutions that could interact on development in the South West Province. The committee chaired by the Secretary-General of the Province, was to utilize CAR's survey results from the village to help the different agencies consider their development priorities.

Another element in the integrated development programme was the attempt to offer training courses for rural youth through the establishment of a Mobile Vocational Training School staffed by the existing field workers of the Agricultural, Community Development,

Health and other interested services. This venture supported financially by UNICEF is perhaps not truly a part of this project but it was organized by John Pilgrim and was considered by him to be a key aspect of the new programme for integrated rural development.

LITTORAL PROVINCE (French speaking)

At Mouanko the research was directed to conducting a household and community based study of five fishing villages and related fishing camps over an eighteen month period in 1973/74. For part of this time the research was conducted in liaison with OECD researchers studying family structures in relation to economic change.

This research was also carried out as technical assistance to the Committee for the Development of the Lower Sanaga (CODEBAS), a non-governmental organization established in 1973 as a 'société de développement' under national statute.

CENTRAL SOUTH PROVINCE (French speaking)

In Ombessa the peasants groups aided by MIDO (a parastatal organization formed by Cameroon government, Swiss government and PAID) was undertaking new food production activities. With PAID assistance MIDO has been assisting the farmers in their promotion of food crops by introducing new technology and developing simple implements to be made locally.

The CAR studies in this area were concerned with the macro-economics of the area as well as analyzing the training inputs of various agencies and the organizational structure necessary for maximum success in the promotion of rural employment through increased food production.

WHAT WAS NOT ACCOMPLISHED

The project did not reach its stated goals even if we measure it against the revised

goals of March 1976. (See Appendix E for Report of CAR activities, March 1976).

- 1) The Centre of Applied Research was not in existence at the end of the project.
- 2) No members of the Du Sautoy College staff ever became involved in the research project.
- 3) The rabbit breeding, poultry production, and tie dying projects were failures. See Appendix F for a report by J. D. Balmer the PAID technical assistance person on these projects. The report is highly critical of the projects. We never received a copy of this report until one surfaced during our evaluation trip. All of the PAID supported projects of the Young Farmers Clubs in South West Province have ceased operating. No effort has been made to find answers to the following. What impact, if any, these projects had on members of the Young Farmers Clubs? What were the members of the clubs doing now? Had the projects any effects on their innovative skills? The director of Du Sautoy College said this kind of study could be done as a case study which all trainees have to do but about \$4,000 would have to be raised. If research was a priority as they claimed one might hope that they would find the money themselves.
- 4) No model for integrated rural development in the South West Province was prepared.
- 5) Little success was obtained in integrating CAR's research with that of IPAR.
- 6) Little use has been made of much of the data obtained in the socio-economic surveys in the South West Province. The people at Du Sautoy College do not seem to be sure where all the survey results are. One former CAR researcher asked why they had collected all the data before anyone paid any serious attention to the tools of analysis which they were to use.
- 7) There is still little integration or even communication between Du Sautoy and L'Ecole des Cadres. In March of 1977 the staff at Du Sautoy College had not yet received a copy of Louis Bissek's synthesis report on the project. There is some feeling at Du Sautoy that they were not given enough financial

support to maintain some of the English speaking CAR staff on their staff in order to benefit from their research experience.

- 8) In Du Sautoy College there appeared to be a desire just to forget CAR and everything that had been connected with it. One member of staff said that we should have read between the lines to see that everyone in the training centres had wanted CAR to end and were looking for a witch to kill it.
- 9) The Mobile Vocational Training School was a failure and has now been scrapped. However, Henry Sawyer's evaluation report is a useful document. This project, which, on the surface, had many of the elements which some education reformers would press for, was a total disaster. The report clearly documents the reasons for the failure and points out how an outsider with outside money could get this project going although the government departments which were to provide the training neither understood the project fully nor had committed themselves fully to its operation.

WHAT WAS ACCOMPLISHED:

Matching these failures along with the considerable problems we faced in the management arrangements and in the financial reporting, one could be left with a highly negative feeling toward the project. Yet there are some positive aspects.

- 1) The project teams did produce a number of reports, copies of which are now in our files. (See Appendix G for a complete list of their publications).
- 2) The management problems created by the arrival of CAR has prompted PAID to face up to their weakness of their management committee and their structures for research. The management committee does now seem to be functioning well on matters relating to the yearly operational budget. However, decisions on special project funds from outside donors tend to be made by the Executive Committee.

PAID has undergone a major restructuring of its organization. (See Chapter IX in the Progress Report 1973-76 for a description of the institutional reforms

which have now been instituted). The reforms maintain the Pan African character of PAID but regionalize the activities. The plan now is to link field work, research, and training in all institutions rather than having a separate research centre (CAR).

In each institute there could still be a conflict between researchers and trainers although there will be a greater attempt to have people handle both research and learning.

- 3) Louis Bissek has gained experience in managing research projects. When he was first made director of CAR he had little experience with any major research project let alone experience in managing a research centre with a sizeable staff. Now he appears to be much more confident in handling these activities. Also there is now a core of good African researchers now working on projects in the French speaking areas.
- 4) Mouanko - Here the household study of 5 fishing villages (with liaison with OECD researcher) has led to a project for the development of small-scale fishing with an emphasis on the training of young men in improved techniques both of fishing and fish processing.

CUSO is now putting some human and financial resources into this project and Cosme Dukomé (director of research for this project and a former recipient of an IDRC Research Associate Grant), the head of the newly formed fishermen's co-op, and the CUSO director in Cameroon are pleased with the initial results. As a result of this success CIDA is planning major financial support for expanding the project. This project is being used as a ZOGID for students of L'Ecole des Cadres.

- 5) Louis Bissek has produced a final synthesis report. It is not a comparative study nor as an assessment analysis and synthesis of all aspects of the project. Rather, it is a detailed explanation of the Ombessa food production project including a proposed organizational model for the future development of this project. This model is specific to the Ombessa project but was seen as the

starting point for a generalizable model for integrated rural development.

The Ombessa Model - It is clear that the Ombessa project is seen by Bissek and his staff as the major research effort of the project. Let us examine briefly what the project has done and what the model is.

The research methodology here in the beginning was a macro-economic study of an area linked to a food production project which had been stimulated by an earlier PAID staff member (Cosme Dukoumé), led by young men from Ombessa (with primary education) and supported technically and financially by a Swiss aid group. A parastatal organization called (MIDO) had been established by the Cameroon government, PAID and the Swiss. In the development of this agreement PAID was acting as the permanent consultant to the local development groups. (See Appendix H for an explanation of structure of MIDO).

They studied the macro-economic situation regarding development in the zone and also studied what institutions are in the zone and what the IMPACT of these institutions were.

The report takes many pages to reach conclusions that appear to be common sense ones and then lays out a good deal of development philosophy as the basis for their development model which, on first reading, appears as if it may have been taken "out of the air". (A chart form explanation of the model can be found in Appendix I).

However, a few days visit to the Ombessa area proved that the model had grown out of a real situation in which the researchers had been deeply involved. The MIDO people and the local peasants all knew of IDRC, of the PAID research plans and of the development model. Although I had felt that the Ombessa project had been tacked on to the project at the end, much to my surprise I found that the MIDO director had had

detailed research discussions with John Pilgrim when the IDRC contract was being drawn up. He was disappointed that Pilgrim had not followed through with his promises and thus he did not get the regular research help until Bissek took over. Research assistance since the end of the IDRC support has been built into MIDO's budget and will be paid by SIDA.

The project has had to deal with all the factors of social and political organizations at the village level, the lack of simple equipment, the lack of information regarding agricultural, marketing and management techniques, the problems of introducing cash crops into a communal society and the relationships with senior governments. In many ways it is a classic case of the problems of agricultural development in the rural area. They seem to have solved many of these problems at least on a small scale and for the short run. In terms of individual economic pay-off the project has been a success. Some individuals have increased their yearly income from \$60 to \$360 in three years.

The PAID researchers are obviously well known and admired by the farmers. These researchers have had a programme of work with MIDO. Their aim is to help MIDO define its relationship with the area and to expand and increase its efficiency. A major focus of their research is the issue of peasant participation. I was most impressed with the extent to which the peasant leaders had been involved in the development of the model, had thought through its implications and were aware of the need to form a regional grouping of peasants to take over the role of MIDO when the Swiss aid ends. PAID realizes that if this model was extended to other parts of the country PAID could not serve as the peasants representative on all the projects and some new national structure would be needed which could take on this role and undertake a research role as well. They are questioning whether or not the National Research Council might evolve to fit this role.

This project is a long way away from being a straight education project. They see it in terms of a model for integrated rural development in which education and training arrangements (formal and non-formal) will play a key role.

They have proven to themselves a few key points about education and training. They no longer blame the irrelevant curriculum of a formal school for mass migration from the rural areas. They found even the training schools that were particularly geared to preparing people for rural development had no better success in keeping its graduates on the farm. The problem then must be outside of the school itself.

They also found that the present government services for rural training could not handle the demands when people had decided to move ahead rapidly with new agricultural approaches. They acknowledged that much of the problem in increasing rural production revolved around pricing and marketing arrangements.

They found that the basic education offered by a primary school was an important pre-requisite for the kind of development arrangements they were suggesting. The leaders of all the Ombessa projects were primary school graduates who had migrated to the cities where they gained some further skills and experience then returned home to the village to start the project. Try as I might I could not get any of the team leaders to agree that their primary education had been wasted. They felt it had been a crucial first step for them.

The local primary teachers were well aware of the project and were taking their students on field trips to the sites.

Unlike the De Sautoy College members who had not seen Bissek's report all

government officials I visited in Yaoundé had received a copy and read it. They expressed support for what the peasants were doing, were intrigued with the development model but indicated working out a horizontal relationship between government agencies and the peasant groups would be difficult. In the long run I fear that lack of government support for the increasing control about which the peasants are talking may eventually undermine the programme.

The Ombessa project is being used by L'Ecole des Cadres as the model of their concept of a ZOGID (Zone of Guided Development) which can serve as the focus for teaching, research and field support. Many students from this college have already spent their field study time in one of the villages in Ombessa.

Visits to IPAR (Yaoundé) and the National Institution of Education (Yaoundé) indicate that only now are they getting around to developing the links with these organizations which had been promised some years ago. The heads of both of these organizations were aware of the Ombessa project and Bissek's model for rural development. Bissek felt that only now that PAID knew what research resources they had to offer could there be a basis for co-operation.

SUMMARY

We have learned a great deal about the problems of adding a research element to a teaching programme by opening a separate research centre. A new organizational structure in PAID hopes to integrate teaching, research and field support and avoid the problems generated between CAR and the teaching colleges. I doubt that this new structure is as sound as some of the PAID people would suggest but it is an effort worth following with interest. A close relationship between francophone and anglophone research efforts will likely be slow in developing. Although this is understandable it does cause co-ordination problems between the anglophone and francophone researchers. Most of the original researchers in the project have left and thus PAID has not

benefitted from their experience in the project. A few who came late to the project are still there and represent a strong human resource for future research. Funding is available for those working in the francophone areas but research support in the anglophone areas is tenuous.

Louis Bissek has matured considerably as a result of his harrowing experience as acting director of CAR. No doubt he is now in a much better position to direct major research projects although his ability to maintain some coherent output among a number of researchers has not yet been proven. His growth during the length of the project should be considered a real plus.

Although Louis Bissek says they still plan to pick up some of the threads of John Pilgrim's work in South West Province, I expect that little will come of this.

Although something is promised soon I am skeptical that De Sautoy College will move quickly to develop any major research areas. The francophone group already has viable research projects a Mouanko and Ombessa and Bissek himself will soon be starting a third (on which I believe he plans to write a thesis). These projects are worth watching because they do represent efforts by researchers to build their research from activities being undertaken by peasant groups.

I have an overall skepticism by what PAID is actually accomplishing at the moment. On paper it offers donor agencies most of what they are looking for (African staff from many countries, students from many countries, a training course backed up by research which offers both practical and theoretical training.) There appear to be a shortage of viable research centres in Africa and institutions are looking for ones that they can support in hopes that something worthwhile will be accomplished. Thus, support from donor agencies is generous while support from African governments to date is minimal. I believe their accomplishments in their total programme to be much less

than they suggest. This should be kept in mind when considering any future involvement. We should be particularly skeptical of any statements arising from their Geneva office.

This project should cause us to rethink our monitoring procedures and our method for closing out support before a project is finished. The present PAID staff feel we should have had a closer relationship with the research project and should have visited more often. They agree with our monitoring philosophy in general but feel that since we were dealing with the first major research project of a fledgling research centre, we should have been on site more often.

How should we react to this suggestion? We visited the site often enough to be well aware of the problems that the project was facing. Should we have taken further steps to try to get PAID to work out some of the difficulties. We did slow down payments, ask questions and even at one point sent someone from the Treasurers office to Geneva. In retrospect it is clear that these methods did not help us get the project back on track. We need to remind ourselves, however, that whenever agreements had ^{been} made, and then ^{met}, the extenuating circumstances did seem to account for much of the difficulty of them not having followed our earlier agreement. We might have made a decision to stop payment but changes in the situation always gave hope that some results could be salvaged (as indeed they were). Thus, our dilemma often was whether or not we should continue to support a salvage effort.

We might conclude from this experience that in situations such as they we should only have considered small projects. On the other hand PAID argued convincingly that a new centre has no established core staff and needs sizeable projects in order to get started.

It is encouraging to note the open manner in which the present researchers are able to discuss the shortcoming of the past and to outline their plans for the future.

In an area where practical researchers, who are prepared to get out into field work are scarce this is a group with whom IDRC should not lose contact. I would recommend that no further financial support be given at the moment but that our staff should keep a watching brief on their activities (through correspondence and periodic visits) to determine if support at a future date is warranted. I told them that I would be making this recommendation and hoped that regular contact with them could be maintained. They expressed satisfaction with this suggestion.