

The influence of the Bologna Process on the harmonization of Cameroonian higher education

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Abstract

This thesis argues that whilst the European Bologna Process serves as an engine for convergence by driving harmonization and policy borrowing in most higher education (HE) systems across the globe, these triangular terms are still conceptualized differently and pose different problems across national contexts like Cameroon. In line with this argument, this study critically examines harmonization and policy borrowing through the lens of the Bologna Process reform in Cameroonian HE according to opinions of key HE stakeholders. A qualitative approach was employed to collect data using interviews and focus group discussions. The thesis employed thematic analysis with themes generated using the NVivo software. Findings reveal that the complex interplay of harmonization, policy borrowing and the Bologna Process reform forms what I describe as the ‘educational homologous series’ since these terms are mutually inclusive. Harmonization has been revealed to be a prelude, catalyst and backbone to policy borrowing with the Bologna Process serving as a macro, meso and micro HE policy across contexts hence aiding this process. Findings also introduce a new theoretical framework in comparative education known as the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’. The ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ is perceived to properly examine African/Cameroonian realities in policy borrowing discourses relative to other known models in comparative education. Findings indicate that there exist six main factors and their corresponding theories and indicators when it comes to the study of policy borrowing in Africa/Cameroon lodged within the framework of the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ namely decision-making, development, human capital formation, change, postcolonialism and dominance. Policy borrowing is also presented as a paradox and a controversial term. Furthermore, the ongoing 2016 strike action in Cameroon and its devastating consequences on the HE system makes the future of the Bologna Process and micro-harmonization (also known as the ‘take-off’ of policy borrowing) to be unclear and ambiguous.

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‘Analysis above the surface’

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Declaration

I, Joyce Afuh Vuban, declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not also been previously presented for an award at this, or any other, university. All sources are acknowledged as references.

Some aspects of the thesis in chapter 4 (Methodology) have been published (Vuban & Eta, 2018) and this was co-authored with Dr Elizabeth Agbor Eta. The article has not been cited in the thesis because it was written much later after the chapter had already been constructed and adding citations/reference at the moment has potentials of increasing word counts.

I have used other aspects of my data for two other publications as seen below. However, the publication on Eta and Vuban (2017) has solely been used as reference in the thesis; while no information on Eta and Vuban (accepted manuscript) has either been used or cited in the thesis though this article similarly presents policy borrowing as a debate using different quotations, ideas, literature and manner of presentation. Both publications were also co-authored with Dr Elizabeth Agbor Eta.

List of publications:

- Eta, E.A. & Vuban, J. A. (2017). The Bologna Process in Cameroon: The challenges of reforming the Cameroonian higher education system through the 'Licence-Master-Doctorat' reforms. In I. Piot-Lepetit. (Ed.). *Cameroon in the 21st century - challenges and prospects - environment and people: African Political, Economic and Security Issues* (p.359-361). Nova Science Publishers, Inc, New York.
- Eta, E.A. & Vuban, J.A. (2018). Educational policy borrowing in the Cameroonian higher education system: A debatable paradigm from stakeholder perspectives. *Forum for International Research in Education*, 4 (3), 77-94.
- Vuban, J. A., & Eta, E. A. (2019). Negotiating access to research sites and participants within an African context: The case of Cameroon. *Research Ethics*, 15(1), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1747016118798874>

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Today's nature of international, regional and national HE policy-making is rooted in the Bologna Process aided by processes of harmonization and policy borrowing. The Bologna Process initiated in Sorbonne (Sorbonne Declaration, 1998) was aimed at: converging HE systems and cycles within an open European Higher Education Area (EHEA); adopting a common degree system for undergraduates – Bachelor's degree and graduates- Master's and Doctorate degrees; promoting staff and student mobility by alleviating mobility obstacles; and ensuring academic degree and qualification recognition. According to the European Commission (EC, 2007, p.2) the creation of a Joint Strategy between Africa and EU (JAES) has strengthened shared political partnerships to promote a Euro-African consensus based on common strategic objectives, interests and values (including HE) – thus bringing the Bologna Process to Africa. I would say this illustrates harmonization and policy borrowing from Europe to Africa from a global-regional standpoint. The Bologna Process in Africa is known as the Licence-Master-Doctorat (LMD) reform (Mohamedbhai, 2013). The Association of African Universities (AAU) and African Union Commission (AUC) delegated regional blocs (for instance the Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa; CEMAC) and sub-regional blocs (for instance the African and Malagasy Council for Higher Education; - CAMES) to carter for the implementation of the LMD (Mohamedbhai, 2013) – thus bringing the Bologna Process/LMD to regions/subregions in Africa like CEMAC/CAMES thereby accelerating harmonization and policy borrowing. According to Eta and Vuban (2017, p.348) the LMD objectives as stipulated by the CEMAC Council of Ministers were later expanded and adapted in the Cameroonian context by the Cameroon Ministry of Higher Education to harmonize the dual degree structure of its HE system (Doh, 2008); thus bringing the Bologna Process/LMD (also known as Bachelor's-Masters-Doctorate or BMD; or Bachelor's-Masters-PhD or BMP) to the Cameroonian context with harmonization and policy borrowing further expanded. Based on the aforementioned information, the study has been designed to critically examine harmonization and policy borrowing through the lens of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE. Findings in chapter five portray that, the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP has been described as a macro, meso and micro HE policy which has triggered harmonization of the Cameroonian HE system from an international, regional and national contexts respectively. The study also reveal harmonization as a prelude, backbone and catalyst to policy borrowing. The thesis reveal that the complex interplay of harmonization, policy borrowing and the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform has produced what I describe as the novel 'educational homologous series'. Furthermore, findings in chapters six, seven and eight make readers understand that the best way to examine studies into policy borrowing within an Afro-centric

context is to make use of what I describe as the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ which is a new model in comparative education that address six vital factors including decision-making, development, human capital formation, change, postcolonialism and dominance. Having introduced the study, I now present the background to the study.

1.2 Background to the study – policy borrowing, harmonization and the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP

Policy-borrowing began gaining grounds as a field of scholarship discipline around the twentieth century with comparative education as its precursor (Phillips & Ochs, 2004; & Sever, 2006). Fraser (1964) reported the works of Marc Antoine Julienne 1816 to 1817 and beyond; which was reinforced by Noah and Ecktein (1969, p.15) that researchers have had high motivation to benefit from important foreign lessons. There have been much symbiotic investigations around the nineteenth century, among countries with burning desire of learning these important lessons with France and Prussia as main targeted countries (Phillips & Ochs, 2004, p.774). Many other scholars from Britain became involved in systematically studying education in different contexts which has also constituted the norm nowadays. Prominent of these scholars included Mathew Arnold, Michael Sadler and Mark Pattison (Phillips & Ochs, 2004, p.774); whose contributions in comparative education have been very useful in understanding the history of policy borrowing in education.

Phillips and Ochs (2004, p.773) postulated that there has been an increasing awareness of educational thinkers and practitioners on the exigency to research on educational issues in a comparative manner to pinpoint foreign procedures that can be adopted and implemented at home-based levels. This has led to the borrowing of foreign educational policies that seem successful in different contexts by other contexts. According to Takayama, Sriprakash and Connell (2017, p.2), in the field of comparative education, there are some textbooks written in English-Language which unveil the foundation of comparative education including the works of the founding father Marc Antoine Julienne and his later followers of the global North including Europe and North America. These include; ‘*Comparative and International Education: An Introduction to Theory, Method and Practice* (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2008)’ ‘*Comparative Education: Exploring Issues in International Context* (Kubow & Fossum, 2003)’; and ‘*Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local* (Arnove & Torres, 1999 & 2013)’. Crossley and associates have also written articles on comparative education which also uncover the foundation of contemporary comparative education. These include; *Bridging Cultures and Traditions for Educational and International Development: Comparative Research, Dialogue and Difference* (Crossley, 2008); ‘*Ethnographic dazzle and the Construction of the ‘Other’: Revisiting Dimensions of Insider and Outsider Research for International and Comparative Education* (McNess, Arthur & Crossley, 2013); and *Global League Tables*,

Big Data and the International Transfer of Educational Research Modalities (Crossley, 2014). I would say today, the influence can be seen in Bologna Process documents which stress on comparability of HE systems among other indicators¹. I argue these textbooks have had an influence on the Cameroonian HE system in enabling it compare with European HE systems and other HE systems which are part of the Bologna Process/LMD – thus illustrating both harmonization and policy borrowing. According to Levin (1998), initially one sees much commonality in the themes that emerge across such countries, suggesting that national and regional governments do learn from each other. According to Levin (1998, p.132) educational change is occurring in the context of large-scale criticism of schools as government policy documents typically take the view that school systems have failed to deliver what is required and that the failure is especially lamentable in view of the high level of spending on education and the general tone underlying reforms (like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP) is negative thus propelling efforts to undo alleged damage. Based on this shortcoming, Raffe (2011) therefore explained that:

Policy makers want to learn from other countries. However, they tend to see foreign experiences as a source of policy borrowing, in which ‘best practice’ from abroad is identified and transferred back home, and overlook the opportunities for more varied and more productive forms of policy learning. (Raffe, 2011, p.2).

In line with the above, Vögtle and Martens (2014, p.246) for instance mentioned that ‘the Bologna Process (BP) presents the largest ongoing reform initiative in higher education (HE)’ which has triggered large-scale structural changes in European HE – which I would add has triggered the learning of best practices abroad by national systems thus moving towards harmonization of HE across contexts. According to Woldegiorgis, *et al.* (2015, p.242) harmonization deals with ‘policy integration in higher education’ and also makes use of ‘voluntary intergovernmental integration’ that creates commonalities by bringing different policy systems together. HE integration in Africa and Europe for instance utilizes harmonization in policy documents which depict integration as a process in HE (Woldegiorgis, *et al.*, 2015, p.242).

¹ See all Bologna Communiqués on <http://www.ehea.info/pid34363/ministerial-declarations-and-communiqués.html>

- CEMAC Council of Ministers. (2006). Directive No. 01/06-UEAC-019-CM-14. Portant application du système LMD (Licence, Master, Doctorat) dans les Universités et établissements d’enseignement supérieur de l’espace CEMAC. Libreville, Gabon.
- Ministry of Higher Education (2007). Circulaire ministérielle no 007/0003/MINESUP/CAB/IGA/CE du 19 OCT 2007. Portant disposition relatives au cadrage général en vue du lancement du système Licence, Master, Doctorat (LMD) dans l’enseignement supérieur au Cameroun. Yaounde, CA: MINESUP.

Furthermore, educational policy borrowing is often considered as educational neocolonialism in the sense that western models of education have significantly shaped and influenced different educational systems, practices and ideologies throughout the world under the banner of globalization (Nguyen, Elliott, Terlouw, & Pilot, 2009, p.3). Apple (2006 & 2010, p.193) and Pedroni (2007) remarked that ‘black people’ or the marginalized for instance are regarded by the dominant class as dangerous, irrational and polluted and therefore need to be provided fully rationalistic policies that are partly counter-hegemonic. Hence, minority groups or oppressed people of colour tend to adopt neoliberal ideologies and then rearticulate them to satisfy their own purpose. History has brought to light that there is usually gross uni-directional flow of culture (and educational practices/policies) from ‘west’ to the ‘rest’ as a result of colonialism as most foundations of educational systems are rooted in colonialism (Crossley & Tikly, 2004). Khelifaoui (2009) reiterated that the adoption of the Bologna Process in Africa is perceived to be disguised colonization because the reform has been influenced by ex-colonial nations. According to Bray (2007) borrowing can also be influenced by language (involving nations that speak common languages and which tend to borrow from each other); and political ties. I would say that since French and English in Cameroon originate from France and Britain respectively (Cameroon’s ex-colonial powers) – with most Bologna communiqués written in English and LMD texts written in French, language has made it easier for the Cameroonian HE system to be part of the Bologna Process/LMD hence facilitating policy borrowing and a common ground for harmonization.

However, Rose and Mackenzie (1991) as cited in, Nguyen, Elliott, Terlouw and Pilot (2009, p.6) argued that there is the tendency of running into ‘false universalism’ in the adoption of policies across varied cultures without the recognition of different social and cultural standpoints. They went further to explain that this impacts not only on student learning but offers ample opportunity for ‘mental colonialism’ (mental colonialism is the inferiority feelings of ex-colonies relative to the values of colonial powers which the former became aware of due to their contacts with colonial masters during colonization). By this notion, the educational system of ex-colonies are always regarded as inferior while that of ex-colonial powers superior (Shizha, 2006) which has evidently explained why developing countries of ex-colonial heritage continue to borrow ideas, practices and policies from the West to improve every sector of their economy with higher education inclusive (Nguyen *et al.*, 2009, p.6).

A report from the African Development Bank (1995) indicated a drop in the prices of home-made goods and the escalating prices of foreign products which have been a typical feature of the economy of countries in Africa since the onset of 1980; meanwhile budgetary constraints have been forced to increase by novel spending in food importation (Assié-Lumumba, 1997). As a result of these, (Assie-Lumumba, 2006; Crossley & Tikly, 2004; Fall, 1997; & Resnik, 2006), African countries’ declining monetary resources propelled them to heavily rely on borrowing from foreign financial organizations in running their public

institutions, thereby heavily indebting themselves. Dependency theory explains that developing countries will keep being vulnerable economically unless they limit their connectivity with the global market (Ferraro, 1996 & 2008). Tabulawa in 2003 supported the views of Crossley and Tikly (2004) by adding that, globalizing agents promoted partly by multilateral donor agencies assist in shaping and influencing national educational systems in ways that are similar to that of the west. According to Resnik in 2006, most states are bound to comply to policies put in place by donor countries due to the problem of insufficient finance. Assie-Lumumba (2006, p.63) reported that the high loans granted to developing countries were used as a means by westerners to control African countries, making them full providers of raw materials for use by developed countries. Key institutions that propelled African countries to let go their sovereignty were the World Bank and the IMF which in addition to being major financial bodies imposed educational policies through loan provisions whose objectives were to reinforce structural reforms which were dictated by both the stabilization and Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP); as well as ensuring indebted countries to repay their debts (Assie-Lumumba, 2006). Assurance was made to the loan-receiving countries in Africa that if they repaid their loans regularly, they will be eligible for more loans which increased the amount of debts around the 1980s (Assie-Lumumba, 2006). ‘Throughout Africa, the funding of higher education suffered further austerity which deprived it of basic funding for faculty and institutional development and expansion to respond to the steadily increasing demand’ (Assie-Lumumba, 2006, p.64). In this light, aspects of western cultures tend to dominate the educational system of the recipient states (neocolonialism) while discouraging these states from determining their own educational priorities. The increasing pressure to institute modernization as well as reforms in the quest to attain higher standing internationally propel policy-makers of education in developing countries to depend on those of the west (Kandel, 1932, p.v). These have triggered the ‘transfer’ of practices and policies that are western-oriented in terms of development and operation which are deemed effective in a completely dissimilar cultural context (Peck *et al.*, 2010). With support from the European Commission, the Bologna Process has been unexpectedly and enthusiastically welcomed; as it reunited European nations and ‘stood out as a significant event to the rest of the world’; a model to be reproduced and expanded (Croché & Charlier, 2012, p.457) - thus depicting the onset of policy borrowing and harmonization. Nyborg (2004, p.4) reiterated that the Bologna Process as a declaration of intent, has had consequences for national legislation; and Cameroon being a signatory state to the CEMAC convention has been compelled to implement the LMD in its HE system (Doh, 2015 & Eta, 2015) – hence harmonization.

According to Woldegiorgis, *et al.* (2015, p.242) there has been more visibility in cross border policies, exchange of values and increase in the free mobility of people owing to the neutralization of physical boundaries caused by globalization. Globalization is defined as ‘the processes of world-wide engagement

and convergence associated with the growing role of global systems that criss-cross many national borders' (Marginson & Wende, 2007, p.11). Woldegiorgis, *et al.* (2015, p.242) reiterated that 'interconnectedness' means the growth of convergence and interdependence of procedures, policies, values and ideologies geared at realizing shared goals; and/or the free flow of ideas, values, people, knowledge, capital, technology across borders; and/or the establishment of novel forms of interdependencies among states, institutions and actors. Verger, Novelli & Altinyelken (2012, p.27) used the term 'global status and deterritorialisation' to describe the notion that all policies have an origin which is mostly western and precisely Anglo-Saxon. Santos (2005) reiterated that for this reason, it is vital to perceive Global Education Policies – GEPs (like the Bologna Process/LMD) as 'globalized localisms'. Steiner-Khamsi (2010) added that once a critical number of nations borrow a policy, it seems as though its specific origins vanish as it becomes global; and is traded as a 'global model'. The acquisition of a 'global status' raises the attractiveness of policies and predisposes policy-makers to discuss educational reforms guided by them. Campell (2004) added that in addition to the global status of policy ideas, the global prestige of the actors backing them is also important. Usually, the most successful policy entrepreneurs are based in international Organizations (IOs) that are located in the interstices of a range of influential social and policy networks. According to Novoa and Yariv-Mashal (2003) within the field of comparative education, the 2000s has been characterized as a period for 'measuring the other' to satisfy the 'need to create international tools and comparative indicators to measure the "efficiency" and the "quality" of education'. Novoa and Yariv-Mashal (2003) noted that such research are primarily being conducted by international agencies whose recommendations tend to shape policy debates and influence national policy-making.

According to Eta (2018, p.37) policy borrowing is an aspect of policy transfer which deals with the transnational flow of global policies, with more attention on local contexts where the borrowed policies are introduced. Several authors, Beech (2006); Bray, Adamson and Mason (2007); Steiner-Khamsi and Waldow (2012); Novoa and Yariv-Mashal (2003) noted that generally, studies in educational policy borrowing or policy transfer are not only comparative in nature but a basic theme within the comparative education discipline. Steiner-Khamsi (2014) noted that in the past few decades, studies in educational policy borrowing have contributed to the legitimization and establishment of the comparative education field both as a framework for analysis and a method of inquiry. In line with this, McLaughlin and Rouse (2000); Borman, Stringfield, and Slavin (2001); and Peterson and West (2003) argued that numerous changes in educational policies have been experienced from 1960 till date. Though in 2006, Parry applauded the multiplication of policies governing HE, other authors (Reay, 2001; Archer & Leathwood, 2003) questioned the authenticity of these policies on student and institutional lives. According to Rui (2007) policy borrowing is a rational process wherein policy makers start by considering problems, seeking for alternative

solutions and selecting the best alternative; and also suggests a one-way perspective of policy borrowing wherein mostly underdeveloped nations tend to borrow models from developed nations but hardly the other way round. Bray (2007) noted that the unidirectional manner of borrowing is connected to hierarchical perceptions; that is underdeveloped nations borrow from developed nations and developed nations borrow from similar developed nations. According to Walter (2007) for instance serious attention has been paid to the development of the Bologna Process by HE policy analysts as a novel kind of international governance – Africa inclusive. Cippitani, and Gatt (2009, p.388) added that based on the reality of problems plaguing the EU - a decision to integrate Europe by restructuring the European HE system was made by European Higher Education ministers resulting in the Sorbonne Declaration in 1998. In same light, the LMD/BMP was introduced in Cameroonian HE to solve problems facing the HE system like graduate unemployment (Eta, 2017), mobility concerns (Eta & Vuban, 2017), concerns with degree structure/recognition (Eta & Vubo, 2016) among other concerns. In this regard, I would say the adoption of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP to solve HE problems is in itself a rational process of policy borrowing as described by Rui (2007) and an essential instrument for harmonization. Having examined the background to the study, I now present the statement of the problem.

1.3 Statement of the problem

The main purpose of this study is to critically examine harmonization and policy borrowing via the lens of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform in Cameroonian HE. University education in Cameroon today has resolved to borrowing foreign educational policies that have proven successful in other parts of the globe to solve its problems, meet the challenges of the twenty first century, enhance both internal and external educational efficiencies, foster competition and globalization just to mention but a few. Prominent examples of such borrowed policies include the Bologna Process (BP), governance, quality assurance and so on. However, though these foreign policies have been implemented to solve particular problems in Cameroon's universities, they have also imposed other problems that one tends to question the effectiveness and efficiency of these policies in this context.

According to Dakowska (2015, p.1) though there has been much debate on the 'europeanization' of higher educational systems, the connections between domestic economic processes and European factors have not been analyzed thoroughly. Whilst the Bologna Process was aimed at harmonizing the architecture of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) (Sorbonne Declaration, 1998) for instance, harmonization in Cameroonian HE (originating from Europe) is still a problem. Though some research into harmonization has been done in Cameroonian HE by Doh (2007) who examined the challenges of harmonising the French and British bicultural systems of higher education in Cameroon and concluded that the adoption of the

Bologna Process could lead to proper harmonization; Ngalim (2014) who discussed the harmonization of the educational sub-systems of Cameroon from a multicultural perspective for democratic education; Tchombe (1997 & 1999) on structural reforms in Cameroon while mentioning harmonization – I argue that information on how harmonization integrates the Cameroonian HE system internationally, regionally and nationally particularly in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP is yet unknown – thus a gap which my thesis fills in chapter five.

According to Phillips and Ochs (2004), not every foreign educational policy borrowed may be feasible when applied in different contexts as ‘what might seem, however, to be an observable and straightforward international process (identification of successful practice; introduction into the home context; assimilation) in fact proves quite complex and poses a number of problems for the comparativist to tackle’ (p.774). In line with this, though some studies have made use of the policy borrowing framework in explaining the Bologna Process/LMD in Cameroonian HE (Eta, 2015; Eta & Vubo, 2016; & Eta, Kallo & Rinne, 2017 & 2018); I argue that an in-depth investigation into the process of policy borrowing from an Afro-centric context (Cameroon) is yet unknown. In other words information on the factors that trigger and prevent policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE is yet unknown - thus a gap which my thesis fills in chapters six, seven and eight through the lens of a new model which I call the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’. Having presented the statement of the problem, I now present the purpose of the study.

1.4 Purpose of the study

The general purpose of this study is to critically examine harmonization and policy borrowing via the lens of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform in Cameroonian HE. This research addresses two specific research objectives. Thus:

To examine the process of harmonization and how this has integrated Cameroonian HE internationally, regionally and nationally.

To investigate factors that facilitate and those that inhibit (problems encountered) policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities.

Next, I present the general and specific research questions.

1.5 Research questions

General research question (RQ): To what extent has the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP shaped harmonization and policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE? This research addresses two specific research questions as seen below.

Specific research questions: According to key policy makers in Cameroon's higher education system:

RQ1: How does harmonization integrate Cameroonian HE internationally, regionally and nationally?

RQ2: What factors facilitate and inhibit (problems encountered) policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities?

Next, I present the assumptions of the study.

1.6 Assumptions in the study

The study makes use of the following assumptions:

- There are many models used in comparative education such as policy borrowing, policy transfer, policy convergence, policy learning and information-theoretical model of policy transfer. Whilst these models commonly address what I describe as 'foreign policy appropriation' whereby a given context appropriates policies from foreign contexts, there are also differences among these models. In the thesis, I am using policy borrowing for convenience to effectively guide analysis in subsequent chapters.
- The word 'policy borrowing' in the study is the combination of Phillips and Ochs (2003 & 2004) model of policy borrowing, various conceptualizations raised by other authors, theories examined in chapter three and analysis of the 'policy borrowing iceberg' raised in chapters six, seven and eight.
- To better understand the study, there is need to bear in mind that harmonization, policy borrowing and the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP are mutually inclusive educational concepts which I describe as the 'educational homologous series'.
- The African context is similar to the Cameroonian context.
- 'Problems encountered' is same as 'inhibiting factors' because problems have potentials of making policy makers to shy away from adopting borrowed policies. I now present the significance of the study.

1.7 Significance of the study

According to Phillips and Ochs (2004, p.240) and Sever (2006, p.483), the study of international transfer of educational policies (like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP) is important to present-day policy analysts and policy-makers of education. Specifically, the study is significant for practice and policy to the following:

- **Stakeholders of education:** Educational stakeholders will find this research useful in understanding the strengths and weaknesses of harmonization and policy borrowing in order to improve on policy making.
- **Cameroon's Ministry of Higher Education (MINESUP):** The study will aid MINESUP officials to be conversant with knowledge of harmonization and policy borrowing to aid them effectively plan for world-class and highly competitive HE systems while considering local contextual realities and resource availability.
- **Researchers in comparative education and comparative studies:** The study will provide researchers in comparative studies at large and comparative education in particular a linguistically simple approach to policy borrowing rooted in Afro-centric realities to aid them critically examine any borrowed reform, policy, practice and programme from abroad within the African context. Next, I present the justification of the study.

1.8 Justification of the study

Borrowed from the ideas of Sever (2006, p.483), educational stakeholders of university education in Cameroon need to be conversant of why and how countries or educational institutions develop interest in external educational policies; how and why these countries or educational institutions may decide to appropriate or not to appropriate external policies; how and when transfer is important and problematic, forces which encourage or prevent triumphant transfer; the advantages and disadvantages of policy transfer in education and factors that affect the implementation of transferred educational policies. Such justification according to Steiner-Khamsi (2002) is necessary because systems of education are always under tension to provide reasons for their practices and reforms considering the fact that significant educational actors may resist these practices/reforms. Next, I present the delimitation of the study.

1.9 Delimitation of the study

Cameroon has eight state-owned universities viz University of Yaounde I (Ngoa-ekole), University of Yaounde II (Soa), University of Douala, University of Dschang, University of Ngaoundere, University of

Buea, University of Bamenda and University of Maroua and many private universities and institutions of higher learning all controlled by the Ministry of higher education. Furthermore, several multinationals and bilateral organizations also part-take in Cameroon's HE in different ways. This study made use of Cameroon's Ministry of Higher Education (MINESUP); University of Buea (UB); University of Bamenda (UBa); Bamenda University of Science and Technology (BUST); Cameroon Christian University (CCU); St Monica University-The American University of Buea (SMU); Catholic University of Cameroon (CATUC); Catholic University of Central Africa (UCAC); Commonwealth department in the Ministry of External Relations (MINREX); L'Agence Universitaire de la Francophonie (AUF); and African Development Bank (AfDB). Next, I present the operational definition of terms.

1.10 Operational definition of terms

Harmonization: There are many definitions of harmonization. Majone (2014, p.4) defined harmonization as 'making regulatory requirements or governmental policies of different jurisdictions identical or at least more similar. It is one response to the problems arising from policy/regulatory differences among political units; it is also one form of inter-governmental cooperation.' According to Woldegiorgis, *et al.* (2015, p.242) harmonization as a phenomenon deals with 'policy integration in higher education' and also makes use of 'voluntary intergovernmental integration' that creates commonalities by bringing different policy systems together. Regionalization on its part is a process of policy integration or convergence in higher education by bringing together diverse systems to create commonalities (Woldegiorgis, *et al.*, 2015) meaning harmonization is also regionalization when perceived from a policy integration standpoint. Harmonization is a process that benchmarks programmes, certificates and qualifications; quality control, qualification recognition, accreditation, quality assurance mechanisms and credit systems. The main aim of harmonization is to enhance compatibility and comparability of qualifications geared at promoting across regions, employability (Woldegiorgis, *et al.*, 2015, p.243); and establishes a common language for regulators (Azatyan & Kopp, 2012, p.11). HE integration in Africa and Europe for instance utilizes harmonization in policy documents which depict integration as a process in HE (Woldegiorgis, *et al.*, 2015, p.242). In this thesis, harmonization refers to making educational systems somewhat similar through the adoption of common policies like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP and practices like Tuning Programme. The thesis addresses how harmonization integrates Cameroonian HE internationally, regionally and nationally.

Policy-borrowing: Policy-borrowing is a deliberate and purposive appropriation in one context of policy observed in a different context (Phillips & Ochs, 2004, p.774). It is also the ability of identifying innovations within the educational arena and having it traced to an already established model found in other places.

There has been the formulation of assorted educational policies governing universities in the world at large and Cameroon in particular like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. The thesis uncovers the factors that facilitate and inhibit (problems encountered) policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE using the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP for illustration.

Higher Education: Higher education (HE) is a high-level educational institution where students study for degrees and where academic research is done. The term higher education has been used interchangeably with university. There exist two HE sub-systems in Cameroon viz: the English-speaking sub-system and the French-speaking sub-system. There are also private and public universities. As seen above, this study considered some public and private universities in Cameroon (of French and English origin).

1.11 Structure of the thesis

The study is divided into nine chapters. Chapter One (or this chapter) presents the general introduction to the study. It addresses the background to the study, statement of the problem, research objectives and questions, assumptions of the study, significance of the study, justification of the study, delimitation of the study, operational definition of terms, structure of the thesis and conclusion.

Chapter Two presents the context owing to Cameroonian HE in transformation. The chapter recounts on the evolution of Cameroonian HE from 1884 to present; the transnational flow of the harmonization process in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP; the transnational flow of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP to illustrate action lines that have been adopted/adapted; the state of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE; and a conclusion.

Chapter Three presents the literature review based on the theoretical framework of the study. The chapter examines six main theories which are used in analyzing findings particularly in chapter six including theory of decision-making, theories of development, theory of change, colonial/post-colonial theory, theory of dominance, and theory of human capital development. These theories were selected based on six main factors revealed by the study to be the factors that facilitate/are problematic to policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE viz decision-making, development, change, post-colonialism, dominance, and human capital formation - which have either been ignored or paid less attention to in studies into policy borrowing in Africa/Cameroon.

Chapter Four presents the methodology of the study including the research design, population of the study, instruments for data collection (interviews and focus group discussions), credibility, trustworthiness and transferability, ethical procedures, data transcription, analysis and reporting among other essential components.

Chapter Five presents findings to RQ1 by analyzing harmonization in Cameroonian HE perceived to be a prelude to policy borrowing according to perceptions of key HE stakeholders. Findings reveal that harmonization is a prelude to policy borrowing which I have variously described across contexts thus: macro-harmonization - ‘the starter’ of policy borrowing; meso-harmonization - ‘the accelerator’ of policy borrowing; and micro-harmonization - ‘the take-off’ of policy borrowing based on claims raised. In this regard, harmonization is not only a ‘policy’ but a ‘process’. There are also several findings based on various conceptualizations/interpretations raised.

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight present findings to RQ2 by analyzing the factors that facilitate and problems encountered in (or inhibit) policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities according to key stakeholders’ perspectives. One major finding here is the model of the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ which illustrates that there are overt, overt-covert and covert factors that trigger and are problematic to policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities. These factors have been further categorized into the following: ‘analysis above the surface’ or overt factors (decision-making, development and human capital formation) addressed in Chapter Six; ‘analysis across the surface’ or overt-covert factor (change) addressed in Chapter Seven; and ‘analysis beneath the surface’ or covert factors (post-colonialism and dominance) addressed in Chapter Eight. These chapters correlate with theories raised in chapter three. Chapter Eight also compares Phillips and Ochs (2003 & 2004) policy borrowing model against the framework of the novel ‘policy borrowing iceberg’.

Chapter Nine presents an introduction to the chapter, implications for policy and practice, implications for the theoretical literature(s), limitations of the study and prioritise for further research.

1.12 Conclusion

The chapter highlighted the general introduction to the study. Specifically, it addressed the background to the study, statement of the problem, research objectives and questions, assumptions of the study, significance of the study, justification of the study, delimitation of the study and operational definition of terms. The next chapter presents literature review.

Chapter Two

Context

(Cameroonian Higher Education in Transformation)

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the ‘context’ which highlights information regarding the transformation of Cameroonian higher education including: the evolution of higher education in Cameroon; the transnational flow of the harmonization process in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP (where I discuss harmonization from an international standpoint - from Europe to Africa; harmonization from a regional standpoint - Africa and CEMAC; and harmonization from a national standpoint – Cameroon). The purpose of discussing harmonization across these contexts is to aid readers understand how harmonization in contemporary HE has been shaped by the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. Next, I present the transnational flow of the Bologna Process from Europe to Africa/CEMAC (LMD) and Cameroon (LMD/BMP) geared at presenting action lines that have been adopted and adapted across these contexts. Furthermore, a brief discussion on the state of the LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE has also been provided based on some selected action lines. However, I argue that despite changing patterns of the HE system in Cameroon and great efforts to reform it particularly in the post-colonial era and the onset of the LMD/BMP reforms, harmonization processes and perceived policy borrowing/learning from abroad, the lack of periodic monitoring and evaluation seems to be the major reason for the persistent numerous problems that still exist in the system thus calling for a closer constant attention and criticality in dealing with old and new reforms. The chapter provides evidence to this argument using information of the aforementioned sections/subsections, and ends with a comprehensive conclusion. Next, I present the changing patterns of HE in Cameroon.

2.2 Changing patterns of higher education in Cameroon (1884- till present)

There have been changing patterns in higher education in Cameroon at different time intervals from the indigenous era through colonization and finally independence and post-independence era illustrated below.

2.2.1 Indigenous era (Before 1884)

There existed informal, traditional or indigenous education before the arrival of Westerners in Africa at large and Cameroon in particular (MacOjong, 2008). Though there was the absence of an organised formal pattern of education consisting of classrooms, infrastructures, curriculum, codified knowledge and other attributes of a formal schooling system (MacOjong, 2008); there were elementary, secondary, vocational

and higher education in disguise (Ajayi, Lameck, Goma, & Johnson, 1996) Higher education was obtained through the initiation of a child into secret cults or societies a stage that marked the transition from childhood to adulthood. Learning at that time was gender-oriented with the girl-child learning from the mother or adult female in the community while the reverse was true for the boy-child; the child was a co-participant of the learning process; and knowledge was “caught” and not “taught” (Fonkeng, 2007; MacOjong, 2008; Ngoh, 1996 & Shu, 1983). Ajayi, Lameck, Goma, and Johnson (1996, p.5) opined that traditional higher learning was aimed at producing and transmitting contemporary comprehension of the: universe, disposition of mankind, community, respect for God and other deities and stimulating both agricultural and health sectors as well as African philosophies and literature.

2.2.2 Colonial era (1884-1960/1961)

There were no formal higher institutions of learning during colonial rule in Cameroon as education provided by the colonial powers - Germany, Britain and France - was limited to primary and secondary schools (MacOjong, 2008). However, modern higher education was exported from colonial heritage and occupation (Milton, 2013, p.30) in Africa at large and Cameroon in particular aimed at ‘civilizing’ natives into elites to aid colonial administration. As evidence, Teferra and Altbach (2004) remarked that the language of instruction, reflected those taught in the colonial home countries though with limited access, curricula and freedom. In 1916, Germany was defeated by France and Britain and the Cameroon territory was partitioned into two. While Britain used indirect rule policy (Mamdani, 2008), policy of association (Young, 2016) and divide and rule policy (Shu, 1983) to administer its part of the territory; France used the policy of assimilation (Tambo, 2003) and policy of *indigénat* (Asiwaju, 1978) to govern its part; which were also reflected in their educational policies during colonial rule. Formal university education became operational in Cameroon after independence (1960/1961) in 1962.

2.2.3 Educational system in Cameroon after independence (1961 - 1984)

The educational system during the Cameroon Federation (1961-1972) began with the reunification of the two Cameroons; French-speaking Cameroun and English-speaking Cameroon on 1st October 1961. Konings (1999) put it in another words that two nations with distinctive colonial heritage, two dissimilar languages as well as expectations were merged together. This era in Cameroon marked the birth of higher education in Cameroon. Presidential Decree No 55 of 25th April 1961 created the National Centre for Advanced Studies which was later transformed into the Federal University of Cameroon in 1962 (also known as the University of Yaounde I) by another Presidential Decree No 62-DF-289 of 20th July 1962; and was patterned following the French model of education; consisting of three faculties viz Faculty of

Economic Sciences and Law; Faculty of Science; and Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, each with the ability to confer degrees (Tchombe, 1999). Awasom (2005) and Konings (2009) remarked that though the University of Yaounde I was considered a bilingual university, it was more of a French University with instructional delivery done mostly in French. Konings (1999) added that language was used as a political tool in which the Anglophones felt assimilated, marginalized and cheated (Eta, 2014 & 2015) as well as dominated in every aspect of public life, suppressed and not recognized for their cultural peculiarity. Anglophones faced problems in studying in French and, this propelled them to appeal ‘for their own university’; which is English-speaking (Awasom, 2005, p.103).

Out of a population of 18 million people in 2006, 108,000 were university enrolled students; and the annual rate of growth in student enrolment at the moment stands at 20% (ADEA, 1999)². Ratajczak (2004) nicknamed the dramatic growth of students’ recruitment into higher education institutions as ‘educational miracle’. Konings (1999) detailed that this led to many other problems like: poor student academic performance, inadequate university accommodation for students, inadequate lecture halls and office spaces. Nwaimah (2008) added that reduced salaries have discouraged and unattracted qualified staff in Cameroonian universities. The student - teacher ratio is about 49:1 and in addition to this the administrative structure is poor, highly centralized, flooded with mismanagement and slow at taking decisions. There are also high unemployment rates partly as a result of inadequate professional programmes and the duplication of courses in liberal arts by most universities. No university in Cameroon offers programmes in architecture and only recently have programmes in veterinary medicine, dental surgery and pharmacy begun (Nwaimah, 2008).

In addition to the lone university, other institutions of higher learning were established such as the Ecole Normale Supérieure (ENS) Yaounde with an annex in Bambili, specialized in the training of teachers; the Higher School of Agriculture in Dschang, the University Centre for Health Sciences (CUSS) that trained senior medical personnel and paramedics.

Higher education flourished in Cameroon at this time even though all but one (HTTC Bambili) of the institutions were in East (French) Cameroon. Successful candidates from all over the Federal Republic were free to seek admission, but the use of French as the medium of instruction deterred English-speaking Cameroonians, who still preferred to seek higher education in Nigeria and other English-speaking nations (Fongkeng, 2007 & Ngoh, 1996).

² Old statistics deductively still illustrate persistent rise in student explosion as there is an affirmation of rising student population but with no data for illustration.

As a means of encouraging many more students to enrol in the university, the Federal Government instituted a generous system of student welfare. Students paid no tuition fees. They instead received bursaries as well as subsidized meals and accommodation (Fonkeng, 2007; Tambo 2003; Tchombe, 1997). Entry requirement into university was and is still G.C.E Advanced Level or Baccalaureate; with a pass in either English or French at the G.C.E. Ordinary level or BEPC. Some universities imposed special conditions as to grades; and for students to have passed in particular subjects both at the 'A' and 'O' Levels as eligibility conditions. The course duration for Bachelor of Art or Science was/is three years. With a Bachelors' degree, a student could enroll into a postgraduate programme and after that Doctorate programme. Ashcroft and Rayner (2011) remarked that the rise in the number of enrolled students in higher education led to gender inequality, and other problems of regional, ethnic and social origins.

The referendum of 20th May 1972, which changed the name of the country to the United Republic of Cameroon (a unitary state which lasted between the periods 1972-1984) also overturned the political, administrative and educational structures of the former Federal Republic of Cameroon. The Third Five Year Development Plan (1971-76) echoed as overall objective the adaptation of the educational system to national needs (with similar educational occurrences as in the Cameroon Federal state (1961-1972) as seen above.

2.2.4 Educational system during the Republic of Cameroon (1984- Present)

The United Republic of Cameroon became the Republic of Cameroon in 1984 and this was a period that was marked by the accession to power of Paul Biya, the second president of Cameroon. While Cameroon was a one party system before 1990 (Eta, 2014); this period was characterized by multipartism (Awasom, 2005 & Konings, 2009) as Anglophones sought democracy (International Crisis Group, 2010) and there were severe economic crises due to corruption (Konings, 1999). Changes in the political landscape also affected educational developments. Awasom (2005) noted that the effect of the economic crisis was devastating on higher education as it caused the late payment of student bursaries and salaries of lecturers. Some individuals also argued that the functioning and structure of the lone university that existed was a model of a one party system (Awasom, 2005 & Konings, 2009).

ADEA (1999), Ngwana (2001), Awasom (2005) and Konings (2009) remarked that there were several problems affecting higher education in Cameroon that led to the 1993 reforms stemming from: bilingualism; high student-lecturer ratios; rapid growth in student population in the University of Yaounde; lack of infrastructure and facilities; limited programmes of study; high drop-out and failure rates; and lack of institutional finance. Lecturers on their part faced the following setbacks: the absence of a clearly defined

career profile for academic staff; the prevalence of teaching overloads and poor teaching conditions; the absence of a clear-cut and objective criteria for staff promotion based on merit; the lack of research facilities and study leave opportunities. Under these circumstances higher education in Cameroon was then viewed to be needing revitalisation and overhaul (Ngoh, 1996). This triggered the adoption of the 1993 reforms which had the following aims:

- to decongest the lone University of Yaounde and the creation of six more full fledge-state owned universities viz University of Yaounde II, University of Douala, University of Dschang, University of Ngaoundere and University of Buea;
- to empower universities with more academic and management autonomy;
- to expand and increase higher education opportunities and make university programmes more professional and more responsive to the market forces;
- to make universities more accessible to local, regional, national and international communities; and
- to make rational optimal use of infrastructure, facilities and services; to revive and maximize inter-university and international co-operation.

Doh (2007 & 2008) remarked that the dual system of higher education was more pronounced in terms of degree structure and this posed many challenges in the educational system. Today Cameroon has eight state-owned universities including: the universities of Bamenda created in 2010 and that of Maroua created in 2008 (Nwaimah, 2008). There are also many higher professional training schools and polytechnics brought about by '*Law No. 005 of 16 April 2001 to Guide Higher Education*' which in article 4 stressed the need for private partners to contribute to the provision of higher education which has given birth to the decentralization of HE in Cameroon.

Nwaimah (2008) noted that while the then lone Anglo-Saxon University of Buea (joined by University of Bamenda created in 2010) practiced a screening system as a student admission policy, French universities practiced the open admission policy. Competitive entrance examinations into specialized schools are also offered in professional programmes like medicine, agriculture, mass communication, pharmacy, business studies, teacher education and engineering.

Much has been retained from the Federal and Unitary States in Cameroon in the domain of education at all levels with some innovations (Nwaimah, 2008). Some of these innovations include: the increase in the number of schools, the creation of three ministries of education, the increase in the number of teachers and training colleges, numerous educational policies, the readjustment of the curriculum, harmonization of university education through the Bachelors-Masters-PhD (BMP) reform. Nwaimah (2008) remarked that

though there have been the proliferation of more universities, private and public alike, the problem of meeting the needs of degree-eligible students is still daunting.

I would argue, that the failure of the 1993 reform to adequately address HE concerns in Cameroon (Ngwana, 2001) is what seems to have nationally triggered the adoption of the Bologna Process originating from Europe; and LMD from CEMAC (which explains the evolution of the Cameroonian HE from 2007-present). In this regard, I have presented the transnational flow of the harmonization process below to aid understanding of how the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform came about.

2.3 The transnational flow of the harmonization process in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform

Witte (2006), Westerheijden *et al.* (2010) and Woldegiorgis, *et al.* (2015, p.242) proclaimed that there has been little systematic information regarding the implications of the Bologna Process in other regions of the world despite the existence of in-depth investigations into its impact across European HE systems - thus necessitating research into this area. In Cameroon, despite the existence of some investigations into the harmonization of educational systems (Fonkeng, 2007 & Ngalim, 2014), I argue there is no existing research on the harmonization of Cameroonian HE particularly in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reforms from either a national, regional or global standpoint. My thesis fills this gap in this section and in chapter five – hence a contribution to knowledge. According to Knight (2013) both conceptual and analytical frameworks are needed to analyze initiatives pertaining to the policy of harmonization of HE; particularly that which relates with the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. Therefore, in this section I have provided literature on: a brief history of harmonization and the Bologna Process in Europe – LMD in the CEMAC region – and LMD/BMP in Cameroon; reasons for harmonizing HE systems across these contexts; problems encountered and some recommendations. The context has been structured around these conceptualizations as they provide timely references to aid discussions of findings in chapter five and the others.

Yepes (2006, p.111) affirmed that there are new macro-regional processes across the globe with the case of Europe (Bologna Process) being the most salient though there exist others that are quite noticeable originating from East Asia, America, (and I would add Africa-CEMAC/Cameroon). Yepes (2006, p.111) added ‘in the rest of the world there is potential for innovative regional schemes’. Yergebekov and Temirbekova (2012, p.1473) claim that in contemporary society, globalization has forced countries and their educational systems to integrate with those found in other parts of the world. This has triggered nation states to nationally prepare their educational systems to meet this expectation; (with the adoption of the Bologna Process being a central policy used in realizing this expectation). Majone (2014, p.4) concluded

that the lengthy history of EC/EU policy harmonization is a good empirical foundation to make generic analysis of the costs and benefits of a unified approach to transnational policymaking. I turn my attention to harmonization in ‘Europe to Africa’ in the next subsection.

2.3.1 Harmonization from an international standpoint: From Europe to Africa

Majone (2014, p.11 & 12) noted that during the preparation of the “big bang” enlargement relative to EU harmonization policy during the onset of this century, a determined attempt was made geared at minimizing risks involved with massive heterogeneity among EU member states. While most Euro-leaders optimistically claimed that policy deepening and geographical widening were not only just compatible but jointly reinforced attributes of the process of integration; others argued that “deepening” integration caused managerial problems to be addressed institutionally and using more demanding and effective procedures of decision-making (p.12). Bofinger, Habermas and Nida-Ruemelin (2012) and Majone (2014, p.15) noted that with EU harmonization, Europeans were meant to learn that the preservation of their ‘welfare-state model of society’ as well as diversity across cultures of their nation-states could only be made possible by working together and joining forces; by bringing together their resources in order to exert global influence on political agenda and provide solutions to global problems; which implies ‘to abandon European unification now would be to quit the world stage for good’.

According to Cippitani, and Gatt (2009, p.388) based on the reality of problems plaguing the EU - a decision to integrate Europe by restructuring the European HE system was made by European Higher Education ministers resulting in the Sorbonne Declaration in 1998. According to the European Ministers in charge of Higher Education (Sorbonne Declaration, 1998), the European integration process through the medium of HE dealt with harmonizing the architecture of the HE system in Europe. Signatory member states during the Sorbonne Declaration (Sorbonne Declaration, 1998) unanimously agreed to work together in order to achieve a convergence of the HE framework and cycle within an open European Higher Education Area (EHEA); a common degree system for undergraduates – Bachelor’s degree; and graduates- Master’s and Doctorate degrees; promote staff and student mobility by alleviating mobility obstacles; and ensure academic degree and qualification recognition (also see other Bologna Communiqués)³. According to Woldegiorgis, *et al.* (2015, p.242), the harmonization was established by the creation of the EHEA and it is a main element of the 1998 Sorbonne Declaration where it originated and was ratified as the architecture for Europe’s HE system. Curtin (1993) and Majone (2014, p.6) opined that ‘...the tendency has always been to assert that integration can be only one way to prevent a “Europe of Bits and Pieces”’.

³ See <http://www.ehea.info/pid34363/ministerial-declarations-and-communiqués.html> for all Bologna Communiqués.

There are many reasons why harmonization has been important from an international standpoint particularly as European HE harmonization has influenced HE harmonization in other global regions like Africa. One of such reasons is that of internationalization. Harmonization, according to Mohamedbhai (2013, p.21) also known as 'Cross Border Higher Education (CBHE)' is a typical effect of internationalization in African HE; which arises from unfulfilled demands of African HE which have triggered HEIs particularly from the North to invade Cross Border Higher Education Institutions. Jowi (2011, slide 15 & 2012, slide 6) noted that there are many things Africa stands to benefit from internationalization amongst which are: reacting to local societal challenge; enrich learning experiences; enhanced cultural diversity in terms of learning new ways of doing things; use of specialized facilities and infrastructure; foster mobility opportunities; and much more; enhanced by Erasmus Mundus programmes.

There is also the need to create an internationally harmonized higher education area. According to Barrett (2013), there are examples of how global policy convergence initiated by the European Higher Education Area (EHEA - via the Bologna Process serving as a model) have been applicable to other regional integration schemes such as in North America, Latin America, Asia and Africa. The European Student Union (ESU, 2014, p.2&3) confirmed that without attaining a minimum standard for integration and commitment pertaining to the Bologna Process, it will be difficult to achieve a comprehensive functioning of the European Higher Education Area; and likewise other HE areas found in other regions.

The adoption of an international policy framework for HE has been raised to be another reason. Olds and Robertson (2014) noted that whether for good or for bad, the Bologna Process has stirred up a series of subsequent 'echoes' (using Zgaga's terminology) in the HE landscape of other regions of the world; thus making it an international policy. According to The World Education News + Reviews (WENR, 2007) this is because the Bologna Process is one of the biggest and boldest modern examples of change and reform in higher education; and internationally driven cooperation amongst African universities is more directed towards North-South linkages. According to Croché and Charlier (2012), the LMD in French-speaking Africa (Cameroon inclusive) was inspired by France and other European countries. The Association of African Universities, Association for the Development of Education in Africa, and the Network for Excellence of Higher Education in Western Africa (AUA, ADEA, REESAO, 2008) also confirmed that the Guide in establishing the LMD in HEIs of French-speaking Africa is a clear illustration of the Bologna Process in Africa.

There are many problems encountered with harmonizing HE systems internationally (from Europe-Africa). Issues related with internationalization is one. According to Albatch and Knight (2007, p.303) that the pace of internationalization can be plagued by several uncertainties including: political realities and national security; government policies and the cost of study; expanded domestic capacity; English; the

internationalization of the curriculum; E-Learning; the private sector; quality assurance and control; and European policies (for in-depth explanations, see Albatch & Knight, 2007, p.303). Yergebekov and Temirbekova (2012, p.1473) added that despite the quest for standards via integration, the integration process is painful and slower for nations like; Cameroon - and its HE system. Mohamedbhai (2013, p.22) added that ‘Global University Rankings’ is also a negative effect of internationalization in African HE with university ranking usually highly biased in favour of research which is a major limitation in HEIs in Africa.

The lack of consideration of other regions (like Africa) in the development of global reforms like the Bologna Process is another. Teichler in Muche (2005, p. 116) and Zgaga (2006, p.14) noted that relative to the Bologna Process, many spectators have noted that much attention have been paid to ‘intra-European’ affairs as the long list of objectives to be chased in all the activities typically focus on creating a ‘European Higher Education and Research Area’; while connections to the wider world (like Africa) remain a singular item among these lists thus posing questions if the Bologna Process is typically Euro-centric or if students in other parts of the world constitute the ‘forgotten half’. I would argue the pan-European initiative which otherwise would have been principally inward facing tend to be a perceived problem because given that Europe is perceived to be the cradle of global knowledge and civilization established during the colonial era (Shizha, 2006), it is evident that what it decides for its HE system will eventually be modelled by somewhat all HE systems across the globe including Africa. Therefore, the lack of consideration in its external dimension the place of other contextual realities like that of Africa; and the setting up of procedural guidelines to aid non-European members like Africa implement this reform has had devastating consequences⁴.

To solve the above harmonization issues, Woldegiorgis, *et al.* (2015, p.243) warned individuals/nations/regions to note that ‘harmonization is not synonymous’ to standardization, uniformity or the realization of HE systems that are identical; but rather (Woldegiorgis, 2013) it is coordinating educational programmes which have agreed ‘minimum academic standards’ which enhances comparability and equivalence of qualifications among nations; meaning harmonization can be perceived as a process that benchmarks programmes, certificates and qualifications; synchronizes language uniformity, quality control, qualification recognition, accreditation, quality assurance mechanisms and credit systems.

Majone (2014, p.19) remarked that the relevance of comprehending the pros and cons of the policy of harmonization (Bologna Process/BMP/LMD) has been significantly accelerated by contemporary ‘worldwide diffusion of regional integration’, thus propelling me to present harmonization of HE from a regional perspective (Africa – CEMAC).

⁴ see entire thesis

2.3.2 Harmonization from a regional standpoint: Africa and CEMAC

Knight (2013, p.347) defined regional cooperation or regionalization as ‘the process of building closer collaboration and alignment among higher education actors and systems in a designated area or framework, called a region. World regions experience clear-cut differences in societal values, languages, educational system structures, pedagogical objectives and even school calendars; however, over the last decade, efforts have been made to harmonize educational systems to overcome these differences (Osterwalder, 2009, p.5). Eta (2015a & 2018, p.1) noted that regional cooperation aims at harmonising regional practices to foster regional attractiveness and competitiveness. The European Commission (EC, 2007, p.2) added that the creation of the Joint Strategy between Africa and European Union (JAES) is a shared vision aimed at strengthening political partnerships and promoting cooperation at all levels based on Euro-African consensus on common strategic objectives, common interests and values which will be implemented via successive short-term Action Plans and political dialogue at all levels (including HE).

In Africa, the African Union Commission (AUC) in its quest of implementing the ‘African Union (AU) Plan of Action for the Second Decade of Education in Africa (2006-2015)’; has embarked on establishing a strategy for harmonizing African HE aimed at: promoting cooperation in information exchanges; possibility of standardizing the curricula; attaining comparability of qualifications; harmonizing procedures and policies; in order to promote professional and academic mobility (Mohamedbhai, 2013, p.9); and in reinforcing quality within HE and to ease the processes that trigger HE systems to effectively inter-operate to bring about developmental benefits (Woldetensae, 2009, p.3). Woldegiorgis, *et al.* (2015, p.246) remarked that the ‘African harmonization strategy’ and the European Bologna Process both have similar general and main objectives and are therefore comparable as these jointly address: credit transferability, QA mechanisms, promotion of staff and student mobility, mutual recognition of academic qualifications, and creation of a regional HE area. Kayombo (2015, p.27) affirmed that the African Union Commission (AUC) and the African Union (AU) as an example of ‘Cross-state Organizations and Government Treaties’ cited the Bologna process as a vital case wherein African countries have learnt along the path of the harmonization process. In other words, European educational policies like the Bologna Process and the uniformization of HE are examples of some ‘lessons’ for which African HE and African teacher education have learnt (Karras, 2014, p.375).

ADEA (2015, p.2) noted that the African Arusha Convention adopted by the AUC has aided the implementation of harmonization at three levels namely: national level through the creation of national regulatory bodies; sub-regional levels through the creation of the African and Malagasy Council for Higher Education (CAMES) and South African Development Community (SADC); and regional level through a regional committee made up of 20 members representing 19 ratifying African nations whose regional

committee secretariat is accountable to the UNESCO regional office for education in Africa (BREDA). Due to many criticisms raised against the Arusha Convention regarding its numerous general technical and structural concerns; some ‘promising initiatives’ have been put in place such as the creation of CAMES which in collaboration with ADEA and the Association of African Universities (AAU) have been authorized to adopt the ‘Licence-Master-Doctorat approach’ (LMD) to speed mobility and mutual recognition of qualifications among member states which are predominantly Francophone (ADEA, 2015, p.3)⁵.

The AUC (2007) and Woldegiorgis, *et al.* (2015, p.245) remarked that in 2007 COMEDAF III (third Conference of Ministers of Education of the African Union) approved the ‘African Higher Education Harmonization Strategy’, and since then, there have been meetings held biennially to evaluate the progress of the harmonization process in Africa. However, COMEDAF meetings are different from the Bologna Process meetings in Europe because the European Bologna Process via its communiqués, actually add novel objectives every two years (AUC, 2007 & Woldegiorgis, *et al.*, 2015, p.245) which is not the case of the former. Majone (2014, p.10) (like ESU, 2014, p.2 see regional harmonization below) suggested that to deal with harmonization issues, the aims of the Bologna Process for instance cannot be attained in an *à la carte* manner wherein governments decide on what to implement or prioritize but must be committed to implement all action lines equally.

There are many reasons raised why harmonization has been important from a regional standpoint such as Africa. Schiff and Winters (2003, p.6-10) explained that regionalism (harmonization) is important due to the fear of lagging behind in a world that is driven by regionalism either because this might be harmful to be excluded and if everyone is doing it, it is also important to be part of the process. Ensuring regional integration is another. Barrett (2013) noted that the Bologna Process which gained inspiration through the creation of the ‘Europe of knowledge’ has been a leading example for regions across the globe. According to Knight (2013) the Bologna Process has stimulated other sub-regions and regions around the world to seriously look at the modality and significance of creating a closer alignment of their higher education systems. Zgaga (2006) argued that there is need to reinforce the ‘external dimension’ of Europe’s Bologna Process to other regions as the present state of the process seems to be internally restricted to European nations which is also a huge task to fulfill by signatories. Thus,

...the Bologna Declaration –outlined attractiveness, openness and cooperation as three main entities of the “external dimension”... when cooperation entered the agenda, the working group

⁵ See ADEA (2015, p.3) for criticisms of the Arusha Convention on http://www.adeanet.org/en/system/files/policy_brief_harmonization_en.pdf.

made the following introductory statement: accomplishing the objectives in the Bologna Declaration is a huge task for the signatories....the Bologna-countries should cooperate in an open way with regions and countries in other parts of the world by promoting the idea and practice of regional cooperation and through practical cooperation and dissemination of experiences (Zgaga, 2006, p.12&13).

I would argue in this way since the “internal dimension” refers to signatory states within the EHEA which is experiencing huge difficulties, there has been need for the “external dimension” which refers to other non-signatory members to be part of the convention and which has paved way for the African region and CEMAC sub-region to be part of the process.

Cementing political ties through regional HEIs has been raised as another reason for harmonizing regional HE systems. Melo (2016, p.49) remarked that the Bologna Process as a means of governing the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) since 1999 has successfully become a central point of reference in academic and political discourses on issues regarding the governing of a converged and transformed HE within and beyond continental Europe. Eta (2015); Eta, Kallo and Rinne (2018) affirmed that it was a political decision by CEMAC heads of states to adopt the LMD reform within the CEMAC region.

Another reason is the creation of a regional higher education space. The Prague Communiqué (2001) identified that the eligibility of the Bologna Process was still limited to nations that were opened to the ‘European Community programmes Socrates and Leonardo da Vinci or Tempus-Cards’. There was a later realization that this definition was too narrow (in terms of what should constitute the borders of the higher education space) and this concern was solved at the Berlin Conference which invited EU nations to willingly be part of the Bologna Process (Berlin Communiqué, 2003).

Eta (2015 & 2018) noted that the LMD was inspired by the Bologna Process; which has also triggered the need for the creation of a CEMAC regional space to enable staff and student mobility among others. However, Mohamedbhai (2013, p.6) argued that contemporary ‘higher education and research area or space in Africa’ severely suffers from many challenges including the existence of disparate HE systems like Arabophones, Lusophones, Francophones and Anglophones each having specificities within their educational systems originating from colonial past; and which has prevented student and staff mobility among African nations - with statistics indicating outward continental academic mobility far exceeding intra-continental mobility⁶. Mohamedbhai (2013, p.8) therefore recommended that there is need to define

⁶ There is a perception among many individuals in Africa at large and Cameroon in particular that there is considerable outward mobility of skilled workforce (which leads to brain drain) rather than an influx of skilled workforce from other continents/nations into Africa and/or Cameroon but without any reliable evidence in terms of statistics.

both 'space' and 'higher education' from the very beginning; in the harmonization process. Furthermore, the Bologna Process has been recommended by policy makers to be used as a model to ensure regional cooperation and to solve the problems plaguing African HE. The African Union Commission (AUC) on account of these recommendations designed a strategic document to be used for harmonizing HE (Woldegiorgis, Jonck & Goujon, 2015, p.241).

The adoption of a regional policy has been another reason. Woldegiorgis, *et al.* (2015, p.241) noted that 'Europe's Bologna Process has been identified as a pioneering approach in regional cooperation with respect to the area of higher education.' Clark (2014) noted that the evolution of the Bologna Process is a massive indication that this European project is an indisputable illustration of a regional-level reform which has also stimulated other regions and sub-regions around the globe to seriously consider the importance and modality of creating closer alignment of their higher education systems. The CEMAC region via CAMES has enhanced the adoption of a regional policy framework (Bologna Process otherwise known as LMD) for HE (Mohamedbhai, 2013).

There are many problems of harmonizing regional HE systems. One of such problems is regionalization controversy. Yoshimatsu (2006, p.115) noted that there are two collective action problems when it comes to regional integration. These includes 'collaborative games' wherein players are enticed to defect from an agreement so as to realize short-term gains; and the 'coordination games' wherein players experience difficulties in realizing an agreement. I would say African HE systems face the problem of 'coordination games' as they find it difficult coordinating regional structures (see difficulty in coordinating the Arusha Convention (ADEA, 2015 - which led to the delegation of its functions to sub-regional structures like CAMES to cater for the LMD; Mohamedbhai, 2013). According to the Growth and Employment Strategy Paper (GESP) or Cameroon's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) 2010/2020 (IMF, 2010, p.21) regional integration issues within CEMAC poses challenges for Cameroon; as the number one challenge has been the consolidation of the CEMAC sub-region aimed at taking total advantage of the signed treaties in relation to the free movement of persons and goods.

Osterwalder (2009, p.5) suggested that for successful harmonization to occur, regional procedures designed to promote substantial harmonization of HE systems are compelled to consider respecting the 'different pace of change in economic, political and social realms; search for common points of linkage; and exploit them for the benefits of all stakeholders. Having discussed harmonization from a regional standpoint, the next section discusses harmonization from a national standpoint – Cameroon.

2.3.3 Harmonization from a national standpoint: Cameroon

Mngo (2011) noted that literature on education in Cameroon suggests that there is a deep-rooted history of resistance to educational reform and harmonization both at the K12 and higher education levels. Attempts by political and educational leaders to reform and harmonize the two very distinct systems of education, inherited from former colonizers (France/Britain), have failed in the past because of failure by policy makers to take care of the socio-cultural, professional, and academic demands of all educational stakeholders. However, Fonkeng (2007) argued that many attempts have been made by political leaders to harmonize the two systems (Francophone and Anglophone) because they were considered an ongoing political issue. The first president of Cameroon, Ahmadou Ahidjo, in a 1965 speech expressed some frustration and the urgent need for harmonization of Cameroon's higher education. Thus:

It is impossible for the children of one and the same country to be educated under different systems. We do not believe that language barrier is sufficient enough to prevent the harmonization of syllabuses and structures. We have already expressed our beliefs that harmonization is not intended to ensure the domination of one linguistic group by another but ... to gradually help to create an original culture, which retains what is valuable from foreign cultures and adds what is valuable of our own. (Cameroon Tribune, as cited in Fonkeng, 2007, p.170).

The introduction of the October 2007 higher education reform known as Bachelors'-Masters-Doctorate or BMD represents the first harmonized model for Cameroonian higher education led by its government and having originated from the European Bologna Process model already under implementation in both France and Britain (Mngo, 2011, p.7); the nation's ex-colonial powers. Shrum and Shenhav (1995) remarked that isomorphic relationships always exist whereby the periphery is always known to adopt and mimic western (core) practices, policies, and scientific models (such is the case with the Bologna Process which originated in Europe which has been mimicked as LMD in the CEMAC region and LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE following its dual HE system- due to colonial effect). In line with this postcolonial perspective, the power to make decisions 'is shifted to the resulting new center in the political community' (from hegemonies like France/Britain to Cameroon's MINESUP at the national level in line with the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP); and emphasizes the functions of supranational regional bodies (like EU, CEMAC and AU) and non-state actors in the harmonization process (Woldegiorgis, *et al.*, 2015, p.243)⁷.

From a national standpoint, Doh (2015), Konings (2009) and the Ministry of Higher Education (2010) noted that Cameroonian universities are centrally governed or managed by the state. The Ministry of HE (2010) also reiterated that Cameroonian HE is regulated by the 1993 reforms and the 2001 orientation law of higher

⁷ MINESUP is French acronym for Cameroon's Ministry of Higher Education.

education. The Law of Orientation of HE in Cameroon (Ministry of Higher Education, 2001) stipulated that HE is a national priority controlled and organized by the state via the Ministry of HE which functions in defining HE policies within Cameroon.

There are many reasons of nationally harmonizing HE systems. The development of a national policy framework for HE which is the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP is one of such reasons. Nyborg (2004, p.2) affirmed that ‘in many countries one sees the need for substantial reforms in the higher education system. Governments use the Bologna Process to push for national reforms’. HE in most countries is important as it plays a fundamental social role of enhancing national identity (Pillay, 2011, p.1) and offers avenues for pluralistic debates (World Bank, 1994, p.15); such as the onset of policy borrowing and transnational spread of the Bologna Process.

Another reason for national harmonization is the reinforcement of national HE programmes. Delpouve and Breillat (2010, p.1) noted that the national harmonization of university programmes in Cameroon under the Tuning programme titled ‘Assise des programmes de universitaires Cameroun’ have been introduced by the LMD which originated from the CEMAC signatory agreement of the CEMAC heads of states. In line with this, Sun, Creemers and de Jong (2007, p.97) stressed that the main national educational planning document of any nation is the ‘national curriculum’ as it comprises of national goals; and presentation and delivery guidelines of the content.

There are also problems encountered with national harmonization needing attention. Political concerns relative to harmonization has been raised as one of such problems. Doh (2015) noted that many individuals have contested such position of state control in Cameroonian HE; which has negatively affected harmonization. Eta (2018, p.11) reiterated that national policies are usually political decisions made without consulting universities and other HEIs which are meant to implement them.

Harmonization is also known to be negatively influenced by colonial effect. Shizha (2006, p.26) recounted that postcolonial education is still principally based on the imposition of educational structures like those during colonialism as present educational systems still promote the colonial legacy which continuously defines school knowledge as western rational science; thus posing heterogeneity than homogeneity. This is the case with the French and English HE structures in Cameroon which are colonial legacies (Awasom, 2005). Bhabha (1990) added that there is an imposition of cultural essentialism on the present structure of the schooling process which makes the marginalized or subordinated groups perceive the world in a particular way; hence a problem.

There is a perceived lack of a common national HE policy which impedes the harmonization of the Cameroonian HE system. According to Ngalim (2014, p.336) there are many obstacles to the policy of

harmonization including: the bicultural nature of Cameroon which prevents harmonization owing to colonial heritage (Tchombe, 1999); misconceptions of the term harmonization as many think it is a form of assimilation (Fonkeng, 2007, p.299); and pedagogic issues caused by weak political will which make policies incapable of being transformed into action (Ngalim, 2014, p.336). Azatyan and Kopp (2012, p.3) suggested that to solve harmonization concerns, true harmonization means something which is deeper than a mere creation of a common document as it entails both effective communication and collaboration geared at building trust and capacity such as sharing information, enhancing mutual recognition and doing joint work. Secondly, it is important to note that harmonization does not connote a loss of national autonomy and sovereignty especially not in the early phases (p.4). Having discussed the harmonization process from an international, regional and national standpoint where information regarding the Bologna Process has been provided, it is important to know what the Bologna Process is; how it originated; and how it has been adopted/adapted across contexts; leading to the next section the transnational flow of the Bologna Process.

2.4 The transnational flow of the Bologna Process

In this section, I have presented the transnational flow of the Bologna Process from Europe to Africa anchoring at the CEMAC region and finally rooted in Cameroon to explain a glaring example of harmonization (see 2.3 above) and policy borrowing aimed at illustrating how global reforms are adopted/adapted across contexts to cater for local realities. In line with this, the next subsection presents the Bologna Process in Europe.

2.4.1 The Bologna Process in Europe

In Europe, the Bologna Process is a reflection of the 1988 ‘Magna Carta Universitatum’ which is an instrument that lays down basic principles of university education, signed during the University of Bologna’s 900th anniversary by university heads (HC, 2007, p.5). Voegtler, Knill and Dobbins (2011, p.77 &78) noted that due to the rising problems pressurizing European universities, they started reforming their organizational structure; as the capabilities of universities in Europe to compete in what is known as the global knowledge economy were perceived to be inadequate resulting from brain drain, low output and success rates of graduates, poor global reputation of national universities, rising unemployment of academics and inadequate financial resources. The Bologna Process was considered a better way of comprehending EU initiatives in ‘communicating Europe’ among member states (Klemenčič, 2009, p.4). Voegtler *et al.* (2011, p.78) for instance noted that the recent change in the structures of HE programmes is perceived to be connected to the Bologna Process which is a response to the pressure of globalization.

In accordance to the above arguments, the Sorbonne Declaration (Sorbonne Communiqué, 1998) is known to set the foundation for the Bologna Declaration and was a joint agreement between Britain, Italy, Germany and France to harmonize the architecture of the European higher education system. A year later in 1999, 29 countries voluntarily signed the Bologna Process and agreed on a shared set of action lines with the intention of creating the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) by 2010 (Bologna Declaration, 1999; Fearn, 2008; House of Commons (HC, 2007, p.11); Sweeney, 2017; & Torotcoi, 2017) to foster a competitive and attractive EHEA (Fearn, 2008; & Torotcoi, 2017). The objectives/action lines of the Bologna Declaration (1999) included to:

- ❖ Enhance the readability and comparability of grades/degrees; and the use of diploma supplements to enhance graduate employability and European HE international competitiveness;
- ❖ Adopt a common HE system comprising of: two main degree cycles viz undergraduate and graduate; or three cycles namely: Bachelors-Masters-PhD;
- ❖ Adopt a credit system known as the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) to enhance student mobility and lifelong learning;
- ❖ Enhance free mobility among students, teachers, administrative staff and researchers;
- ❖ Promote quality assurance through European cooperation to develop comparable methodologies and criteria;
- ❖ Promote basic ‘European dimensions in higher education’ specifically in integrated study programmes, research and teaching; mobility programmes, inter-institutional co-operation, and curricular development.

It should be noted that the biennial follow up meeting of the Bologna Process has also led to the addition of more action lines (Eta, 2018, p.16). The Prague Communiqué (2001) added the following:

- ❖ Attention on lifelong learning
- ❖ Inclusivity of students and HEIs
- ❖ Boosting the attractiveness of EHEA

The Berlin Communiqué (2003) included:

- ❖ Doctoral studies and cooperation in the European Research Area and European Higher Education Area.

In brief, many more nations have joined the Bologna Process in Europe and across the globe which Zgaga (2006) describe as the ‘external dimension’ of the Bologna Process. Being a process, after the Berlin Conference of 2003, more ministerial meetings have been held in Bergen (Bergen Communiqué, 2005), London (London Communiqué, 2007), Leuven and Louvain-la-Neuve (Leuven and Louvain-la-Neuve

Communique, 2009), Budapest and Vienna (Budapest-Vienna Declaration, 2010), Bucharest-Romania (Bucharest Communiqué, 2012), and Yerevan-Armenia (Yerevan Communiqué, 2015) to monitor the progress of the Bologna Process, and to add more members to the Bologna agreement. The table below summarises actions taken in some selected ministerial meetings to enhance understanding.

Table 2.1: Indicating continuous efforts in the attainment of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) of the Bologna Process

1998 Sorbonne Declaration	1999 Bologna Declaration	2001 Prague Communiqué	2003 Berlin Communiqué	2005 Bergen Communiqué	2007 London Communiqué	2009 Leuven Communiqué
Mobility of students and teachers	Mobility of students, teachers, researchers and administrative staff	Social dimension of mobility	Portability of loans and grants. Improvement of mobility data	Attention to visa and work permits	Challenges of visa and work permits, pension systems and recognition	Benchmark of 20% by 2020 for student mobility
A common two-cycle degree system	Easily readable and comparable degrees	Fair recognition Development of recognized joint degrees	Inclusion of doctoral level as third cycle	QF-EHEA adopted. National Qualifications Frameworks launched	National Qualifications Framework by 2010	National Qualification Frameworks by 2012
		Social dimension	Equal access	Reinforcement of the social dimension	Commitment to produce national action plans with effective monitoring	National targets for the social dimension to be measured by 2020
		Lifelong learning	Alignment of national LLL policies. Recognition of prior learning (RPL)	Flexible learning paths in higher education	Role of higher education in LLL. Partnership to improve employability	LLL as a public responsibility requiring strong partnerships. Call to work on employability
Use of credits	A system of credits (ECTS)	ECTS and Diploma Supplement (DS)	ECTS for credit accumulation		Need for coherent use of tools and recognition practices	Continuing implementation of Bologna tools
	European cooperation in quality assurance	Cooperation between quality assurance and recognition professionals	Quality assurance at institutional, national and European level	European Standards and Guidelines for quality assurance adopted	Creation of the European Quality Assurance register (EQAR)	Quality as an overarching focus for EHEA
Europe of knowledge	European dimensions in higher education	Attractiveness of the European Higher Education Area	Links between higher education and research areas	International cooperation on the basis of values and sustainable development	Strategy to improve the global dimension of the Bologna process adopted	Enhance global policy dialogue through Bologna policy fora

Source: Okeke (2014, p.2093)

Crosier and Parveva (2013), Knight (2013), Vogtle and Martens (2014) and Zgaga (2006) added that although the Bologna Process was initially conceived as a solution to the challenges facing European educational systems, it nonetheless has had a spillover effect in other parts of the world including Latin America, Asia and Africa. Therefore, the next subsection discusses the Bologna Process in Africa-CEMAC where it is known as the LMD.

2.4.2 The Bologna Process/LMD in Africa – CEMAC

According to the European Commission (EC, 2007, p.2) the creation of a Joint Strategy between Africa and EU (JAES) is a shared vision aimed at strengthening political partnerships and to promote cooperation at all levels based on Euro-African consensus on common strategic objectives, common interests and values which will be implemented via successive short-term Action Plans and political dialogue at all levels (including HE). McGregor (2011) reported that due to the challenges plaguing African HE, the AAU recommended that Africa needs to race, to catch-up with the world; which in other words means creating a ‘space’ race. The ADEA’s Working Group on Higher Education (WGHE), which was a follow-up to the World Conference on Higher Education (WCHE) Communiqué made a decision to investigate into the concept of establishing an ‘African Higher Education and Research Area’ through an analytical research and by so doing convened a workshop in December 2010 in Accra, Ghana constituting of representatives of chief actors to brainstorm and reflect on how to undertake this study (Mohamedbhai, 2013, p.8). Hosted by the Association of African Universities (AAU) and supported by the African Union Commission (AUC); one of the outcomes of this workshop was a ‘Concept Note’ which stressed on the importance of strengthening the ‘African Higher Education and Research Space (AHERS)’ through which academic mobility and collaboration among African countries and their higher education systems can take place (Mohamedbhai, 2013).

However, due to the shortcomings of the AUC, the AUC delegated sub-regional blocs like CEMAC (Acho, 2017) to handle the harmonization of HE systems and the implementation of reforms like the LMD in the quest of attaining AHERS (Mohamedbhai, 2013)⁸. While emphasis in the CEMAC region has been on activities related to trade for a long time (Eta, 2018, p.6); the Libreville Declaration (CEMAC, 2005) initiated the Bologna Process ideas through the adoption of the ‘Licence-Master-Doctorat’ (LMD) reform with the aim of establishing a ‘CEMAC Space for Higher Education Research and Professional Training’. Nonetheless, Vogtle and Martens (2014) argued that CEMAC is instead one of the sub-regions in Africa that has directly emulated the Bologna Process independently and without associating with other African harmonization initiatives. The LMD system in CEMAC had as objectives (CEMAC Council of Ministers, 2006) to:

- Modernize pedagogy;

⁸ CEMAC means ‘Communauté Economique et Monétaire d’Afrique Centrale’ in French and ‘Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa’ in English. CEMAC comprises of six member states including Central African Republic (CAR), Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Cameroon and Chad. These states share the same currency which is the CFA Franc and have same history as they were all being colonized by France (but for Cameroon which was also being colonized by Britain (Acho, 2017).

- Institute effective training programmes;
- Enhance professionalism among university students;
- Continuously satisfy the needs of certificate programmes;
- Improve students' methodology, communication and language skills;
- Foster a system of continuous assessment;
- Encourage national/international student mobility.

However, the CEMAC Council of Ministers (CEMAC, 2006) noted that the above objectives were meant to be attained through the following action lines:

- Professionalization of educational programmes;
- Adoption of a credit system;
- Institution of two programmes (undergraduate and postgraduate); having three degrees that is Bachelors', Masters and Doctorate degrees;
- Readable and comparable certificates;
- "Semestrialisation" of training periods (Eta & Vuban, 2017, p.347).

Mohamedhai (2013, p.17) noted that CEMAC countries are mostly French-speaking; having Francophone HE systems and also are at different phases of transition to the LMD system of the Bologna Process. This leads us to examining the onset of the Bologna Process/LMD in Cameroon.

2.4.3 The Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in Cameroon

Nyborg (2004, p.4) noted that the Bologna Process as a declaration of intent, has had consequences for national legislation; and Cameroon being a signatory state to the CEMAC convention has been compelled to implement the LMD in its HE system (Doh, 2015 & Eta, 2015). Eta and Vuban (2017, p.348) remarked that the LMD objectives as stipulated by the CEMAC Council of Ministers were later expanded and adapted in the Cameroonian context by the Cameroon Ministry of Higher Education; to harmonize the dual degree structure (Doh, 2015) . Due to the bilingual nature of the Cameroonian HE system while the French-speaking HE system called it LMD (Licence-Master-Doctorat); the Anglo-Saxon HE system called it BMP (Bachelors'-Masters-PhD) or BMD (Bachelors'-Masters-Doctorate) in accordance with titles of degree structures (Eta & Vubo, 2016). According to the Ministry of Higher Education (2007, p.2-3; & 2010b, p.16), the LMD/BMP has three broad objectives and nine specific objectives. As general objectives, the BMP/LMD in Cameroonian HE is meant to:

- Enhance social, cultural and human development via the training of senior staff endowed with a strong sense of training in citizenship, able to respond to the challenges of the Millennium from both Central African sub-regional and national levels;
- Ensure national economic development and graduate employability;
- Promote research to aid outreach in partnership with the private sector.

The following are the nine specific objectives of the LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE (Ministry of Higher Education, 2007, p.2-3; & 2010b, p.16):

- To ensure better comprehension of training grades and different levels of professional integration among students, professionals, parents and employers;
- To create a novel generation of dynamic graduates endowed with knowledge and know-how to aid their adaptation within a global context that is fast changing;
- To establish training that is characterized by international comparability and flexibility;
- Reforming teaching programmes and ensuring diversification of training courses in potentially profitable fields;
- To create flexible and efficient study fields of both academic and applied disciplines thus providing students at all levels the possibility of professional integration;
- To promote mobility of students at the national, sub-regional and international levels;
- To enhance certificate equivalences;
- To promote learning transversal skills specifically the mastery of modern languages as well as ICT;
- To develop innovative methods of teaching which would make use of ICTs, electronic learning (e-learning), alternating training and distance learning.

Having talked about the evolution of the Bologna Process and its transnational effect across contexts spanning from Europe through Africa-CEMAC and finally Cameroon thereby illustrating how action lines have been adopted and adapted to suit contextual realities, in the subsection below I have discussed and expanded on some selected action lines (employability, mobility, degree structure/recognition and credit transferability) to aid readers understand the state of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE.

2.5 The state of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE

In this section, I present the state of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE using four action lines viz employability, mobility, degree structure/recognition and credit transferability. These are action lines that have been researched upon thus suitable to provide contextual literature on the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. I now present the employability (or employment) agenda.

2.5.1 Employment

According to the African Development Bank report (AfDB, 2017, p.18), Cameroon's economic growth has not been adequately inclusive to create jobs. While the unemployment rate remained relatively low at 4.3% in 2015, interestingly, this is trending upwards among young people who represent two-thirds of the entire population. Mbah (2014, p.31-33) pointed out that graduate unemployment in Cameroon, from an endogenous perspective is caused by; lack of proper university programme orientation of new recruits; irrelevant courses offered and lack of practical skills; while from an exogenous perspective, these problems originate from inadequate facilities due to insufficient financial support; and corruption, huge taxes and government bureaucracies. Mbah (2014, p.33-34) recommended that to solve unemployment problems there is need to reposition Cameroonian universities as a means to augment graduate employability through; customizing training and education to match job market needs; provision of adequate counselling to students; and reinforce entrepreneurship/vocational training for self-reliance/job creation. In addition to Mbah's recommendations, some actions have been taken by the Cameroonian government through MINESUP. In line with this, according to Doh (2012) and Eta (2017), the 1993 reform was geared at solving graduate unemployment issues through the professionalization of university programmes; and this reform has been reinforced by the LMD reform (Eta, 2017). Research carried out by Eta (2015, p.173) citing MINESUP (2010a) on the justification for adopting the employability agenda in Cameroon in line with the LMD revealed that the LMD employability agenda is aimed at providing every student with a job using the slogan 'one student=one job opportunity, one student=one business enterprise'. This explains why Eta and Vuban (2017, p.359) and Nalova (2014, p.97) remarked that graduate employability is therefore at the center of the LMD/BMP reform. Next, I present the mobility agenda.

2.5.2 Mobility

According to Junor and Usher (2008, p.5 & 6) the Fulbright US Student Program; Chevening Scholarship in the United Kingdom; Australian Scholarships; and EU's Erasmus program are perceived to be the four best global mobility schemes – which Cameroonian scholars also benefit from. From a regional perspective, according to the CamerounWeb (2017), 25th June 2013 has been a historical milestone within CEMAC as a decision was reached to get rid of visas for CEMAC citizens which has aided mobility (including student/staff mobility) in the CEMAC region – Cameroon inclusive. Task Force (2000, p.77) noted that mobility ensured via the provision of travelling grants, among organizing conferences, use of computer-mediated communication and telephones are known to be efficient ways of combating (educational) isolation. From a national perspective, research carried out by Eta (2015) on the justification of the adoption of the Bologna Process in Cameroonian HE revealed that mobility as an action line of the LMD reform was

adopted to promote inter-programme mobility, inter-university mobility, mobility between universities in the CEMAC region, and international mobility (p.173); which tie with Mohamedbhai's concepts of learner mobility known as 'differentiation' and 'articulation' (2013, p.31&32)⁹. In Cameroon, MINESUP (2010b) noted that one of the concerns of mobility is that it is limited between specialties within a given field or related study fields; as well as restricted to more general academic and professional disciplines. For instance, students studying in professional schools are not permitted to change their disciplines as they undertake their training with the only exception being taking a competitive entrance examination. According to Eta and Vuban (2017) efforts have been made to harmonize the curriculum to enhance inter-university movements in Cameroon. Nonetheless, curricular harmonization to aid inter-university movements is restricted due to the dual nature of the Cameroonian HE system (Cameroon Tribune, 2016). This means mobility is feasible among Anglo-Saxon universities or Francophone universities but not across both types of universities hence posing a heterogenous than homogenous HE system (Eta & Vuban, 2017, p.358). Next, I present the degree structure/recognition agenda.

2.5.3 Degree structure/recognition

In Cameroonian HE, Arrête No. 99\0055 \MINESUP\DDES of November 1999 mentioned that before the adoption of the 2007 LMD/BMP reform, the dual organization of Cameroonian HE – French-speaking and English-speaking - was designed to reflect its colonial heritage - France and Britain respectively. To understand changes in terms of degree structure, I have presented degree structures in the pre-LMD/BMP and LMD/BMP era in both French and Anglo-Saxon universities. See figure below which illustrates some degrees that existed in both French and English-speaking universities in the pre-LMD/BMP era.

⁹ Briefly, 'differentiation' and 'articulation' refers to the nature of institutions and their programmes which aid student mobility. Detailed definitions/differences of these is found in Mohamedbhai (2013, p.31 &32).

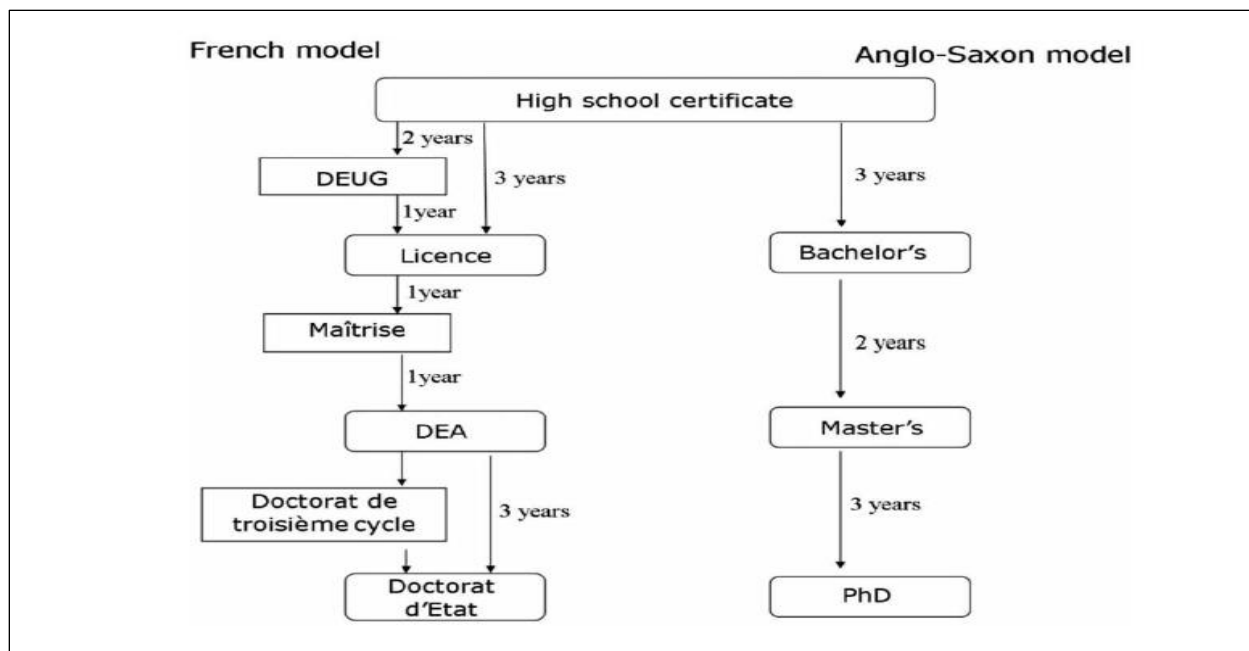


Figure 2.1: The French and Anglo-Saxon degree structures in Cameroonian HE in the Pre-LMD/BMP era (Doh, 2007 & Eta, 2015, p.171)

The LMD in Cameroonian HE (Eta & Vuban; 2017, p.355) has been aimed at harmonizing its degree structure which Doh (2007 & 2008), Eta (2015, p.171), Eta and Vubo (2016) and Ngufor (2009) described as a dual degree structure. French universities offered *Diplôme d'Études Générales* (DEUG), *Licence*, *Maîtrise*, *Diplôme d'Études Approfondies* (DEA), *Doctorat de Troisième Cycle*, and “*Doctorat d'État*”, while the lone Anglo-Saxon University at that time offered postgraduate diplomas as intermediate degrees. These had to be eroded to be in line with LMD/BMP's three staged degree structure. Doh (2008, p.90) perceived that the reason for harmonizing the numerous degree structures such as *Maîtrise*, *DEUG* and *Doctorat de Troisième Cycle* was to curb dropout rates due to economic constraints involved in acquiring these certificates. Vubo (2011) added that while in practice *DEA* and *Maitrise* took two years to be completed, *Doctorat de troisieme cycle* took two to four years; and *Doctorat d'Etat* took between three and five years. This means that to have a *Doctorat d'Etat* prior to the BMP/LMD, students were to spend between 10-12 years (Doh, 2007). However, according to Eta and Vubo (2016), despite the existence of many degree structures that existed in French universities in the pre-BMP era, the post-BMP era still issues pre-BMP degrees such as *DEUG* within the first two years of the first cycle while *Maitrise* and *DEA* which were done in the pre-BMP era has been replaced with Masters' degree in the post-BMP era though this has been further split up as Masters I and Masters II. The figure below illustrates the new degree structure in French universities.

French Model of Degrees/ Degree Structure in the BMP Era

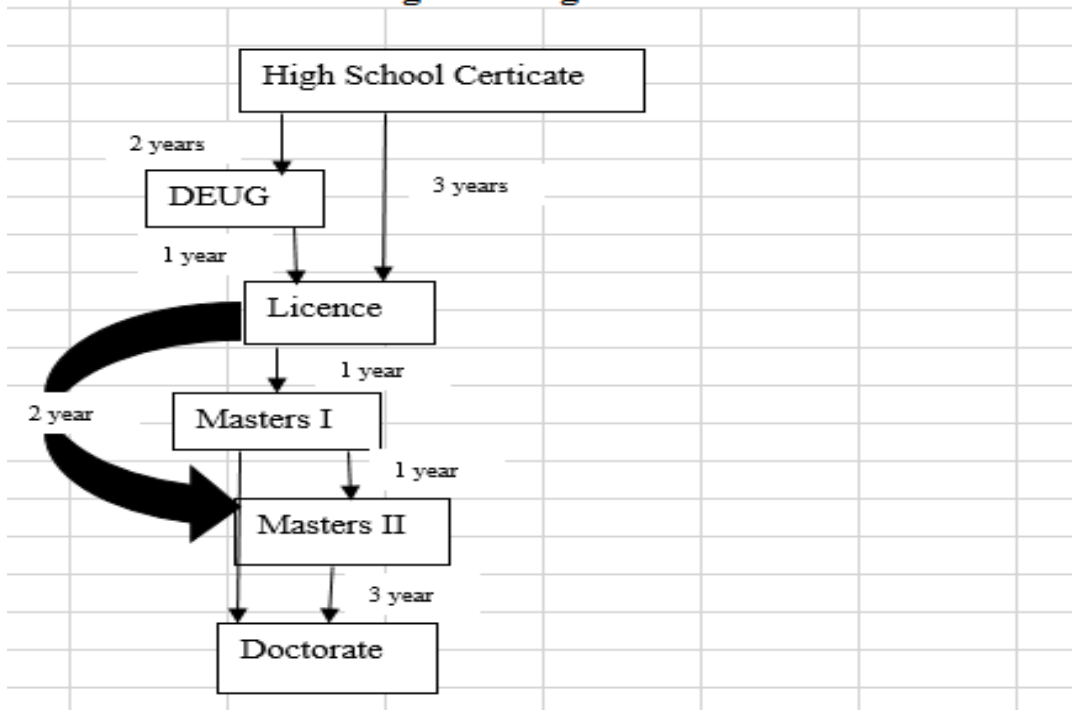


Figure 2.2: Degree Structure in Cameroonian French Universities in the LMD/BMP Era (self-generated based on existing literature).

There are many problems plaguing degree structures/recognition in Cameroonian HE particularly in the French subsystem (Eta & Vubo, 2016). First, Doh (2008, p.90-91) remarked that the LMD's degree structure of 3+2+3 poses problems for French-speaking universities in the domain of quality. The *doctorat* degree for instance has been perceived to have raised quality concerns for future graduates of the new system in the wake of scanty certificates. Second, concerns as to whether universities can afford the logistic and financial costs of supervising doctorate students within just three years have been raised. Third, the new degree structure, is equivalent to the loss of the cultural elements of the former HE system described as 'academic colonization' (Doh, 2008, p.91). According to Eta and Vubo (2016), the adoption of the BMP seem not to have replaced any old practice as the former and present systems have just been adjusted to accommodate one another.

Within Cameroonian Anglo-Saxon universities, though the University of Buea for instance was originally established following the Anglo-Saxon tradition of university education in terms of degree structures viz Bachelors' (three years), Masters (two years) and PhD (three years), UB offered Postgraduate Diplomas in disciplines like Women and Gender Studies and Education in the pre-BMP era which BMP has dissolved to retain a strict 3-2-3 degree structure (Eta & Vubo, 2016). Next, I present the credit transferability agenda.

2.5.4 Credit transferability

In Cameroon, French universities have evolved from the modular system (wherein courses were merged as modules to permit students use marks for courses they have passed to ‘round up’ marks for failed courses below seven on twenty); to the credit system also known as the ‘system of compensation’ (Doh, 2007; Eta, 2015; Eta & Vubo, 2016; Eta & Vuban, 2017, p.356; Ngufor, 2009) in the BMP era. However, French universities still operate the modular system of rounding up failed marks though credits have been introduced with such credits being relevant only at the university where a student is studying and cannot be transferred to other universities in the CEMAC zone as the student would be expected to re-do the failed course (Eta & Vubo, 2016). This practice is lodged in the French abbreviation CANT which means *crédits capitalisés mais non transférables* translated into English as ‘credits earned but not transferable’ (Eta & Vubo, 2016). This means the credit system is but an extension of the module system as it has not replaced the latter in French universities as it ought to be (Eta & Vubo, 2016). Eta and Vuban (2017, p.356), noted that the new credit/grading system has posed problems in the present LMD/BMP era¹⁰. The Cameroon Tribune (2016) reported that concerns with the credit system include: ‘the semestrialization of courses and grading systems’; codifying course units; deciding on credit values particularly credits per course; designing programmes; and deciding on the number of courses for each semester.

The lone Anglophone university – University of Buea during the pre-BMP era operated the three-credit American Course Credit System made up of ‘96, 126, 42, and 90 credits for the bachelor’s degree, double degree, master’s degree, and PhD, respectively’ and not the modular system with no possibility for ‘compensation’ (Doh, 2008; Eta, 2015; Eta & Vubo, 2016; Eta & Vuban, 2017, p.356; Ngufor, 2009). Credits were awarded only to passed courses and withdrawn for failed courses meaning students with failed course(s) were to redo it/them to pass and earn credits for it/them. The LMD/BMP was later adopted to enhance a common credit system used for grading in all universities using ‘180, 240, 120, and 180 credits for the bachelor’s degree, double degree, master’s degree, and PhD, respectively’ (Eta & Vubo, 2016; Eta & Vuban, 2017, p.356). In both French-speaking and Anglophone universities, the lack of implementation of the diploma supplement is a major hindrance for mobility (Eta & Vuban, 2017, p.358) and credit transferability. The table below illustrates credit values in Cameroonian universities in the pre-BMP/LMD and BMP/LMD era.

¹⁰ See Eta and Vubo (2016) for more credit problems.

Table 2.2: Redefinition of the credit value system under the BMP system

Degree	Pre-BMP	BMP-credits
Bachelor's (three years programme)	96	180
Bachelor's (four year programme)	126	240
Master's	42	120
PhD	90	180

Source: Eta (2015, p.173)

Having presented the state of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE across the French and Anglophone subsystems, I now conclude the entire chapter.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter, highlighted that higher education in Cameroon has greatly evolved from the indigenous era through colonial era to independence era and through various periods of post-independence particularly the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP era. Despite efforts to evolve and reform the HE system, there have been and still exist many problems plaguing the HE system which have propelled the need to constantly reform the existing status quo of the HE system. The many problems existing despite new reforms in place have been due to a lack of evaluation of existing reforms calling for more evaluation studies on existing practices, policies, programmes and reforms.

Recently, Cameroonian HE has been engaged in the harmonization process in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP from an international, regional and national perspective. Harmonizing HE systems across these contexts has brought to light common practices/policies like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP (Bologna Declaration, 1999; Tchombe, 1999 & Eta, 2015); and programmes like the Tuning Programme (Kehm, 2010) - which have been however adapted in national contexts to suit national contextual realities thus bringing about areas of commonalities and divergences which are ideal within the field of comparative education.

I argue that harmonization is a catalyst of policy borrowing (discussed in chapter five) as illustrated by the transnational flow of the Bologna Process ideas (Eta, 2015) from Europe anchoring in various world regions like Africa – CEMAC and finally being rooted in nations like Cameroon. Despite the importance of educational isomorphism which converges educational systems (Drezner, 2001) - with harmonization playing a vital role (Huisman & van der Wende, 2004), however, Woldegiorgis *et al.* (2015) suggested that harmonization should not be considered as standardization; bearing in mind that the context of application

differ (Phillips & Ochs, 2004). I argue contextual sensitivity is necessary to cater for local realities during implementation so as to achieve successful outcomes. I also argue that the adoption of common reform action lines like those of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reforms serve as references to national states and their corresponding regions to aid them structure their HE systems in such a way that these would not only constitute national/regional realities but global realities too geared at facilitating: the compatibility and comparability and HE systems, easily read degrees, credit transferability quality assurance, graduate employability, and staff/student mobility across a wider context. The next chapter will be discussing relevant theories and models as they relate to the study.

Chapter Three
Literature Review
(Theoretical and Conceptual Framework)

3.1 Introduction

Most studies into comparative education make use of the policy borrowing theoretical framework as propounded by Phillips and Ochs (2003 & 2004) and/or sometimes with references from other theoretical policy frameworks like policy convergence, policy transfer, policy learning and information-theoretical framework of policy transfer¹¹. However, I have criticized these models for being Euro-centric as they were developed by westerners following European/western realities and therefore do not take into consideration other realities like that of Africa at large and Cameroon in particular (among other criticisms – see below). In other words, this means there is no existing Afro-centric theoretical framework which can be used to properly explain existing practices in comparative education or the study of foreign reforms, policies, practices and programmes which have been found occurring within the local African context. In this case, I argue the African reality is hardly properly analysed when using the policy borrowing model as either researchers may just say there is policy borrowing going on in Africa (and Cameroon) in the course of their discourses; or narrowly critique the concept using only the indicators presented in the model with no room for adding anything anew (African reality) as this is not addressed by the model. Based on my findings in chapter six, seven and eight, there are six vital factors when it comes to the study of ‘policy borrowing’ in African HE at large and Cameroonian HE in particular - viz decision-making, development, change, post-colonialism, dominance, and human capital formation - which have either been ignored or paid less attention to in studies into policy borrowing in Africa at large and Cameroon in particular. In other words in this chapter, I have reviewed theories based on the six aforementioned factors viz theory of decision-making, theories of development, theory of change, colonial/post-colonial theory, theory of dominance and theory of human capital development – which I have used in critiquing findings in chapter six, seven and eight. I have used these theories to understand Cameroon in the onset of policy borrowing which is evident by the introduction of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in this context. As I argued above since the policy borrowing model and other related models in comparative education are Eurocentric models, these theories

¹¹ See Appendix G for existing literature on policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE; and Appendix H for descriptive accounts on models of policy convergence, policy transfer, and policy learning, and information-theoretical framework of policy transfer.

and findings in chapter six, seven and eight have filled in the gap in providing analysis for policy borrowing from an Afro-centric standpoint.

I would argue the above theories are important because, they do not only add to existing literature on ‘policy borrowing’ discourses, but have aided me to develop a policy borrowing theoretical framework for Africa (Cameroon) which I describe in chapter six, seven and eight as the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ rooted in empirical data - hence a contribution to knowledge within the field of comparative education. The chapter also ends with a critical conclusion. Having introduced what the chapter is about and why it has been structured this way, I now turn my attention to reviewing literature on the policy borrowing framework.

3.2 The policy borrowing model: a cross-examination into the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reforms

According to Dale (1999), Dale and Roberston (2012), Phillips and Ochs (2004) and Steiner-Khamsi (2004) many different terms have been used in comparative education to describe the transnational movement, flow as well as spread of practices and policies across national borders. These terms include: policy borrowing (Phillips & Ochs, 2003 & 2004); policy convergence (Bennett, 1991); policy transfer (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000); information-theoretical framework of policy transfer (Wolman & Page, 2002); policy learning (Rose, 1993); policy mobility (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004); imitation, copying and emulation (Dale, 1999); and appropriation, assimilation or importation (Phillips & Ochs, 2003). Steiner-Khamsi (2012 & 2014), Phillips and Ochs (2004), Phillips and Schweisfurth (2008) and Waldow (2012) opined that the term policy borrowing has been widely used among other terms to describe the conscious and deliberate adaptation of policies from elsewhere (Phillips & Ochs, 2004); or to generally describe the transnational flow of global policies (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012; & Verger, 2014). According to Steiner-Khamsi (2012), no single term can be used to adequately capture and reflect the various processes and meanings entrenched in policy borrowing; nonetheless; it is apparent that policy borrowing and lending seems to be the most appropriate terminology used as besides being a widely used concept within the comparative education discipline, the term tends to be neutral regarding its purpose and presumed outcome as well as avoids some pitfalls which other terms such as policy learning depict - for instance ‘an excessively positive connotation’ which is hard to understand. I have used the term ‘policy borrowing’ as a generic term to cover these whole set of theories in this chapter.

In this section, I have presented Phillips and Ochs model of policy borrowing using contemporary examples drawn from Chapter Two regarding harmonization and Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform to aid understanding of how this model relates to my study. In line with this, Crossley and Schweisfurth (2009, p.457) confirmed that the model has been used in explaining and describing what is known as educational

policy-borrowing. According to Phillips and Ochs (2003 & 2004) and Sever (2006, p.484), the circular model of policy-borrowing has four main components including: cross-national attraction, decision, implementation as well as indigenization/internalization. This is illustrated below.

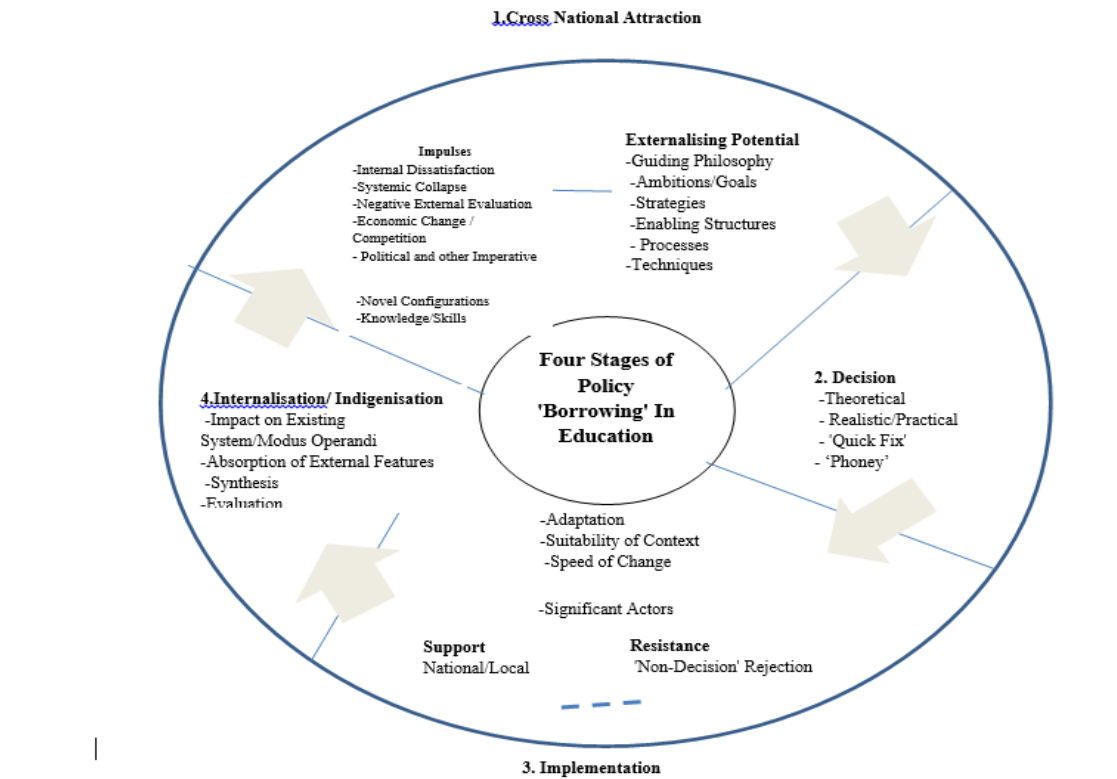


Figure 3.1: Policy borrowing in Education - composite processes (Phillips & Ochs 2003 & 2004, p.779)

It is perceived that there has been a shift from concrete lessons learnt from a given educational system to a general discourse on global standards by policy makers in justifying reasons for what is known as ‘cross-national attraction’ in education (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012). Phillips (2000, p.299) noted that this shift points to the fact that policy borrowing cannot be defined solely in terms of ‘learning and understanding what is happening elsewhere in education’; with the intentions of solving identical problems or improving and developing provisions in other system (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000; Phillips & Ochs, 2004; & Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). Rather, according to Steiner-Khamsi (2012) the focus on lessons learnt from a given educational system which was bilateral in the past is currently replaced by a global dimension to learning. In line with this argument, I would add that globalization has re-configured the concept of ‘cross-national attraction’ which was limited to lesson learning among two countries to ‘cross-global attraction’ or ‘transnational attraction’ which constitute many countries across the globe involved in lesson learning from one another. However, according to Phillips and Ochs (2004, p.776), ‘cross-national attraction’ is made up of both

‘impulses’ and ‘externalizing potential’. This model begins with ‘impulses’ which initiate cross-national attraction. Phillips and Ochs (2004) noted that there are various modes which ‘impulses’ can take viz:

- internal dissatisfaction from students, parents, teachers, ministers of education, civil servants and so on (in Cameroon for instance, the adoption of the LMD/BMP was due to internal dissatisfaction owing to the dual nature of the HE system – French and Anglo-Saxon; Tchombe, 1999; Doh, 2007, 2015; Eta & Vuban, 2017 which posed many problems in terms of plurality of degree structures and concerns with credit values; Eta & Vubo, 2016 - among others);
- systemic collapse (which is the failure or inadequacy of some provisions in education);
- negative external evaluation (comprising of foreign studies into students’ academic attainment or influential academic research);
- economic change and competition (abrupt economic changes or novel kinds of competition which call for more training needs using the Bologna Process; Tyler, 2014);
- political and other imperatives (such as the political decision to create a CEMAC space for HE using the LMD; Eta, 2015);
- novel configurations (involving impacts of multinational education, effects of globalization and global alliances; Mohamedbhai, 2013 & Verger, Novelli & Altinyelken, 2012).
- knowledge/skills innovation (such as the need for a number of change/innovations to realize the Bologna goals and for universities to align themselves within a society that is knowledge-driven; The Commission of the European Communities, 2006); and
- political change (such as novel orientations caused by changes in political mediations and institutions which tend to shape the adaptation of global policies; Eta, Kallo & Rinne, 2018).

The works of Steiner-Khamsi (2004, p.1) engages explicitly why there is the ‘movement’ of education policies from one locality to another – that is ‘transnational borrowing and lending’ as well as the process of becoming global. In other words, the ‘why’ of transnational movement of educational policies from one locality to another addresses the concept of ‘impulses’¹². In line with this, several authors including Steiner-Khamsi have generated reasons for the transnational movement of education policies.

¹² Whilst there are many reasons related to the ‘why’ of policy borrowing or ‘impulses’ of policy borrowing, in line with Steiner-Khamsi’ view and supported by many authors, I have decided to elaborate on just two ‘impulses’ in this section, viz globalization and legitimization. The other impulses are found below with extended literature found in the references provided. Thus: ‘voluntary and coercive’ reasons or impulses (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000; Sall & Ndjaye, 2008; MacGregor, 2008; Perry & Tor, 2008; Khelfaoui, 2009; & Steiner-Khamsi, 2012); ‘quest for harmonization geared at establishing a sense of belongingness’ reasons or impulses (Vögtle & Martens, 2014 & Kushnir, 2016); ‘political’ reasons or impulses (Halpin & Troyna, 1995; Davies & Guppy, 1997; Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006; Cippitani & Gatt, 2009; Steiner-Khamsi,

Many authors have affirmed that one of the reasons for policy borrowing is the influence of globalization¹³. To Steiner-Khamsi (2004, p.4), why policy borrowing takes place is related to the ‘global’, perceived as the ‘out-there education policy-trend’, which is now being mobilized by a new ‘semantics of globalization’ (p.5) to legitimate the adoption of particular education policies to ‘problems in-here’. Verger, Novelli and Altinyelken (2012, p.13) reiterated that nowadays, a common set of ‘education policy jargon’ and same educational reforms tend to be applicable across many areas of the globe even across areas that are incredibly diverse in terms of economic and cultural development; known as ‘Global Educational Policies’ (GEP); like Europe’s Bologna Process known to be a global reform in contemporary HE (Nyborg, 2004, p.1); with researchers across comparative education paying keen attention to what is known as the GEP phenomenon (Verger, *et al.*, 2012, p.13). To Steiner-Khamsi (2012, p.11) ‘all global reforms qualify as traveling policies’ regardless of their origins or driving factors; thus solving issues concerned with the local-and-global concepts. Steiner-Khamsi (2014) also opined that within the era of globalization, educational policy borrowing is known to be the norm, not an exception.

Several authors have affirmed that the reason why nations engage in policy borrowing is rooted in the quest to make policies legitimate. In line with this, Fulge, Bieber and Martens (2016) affirmed that the reason for policy borrowing has been the need to establish legitimacy at a global level, because the Bologna Process suddenly became a novel universal educational model and new benchmark for universities. Steiner-Khamsi (2004) added that another reason why policies move from one place to another or are being borrowed deals with the ‘certification’ (or legitimation) of changes in one locality which tend to reference an ‘external’ set of social practices; shapes the export of policies and programmes as part of an emerging trade within the education sector when returns to investments in education are dependent on economy of scale; and influences the territorial practices of organizations who operate transnationally while ‘leaving their mark’ hence portraying forms of going global. According to Steiner-Khamsi (2012), though systems of education learn and borrow ideas from elsewhere, and make references to global experiences and practices for the sake of legitimization, it has been argued that ideas are not borrowed simply because they are good or depict best practices but rather; according to Halpin and Troyna (1995, p.304) policy borrowing has ‘much more to do with legitimating other related policies’; as well as gives authority to domestic reforms (Steiner-Khamsi, 2002). In other words, Steiner-Khamsi (2002); Halpin and Troyna (1995); Ochs (2006); and Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) expressed that the motive for policy borrowing as well as making

2010; & Croche & Charlier, 2012); and ‘economic’ reasons or impulses (Levin, 1998; Samoff, 2001; Vavrus, 2004; Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008; Steiner-Khamsi, 2006; & Eta, 2018).

¹³ Also see Mohamedbhai (2013) and many more references on globalization found throughout chapters two and three.

references abroad can be utilized by local governments to give authority as well as legitimize highly controversial or contested domestic reforms; including reforms related to privatisation, standardization of student assessment and outcome-based educational reforms (Steiner-Khamsi, 2002).

In terms of ‘externalizing potential’, Forestier *et al.* (2016) and Ochs (2006) noted that ‘externalization’ can be utilized only as a reference or a discourse to justify policy decisions, in which no actual policy is borrowed; but rather, the supposed foreign idea is utilized in influencing and inspiring local reforms and solutions. Ochs (2006) also argued that there are typical situations in which borrowing is limited to policy discourse. Steiner-Khamsi (2004) on her part noted that ‘externalization’ as a reference, is sometimes used to glorify practices in the local system.

Phillips and Ochs (2002a) termed the idea of educational policies that may be considered vital for borrowing from other places as ‘guiding philosophy’ (for example strengthening regional ties used in Europe through the lens of European HE systems stimulated by the Bologna Process; Bologna Declaration, 1999); via

- goals/ambitions - such as the creation of a European Higher Education Area (EHEA) by the Sorbonne Declaration, 1998);
- strategies – such as increasing membership of different states via Open Method of Communication (OMC) and governance (Klemenčič, 2009; Viega & Amaral, 2006);
- enabling structures – such as having common degree structures in Cameroonian HE, Eta & Vubo, 2016);
- processes – such as certification, ECTS, grading, assessment modalities; Eta & Vuban, 2017) and
- techniques – such as teaching strategies/methods like the student-centered learning advanced by the Bologna Process; Klemenčič, 2015).

Decision, is the second phase of the policy borrowing model (Phillips & Ochs, 2003 & 2004) and comprises of: theoretical, realistic/practical, quick fix and phoney categories. The ‘theoretical category’ addresses governments’ desire for broad policies such as the use of the LMD reform to harmonize higher education in CEMAC (CEMAC, 2006) and Cameroon (Doh, 2008) (also see the transnational flow of Harmonization/Bologna Process in Chapter Two). The ‘realistic/practical’ category considers the use of measures such as assessments to determine the feasibility of borrowed policies for implementation in given contexts. The category termed ‘quick fix’ is mostly used by politicians for immediate results (such as the signing of the LMD reform (known to be inspired by the European Bologna Process) in Libreville by some CEMAC heads of states to augment the status quo of university education in this context to that of the original founders in Europe; CEMAC, 2006); and it is considered a harmful aspect of the decision-making process when foreign approaches are used. The ‘Phoney’ category deals with the incorporation of different

political enthusiasms of foreign educational aspects in order to satisfy instantaneous political results without strict follow-up (such as the political decision to adopt the Bologna Process in Europe (Cippitani & Gatt, 2009), LMD in CEMAC (Eta, 2015), and LMD/BMP in Cameroon (MINESUP, 2007).

The third phase of this model is that of implementation (Phillips & Ochs, 2004). This phase is dependent on conditions which are contextual to the country involved in borrowing. The rate at which change occurs depend on the attitudes of important actors which may be institutions or individuals that have the power to resist or encourage development and change (Mngo, 2011). These actors are very significant in systems that are decentralized with very insignificant control. Forms of resistance include non-decision or delayed decision.

The fourth phase of this model is that of internalization otherwise called indigenization or domestication. According to Phillips and Schweisfurth (2008) policy borrowing consists of two main stages viz adoption and adaptation. While ‘policy adoption’ originates from negotiations between policy makers for an acceptable solution to an identified problem (Anderson, 2003); ‘policy adaptation’ deals with local translation and modification of imported reforms within local levels (Eta, 2018, p.7) wherein the latter is related to ‘internalization’, indigenization’ or ‘domestication’ (Phillips & Ochs, 2003 & 2004). Here, there is the contextualization of the borrowed policy (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004), making it an integral part of the educational system of the ‘borrower’ country (also known as adaptability in Bologna Process terms; Bologna Declaration, 1999). It becomes easier to have an assessment of its impacts on the earlier educational arrangements and their corresponding ‘modus operandi’. This stage is divided into four parts (Phillips & Ochs, 2003 & 2004) namely:

- The effect on the modus operandi and existing system: In accordance with the existing system, policy makers’ objectives and motives are evaluated here.
- The assimilation of foreign features: The context is keenly examined to apprehend the extent to which and how foreign features have been appropriated.
- Synthesis: This step deals with the description of the process that leads to the inculcation of policies and practices of education in the importing country. The term re-contextualization was used in recognizing the effect of context on how transferred policies are interpreted and implemented (Cornoy & Rhoten, 2002).
- Evaluation: The internationalization of policies requires a critical evaluation and reflection of policies to determine the extent to which borrowing is feasible. Feedback from evaluation is important to the onset of the policy-borrowing process. Takayama, Sriprakash & Connell (2017, p.2) reported the views of George Bereday who in 1964 propounded that comparative education

provides self-knowledge lessons which aid individuals to become aware of others; and its aimed at loosening national pride to permit foreign voices and events to re-assess schooling systems; hence strengthening the ‘evaluation’ of the internationalization phase .

The arrows suggest temporal linkages and not causations (Phillips & Ochs, 2003 & 2004). The circular model or theory as described by Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2001) becomes complete when one considers the various stages and their respective parts or steps.

There are several strengths of the policy borrowing model. According to Eta (2018), the policy borrowing model provides a solid theoretical framework used in policy analysis particularly in comparative education. Davies and Guppy (1997) added that, policy borrowing is important as it emphasizes the place of ‘context’ which is important in transnational exchanges.

Several criticisms have also been raised against the policy borrowing model. It has been criticized for being an unfortunate term due to the fact that it is inadequate to describe linguistically the processes involved (Phillips, 2005)¹⁴. Furthermore, its meaning literally indicates that what is borrowed would be returned after use (Bray, 2007 & Dale, 1999); which in the actual sense is not the case. In addition to these, the policy borrowing model has also been criticized for not having a clear cut information on where certain indicators start and end (Eta, 2018) which I argue has made the framework hard to understand.

Based on these criticisms, I have developed a comprehensive, linguistically simple and an Afro-centric policy borrowing framework which considers African contextual realities termed ‘the policy borrowing iceberg’ which does not only extend literature on policy borrowing discourses but contributes to knowledge in the field of comparative education (see chapters six, seven and eight). In line with this, Crossley (1999, p.249) affirmed that ‘...the field of comparative and international education must be fundamentally re-conceptualised and redeveloped in ways that better demonstrate its potential to contribute to...advances in theoretical work relating specifically to education and to the social sciences more generally’. Furthermore, according to the American educationist John Dewey (Dewey, 1958) “we do not learn from experience;” rather, “we learn from reflection on experience”. I would say what this means is that there is much need for critical reflections on what Cameroonians learn/borrow from abroad particularly the experiences obtained through such learning/borrowing whether positive or negative or mere conceptualizations. Having examined the model from a theoretical standpoint using relevant examples for illustration, the next section

¹⁴ There are many classifications of policy borrowing which are linguistically confusing (for detailed information on what these mean, see the references). For instance, there is what is known as: ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ borrowing (Benson & Jordan, 2011); ‘text’ and ‘discourse’ relative to policy borrowing (Ball, 1994; Ochs, 2006 & Stone, 2010); ‘explicit’ borrowing and ‘silent’ borrowing (Waldow, 2009) and ‘normative’ and ‘analytical’ borrowing (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004).

examines theories of development aimed at extending discourses of the policy borrowing framework and development of the 'policy borrowing iceberg' (see chapters six, seven and eight).

3.3 Theories of development

Literature on the theories of development has been used to harness criticality of findings based on development as a factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in chapter six - hence justifying why examining theories of development is relevant to the study.

According to Escobar (2007, p.18), conceptualizing development since the last 50 years in the social sciences has followed three main theoretical standpoints viz modernization theory and corresponding growth and development theories (1950s – 1960s); dependency theory and other perspectives (1960s-1970s) and critical developmental approaches as a cultural narrative (1980s-1990s). In this study, I have critically presented modernization theory, and the African renaissance theory only as they directly relate to my study thereby minimizing word counts which would have been added by reviewing many developmental theories that are not so relevant to the study. I now present modernization theory.

3.3.1 Modernization theory

According to Hussain and Tribe (1981); Lenin (1964); Engerman, Gilman, Haefele and Latham (2003); and Escobar (2007, p.18), the theory of modernization is an economic theory which; centers around capitalism; unpacks the pathway of transforming traditional societies to modern societies and was initiated between 1950s and 1960s. Matunhu (2011, p.66) noted that the onset of European colonialism in Africa was aimed at enhancing modernization, the reason why Africa was nicknamed the 'dark continent' needing enlightenment by the metropolis. In line with this, Matunhu (2011) explained that the inferiority complex of black Africans made them to lag behind development in sub-Saharan Africa in comparison to other regions of the world – thus needing modernization. There are many definitions of modernization. To Gabriel (1991) modernity is characterized by the growth in 'modern values of production' for instance; the use of science in manufacturing goods and services, specialization, computer usage and automation. To Smith (1973, p.61) the exchange of older agricultural practices with recent ones defines what modernization is. Modernization theory therefore refers to a theory which states that development in developing worlds can be attained through following the processes of development that are used by current developed nations (Rostow,1960). Rostow's theory of modernization, is a well-known theory of development (used in describing the pathway of development in underdeveloped/developing nations like Cameroon) – and constitutes of five stages including: the primitive society; pre-preparation for take-off; take-off; drive to

maturity and period of mass consumption (Engerman, Gilman, Haefele & Latham, 2003; Matunhu, 2011, p.66; & Jacobs, 2018).

- ❖ The 'primitive society' stage is known for barter trade and subsistence farming.
- ❖ The 'pre-preparation for take-off' stage is characterized by trade, manufacturing of surplus goods and specialization. Trade is enhanced by the development of the transport system. Savings and investments are also encouraged here.
- ❖ The 'take-off' stage is characterized by growth in industrialization with an economic switch from agriculture to production.
- ❖ The 'drive to maturity' stage is characterized by economic diversification with less import reliance.
- ❖ The 'period of mass consumption' is characterized by mass production in the economy and a dominating service sector.

The theory of modernization prescribe that societies which are modern tend to be extremely productive, highly educated and have good welfare systems (Smelser, 1967). The theory further explains that present-day 'backward' nations are very alike to present-day advanced areas at some given point in the past (Rostow, 1960). To aid the alleviation of poverty in the former thereby fostering development in these nations, the best way to do so is to encourage the transfer of technology, institute lucrative investments and integrate these nations in the global market (Rostow, 1960).

There exists many assumptions of modernization theory. One of these assumptions is that modernization is a phased process (Rostow, 1960). Another assumption is that modernization is homogeneous which enhances the merging of societies (Rostow, 1960). In line with this assumption, Levy (1967) added that as time goes on, they and we will increasingly resemble one another because the patterns of modernization are such that the more highly modernized societies become, the more they resemble one another. To Tipps (1976) it is very unlikely for developing countries to resist the drive of modernization when they get acquainted with Westerners.

Several claims have been raised in favour of modernization as a central concept/theory in comparative education. Silova (2012, p.235) noted that comparative experts have spread and legitimized Western Enlightenment values or progress through the means of educational borrowing. Comparative education has been argued to be an integral component of the western modernity agenda (Hayhoe, 2000, p.426). According to Kandel (1961, p.134), in Third World countries, policy borrowing is a means of raising novel and independent nations from their 'primitive' nature to standards of civilization wherein modern

educational systems help to change traditional practices. This is what is known as a ‘the planetary will to civilize’ (Baker, 2012, p.12); or a global colonial perspective wherein modern educational systems are known to drive maturity among natives who cannot do so by themselves (Takayama, Sriprakash & Connell, 2017).

Several authors and institutions have affirmed that in contemporary society, the Bologna Process is known to have enhanced modernization among nation states (African/Cameroonian HE systems inclusive). To Crosier and Parveva (2013, p.72), many nations across the globe with the onset of the Bologna Process clearly perceive the ‘need for modernized education systems’ which have potentials of assisting them attain a fast development; confirm their place in the global knowledge economy; and help to combat developmental challenges; and in many underdeveloped nations, the prevention of brain drain, availability of little resources are vital reasons for engaging in regional collaboration – with Europe. The European Commission (2011) as an institution for instance affirmed that, the Bologna Process encourages the modernization of training systems and education to enable these to meet changing labour market needs, which is vital in a world characterized by increasing demand of entrepreneurship and innovation; and jobs increasingly demanding high skills. However, Croché and Charlier (2012, p.469) noted that while the ‘catchword’ or Bologna Process was clear and was applied throughout Europe, those who resisted it were considered ‘backward’, and incapable of understanding the course of history. However, I would argue that this is a rhetorical tactic of the proponents of Bologna as the term modernization/development means more than the Bologna Process. As seen in chapter two, the LMD system in CEMAC had as one of its objectives to modernize and improve on the system of pedagogy (CEMAC Council of Ministers, 2006); while in Cameroon, the introduction of the LMD was geared at enhancing social, cultural and human development via the training of senior staff endowed with a strong sense of training in citizenship, able to respond to the challenges of the Millennium from both Central African sub-regional and national levels; and ensuring national economic development and graduate employability amongst other action lines (Ministry of Higher Education, 2007, p.2-3; & 2010b, p.16). In this sense, I would say Cameroon by adopting the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP to ensure the modernization of its HE system has overcome the perception of being a ‘backward’ society as described by Croché and Charlier (2012, p.469). Nonetheless, according to some advocates of modernization, countries at different paces develop to modernity based on their ability to adapt and be versatile (Matunhu, 2011, p.66).

Some authors and bodies have affirmed that in modern HE, the Bologna Process is known to be a good and/or best practice owing to development. The DAAD/UNESCO Conference (2012, p.2) for instance was aimed at providing a platform for exchanging experiences with experts from different regions in Africa and Europe wherein examples of best practices and the joint Europe-African initiatives would stimulate joint

actions to enhance not only harmonization but quality in HE in West and Central Africa. Woldegiorgis, Jonck and Goujon (2015, p.251) added that the AUC has adopted as one of its strategies to benchmark assorted processes geared at establishing standards to be respected by sub-regional organizations (such as CAMES of which Cameroon and its HE system are partially part of) in order to capitalize on best practices (such as the adoption of LMD in CEMAC/Cameroon and the institution of HE harmonization). However, Raffe (2011, p.3&4) suggested that best practices should be context-specific, time-bound and judgmental. Thus:

Rather than look for (unique) best practice, comparative enquiry should seek examples of good practice which vary according to time, place, context and circumstance. Good practice may be transferable, but judgements about transferability should be the conclusion and not the starting point of the research (Raffe, 2011, p.3&4).

Several authors have also argued that globalization triggers the modernization of contemporary HE (particularly with the onset of the Bologna Process) hence enhancing development. Knight and Woldegiorgis (2017, p.1) remarked that it is an unquestionable reality that globalization as a multi-faceted process has aided the transformation of HE in the last 30 years; and the increasing inter-connected and globalized world has accelerated individuals, HEIs, national governments and organizations to pay closer attention to academic opportunities and relations with both close by and far away partners. The 8th Millennium Development Goal (MDG 8) stresses on “establishing a global development partnership” (Republic of Cameroon - GESP, 2010, p.37), with the Bologna Process in higher education being a typical example of a global HE policy (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012) used in reinforcing such global developmental partnership.

There are many ways in which globalization affects or impacts on educational policy. According to Ball (1998) globalization ‘generates new inputs for educational policy-making and defines new problems that education needs to address’. Hay (2006) noted that globalization ‘alters the capacity of welfare states’ to address education and non-education problems via education policy, as well as their capacity to provide and finance education directly. To Verger *et al.* (2012) globalization ‘revitalizes the role of international agencies’ in educational policy-making including International Organizations (IOs) like OECD, World Bank and UNESCO; and also brings in novel international actors to be part of policy making most of which are non-governmental and includes, international consultants, transnational corporations and foundations, transnational advocacy coalitions and knowledge communities (see actors of the Bologna Process in Europe under decision-making). To Peck *et al.* (2010) the advancements in ‘Information and Communication Technologies – ICT’ which cause and impact on globalization also permits the intensification of the global circulation of policy ideas. To Ball (2007), ‘neoliberalism’ which is presently a dominant political and

economic ideology across the globe tends to frame most of the ideas of educational policies which are in circulation. Examples of policies that are shaped or resonated by the neoliberal ideational context include the introduction of market mechanisms and logics (decentralization, competition, choice), the privatization and liberalization of educational sector, and the importation of techniques of management coming from the corporate sector. Sweeney (2017) remarked that Bologna has successfully promoted recognition and transparency which is seen as positive development as universities everywhere are adopting credit based systems and many use the three cycle system as a basic qualification framework (as well as other action lines). According to World Society theorists, there exist a single global model (for instance the Bologna Process model – see transnational flow of Bologna Process in Chapter Two) for schooling which has spread throughout the world as a diffusion of a more generally and culturally embedded model of the modern nation-state (Anderson-Levitt, 2003). Drezner (2001) noted that the need for nation-states to conform to a global ideal of the rationalized bureaucratic state has led to a process of institutional isomorphism and convergence.

However, according to WENR (2007), globalization depicts numerous opportunities and challenges for HE systems and institutions across the globe. WENR (2007) noted that while the opportunity side of it is that the increase in staff and student mobility presents novel and exciting opportunities for cultural exchanges and global academic collaboration and; with developments in ICT permitting speedy knowledge exchanges and more flexibility in the establishment of joint study programmes; however, there are many challenges relating to this new form of global cooperation in HE ranging from academic recognition concerns, concerns relating to QA standards, and compatibility of qualification framework concerns (which I would argue affect the Bologna Process action lines; see chapter 2). Dale (2005) stressed that a challenge to globalization is to successfully deal with the ‘global-local binary’ and the understanding of the relationship between the global and the national as a ‘zero-sum’. According to Klemenčič, (2009, p.6) in 2000, European governments further acknowledged the challenges plaguing globalization as well as the knowledge economy in the Lisbon Agenda – which is part of the Bologna Process – making globalization a priority within the process.

Having looked at some attributes of modernization and their shortcomings above, I would like to also examine some criticisms of modernization theory in general as propounded by some authors to aid readers understand the implications of this in modern HE systems particularly in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reforms. According to Samir, Chitala and Mandaza (1987) and Rodney (1972), Africa had developed food preservation methods and other advanced techniques and technologies which imply that Africa had already paved its developmental path before the onset of Eurocentric developmental ideas

on the land. I would add that this means talking about European modernization in Africa, downplays on African developmental strategies/achievements.

In 1967, Andre Gunder Frank also argued that modernity within post-colonial nations is misleading as this fails to provide a true articulation between relationships of poor and rich nations (Matunhu, 2011). In other words, modernization has failed to help in Africa's development (Matunhu, 2011); and Africans have suffered most from other people's misguided attempts to modernize them (Brar & Brar, 2012, p.585). I would therefore criticize the theory of modernization as it presents 'development' as 'progress' towards a given end point which happens to favour rich nations against poor nations. To contradict and critique the theory of modernization, I now present the African renaissance theory of development which illustrates that Africa has had its own developmental pattern based on Afro-centric than Euro-centric attributes.

3.3.2 The African renaissance theory of development

According to Matunhu (2011, p.71) and Schwabe (2001), the African renaissance theory is the antithesis of dependency and modernization theories (which have failed to address poverty in Africa as well as acknowledged Africa's values); and rooted in African norms and values which reflects African way of life. The theory is advantageous when innovations and change are adapted to suit the value and social systems (such as shared purpose, communalism and unity) of an average African (Matunhu, 2011, p.71). In this regard, poverty reduction and development strategies for Africa should be patterned to reflect African values (p.71). The theory motivates Africa to function in a metropolis dominated world by primarily focusing on poverty reduction and micro-level development (p.71). To Korten (1990, p.4) transforming the future depends on transforming behaviour, values, technology and institutions in line with social and ecological African realities.

Several authors have stressed the need to establish a typical afro-centric developmental vision for African nations (for instance Cameroon's Vision 2035 to become an emergent economy) which I argue depict the African Renaissance Theory of development based on the following claims. According to Mandiefe (2015), African nations are establishing better economic and monetary reforms aimed at gaining the status of an emergent nation within a certain time period. Labang (2016) also noted that there has been need for universities in an emerging economy like Cameroon to make some fundamental changes – thus being part of the developmental scheme. Ngwane (2009) added that Cameroon's Vision 2035 for instance has been fashioned to reflect the developmental Vision of other African nations such as Botswana Vision 2016, Nigeria Vision 2020, Swaziland Vision 2022, Tanzania Development Vision 2025, Kenya Vision 2030; among many others - with the chief economic vision to cushion and even circumvent the anti-people Bretton

Wood therapy and in its place provide an indigenous and auto-centric democratic development entitlement that is domestic-driven and citizen-owned. This means development in Africa in contemporary society has been patterned to reflect Afro-centric developmental pathways rather than Euro-centric ones. Next, I present the theory of human capital development.

3.4 Theory of human capital development

Information from the theory of human capital development has been used to harness criticality of findings based on human capital as a factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in chapter six - hence justifying why examining the theory of human capital development is relevant to the study. Human capital (OECD, 2011) otherwise known as human resource (Tanzharikova, 2012), capability (World Bank, 2004) or skilled workforce (Mohamedbhai, 2013) has been at the forefront of most reforms. According to the IEG-WB (2017, p.ix) there is an increase in the demand for: HE enrolment by nontraditional students; professional/skilled workers among employers; for development and research to aid competitiveness - which have triggered governments to explore reforms in higher education among taking other actions (such as the adoption of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reforms). According to the OECD (1992, p.32), 'the 'human factor' is fundamental to economic activity, competitiveness and prosperity, whether manifest as knowledge or skills in the less tangible forms of flexibility, openness to innovation, and entrepreneurial culture...'.

The expansion of member states within the European Union to enhance participation of the Bologna Process has triggered HE reforms in the domain of 'capacity building' (Klemenčič, 2009). According to Mohamedbhai (2013, p.9), the overarching developmental goal of the harmonization strategy (from Europe to Africa/CEMAC and Cameroon in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform – see chapter two) has been the creation of human resources with competences needed to accelerate Africa's social and economic development; the establishment of systems which enhance economic integration, cultural relevance and mobility across various African regions. The World Bank (2008) remarked that to obtain a sustained and higher growth rate in Sub-Saharan Africa, there has been need to significantly increase the human and physical capital for a long time; and therefore, there is an urgent need in Sub-Saharan Africa to develop capabilities that would generate novel industries, create more jobs, increase more linkages and diversify exports; and these can only be attained through human, institutional and infrastructural capital investments. MacGregor (2015) reported the views of Claudia Costin who argued that Africa urgently needs to build quality and capacity in universities to create a workforce that will remain in Africa as there is brain drain. Research has proven that there are four major determinants of human capital formation viz quality

of education, level of ongoing educational development, providing equal access to education, and reinforcing innovations in higher education developments (Tanzharikova 2012, p.137).

The main hindrances to developments in human capital formation within the higher education sector in Sub-Saharan Africa stem from: the inability of gaining access into universities; the mismatch between demands of the labour market and university programmes; inadequate funding opportunities; inadequate infrastructural facilities; cost of HE, poor student preparation for university education, mismanagement, and over-crowded halls of residence, brain drain, poor links with industry, improper use of available resources, high graduate unemployment, curricula stresses theory than skill competences, lack of adequate funding for research teaching and training (Mohamedbhai, 2013); and gender inequality, reduced university autonomy as a result of centralized policymaking (Bloom, Canning & Chan, 2006, p.5).

Generally, some recommendations to problems plaguing human capital development have been raised. Due to the fact that HE is very costly, motivation is vital in human capital formation and educational improvement (Tanzharikova, 2012, p.136). Furthermore, to enhance, human resource development, HEIs are required to implement well spelt out learning outcomes which are statements of what learner(s) is/are expected to know, understand and/or be able to do at the end of a period of learning' (European Commission, 2005, p.10).

Specifically, several authors have stressed the place of the competency-based approach to learning otherwise known as student-centered learning in HE as one of the ways of targeting human capacity development. Among the main agenda of what was discussed at the Bologna Conference in London has been the shift from teacher-centered to student-centered learning (London Communique, 2007). According to Klemenčič (2015, p.2) while a number of governments wish to go back to the 'origins' of Bologna, there are also a number of those who are looking for a new powerful, unifying theme that will bring governments together and give the EHEA a new momentum; with one theme that is frequently mentioned being the advancement of teaching and learning. Sin and Neave (2016, p.1455) remarked that students through the European Students Union (ESU) have assessed 'Bologna with Student Eyes' by providing information about the operationalization of Bologna from a student standpoint. According to Boateng and Ofori-Sarpong (2002), the perception of quality of graduate borders on the possession of some specific skills considered relevant for job performance; and as research has clearly shown, employers do not necessarily require certificates but the ability to perform which has led to increasing demands for qualities such as computer, analytical, managerial and technical skills just to name a few. An example of strategies that have been employed to aid the curriculum and student competencies across Africa has been the 'Tuning Approach' which was borne in Europe and has been adopted and adapted within the context of African HE (Beneitone & El-Gohary, 2017, p.151). According to The Competency Group (2018) there are benefits of

competency-based systems to employees (university graduates). These include: it enables employees to be more proactive above their individual roles, by learning additional competences valued by their organizations; provides a clear direction for learning novel job skills; provides a mechanism for recognizing employees' abilities; among others. The Leuven Communiqué (2009, p.3) stresses on the need for HE to nurture students with competences, skills and knowledge to enhance their professionalism. Several authors have affirmed that there are many problems associated with the competency-based approach and/or student-centered learning in contemporary HE which prevents the development of human capital formation¹⁵. According to Barth, Godemann, Rieckmann and Stoltenberg (2007) till today, less attention has been paid to the circumstances involved with the processes of developing chief competencies needed for sustainable development. To Klemenčič (2015, p.2), in the early Bologna communiqués, teaching and learning was completely absent and though this was first brought onto the agenda in 2005 in reference to quality assurance, and 2007 with the introduction of a new pedagogic approach –nevertheless, the advancement of teaching and learning has not yet been transposed into the national policy contexts in the same way as this has taken place with structural reforms (Klemenčič, 2015, p.2). Beneitone and El-Gohary (2017, p.151) noted that in African HE the main problem is the huge gap between labour market needs and the competences and skills gained by fresh university graduates. However, many recommendations have been raised on how to tackle concerns raised by the competency-based approach/student-centered learning geared at enhancing human capital formation in line with the Bologna Process. Bull (2015) recommended that for educational innovation (like the Bologna Process) to flourish, there is need to encourage personalized, individualized education in ensuring the recognition of individuals as unique and not mere widget. Klemenčič (2009, p.9 & 10) suggested that there are basically two main ways in which skills in HE can be developed viz practical skills and transferable skills¹⁶. Klemenčič (2009, p.11) also recommended that in the development of skills, skills should be systematically built in, along with knowledge acquisition in planning programmes and defining learning outcomes and not perceived as a by-product of the learning process. According to employers, BUSINESSEUROPE (2007, p.5), and UNICE (2004, p.4) an employable student should have 'capabilities beyond subject knowledge' or 'cross-disciplinary qualifications' or 'skills' or 'competences'¹⁷.

Several authors have also stressed that the quest for expertise is known to be one of the ways of targeting human capacity development in line with the Bologna Process. According to Verger, Novelli and Altinyelken (2012, p.23) and Finnemore (1996), international organizations (IOs) exhibit legitimate and

¹⁵ Also see more problems related to competency-based approach to teaching in Klemenčič (2009), Ebersole (2014), Bull (2015), Sin and Neave (2016), Task Force (2000).

¹⁶ See Klemenčič (2009) for examples of transferable skills.

¹⁷ See BUSINESSEUROPE (2007) recommendations on competences relative to employment.

rational-legal authority through their control of information and data as well as provision of technical expertise - to aid human capacity development. Verger *et al.* (2012, p.27 & 28) added that it is true that in many nations, the opinions of World Bank experts (or IOs) will be taken more seriously than that of a scholar from a local university, even if they have similar high-quality training and propose the same successful or failed policy ideas. To Maiava (2002, p.1), it is difficult to talk of development without thinking of interventions in terms of; World Bank policies, participatory workshops, projects and programmes, use of experts and feasibility studies. In Cameroon for instance, when the LMD/BMP was adopted, there were foreign experts imported from France and Belgium to offer seminars to aid HE staff know what the LMD is all about and how to implement it (Eta, Kallo & Rinne, 2018; Eta & Vuban, 2017). The Department of Education and Skills (2009, p.4) also remarked that one of the positive outcome of the Bologna Process particularly in European nations is that institutions and faculties benefit from knowledge sharing and expertise. However, human capacity development also has shortcomings relative to expertise issues. According to Uzochukwu (2017) 'sentimentalism' is a core problem in African education (Cameroon inclusive) wherein heads of institutions such as heads of department, deans and vice chancellors appoint inappropriate people to staff learning departments simply because these individuals are related to top officials resulting to the recruitment and use of lecturers to teach courses they have no background knowledge in with potential negative consequences on the production of 'half-baked' graduates; and expertise issues. I now turn my attention to the theory of decision-making.

3.5 Theory of decision-making

Information from the theory of decision-making has been used to harness criticality of findings based on decision-making as a factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in chapter six - hence justifying why examining the theory of decision-making is relevant to the study. Eta (2015, p.169) for instance limited her analysis to the political decision of CEMAC heads of states adopting the LMD in the CEMAC region - with no details on how the process of decision-making affects the adoption/implementation of this reform as well as the challenges involved - thus a missing link. In Eta, Kallo and Rinne (2018), information about decision-making has been limited to whether the adoption of the LMD reform was coercive/imposed or voluntary – which I argue is not also sufficient to examine the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP's decision-making process. This section fills in the decision-making gap from a theoretical standpoint.

In this section, I have presented the theory of decision-making while integrating the transnational flow of decision-making in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP from Europe to Africa/CEMAC and finally to Cameroon bringing about the nature of the decision-making processes across these contexts,

players involved, and areas of convergence/divergence¹⁸. Decision-making is a *sine qua non* in every organization, universities inclusive (Mbua, 2003) and this has been a fundamental aspect of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP (Cippitani & Gatt, 2009; Voegtler, Knill & Dobbins, 2011; & Crosier & Parveva, 2013). Peretomode (1992) defined decision-making as the process of choosing from alternative ways of achieving an objective or providing a solution to a problem. According to Hoy and Miskel (1996, p.273), there are five steps of the decision-making process viz: define the problem; identify the decision criteria; allocate weights to the criteria; develop alternatives; evaluate the alternatives and select the best alternative – represented in the figure below.

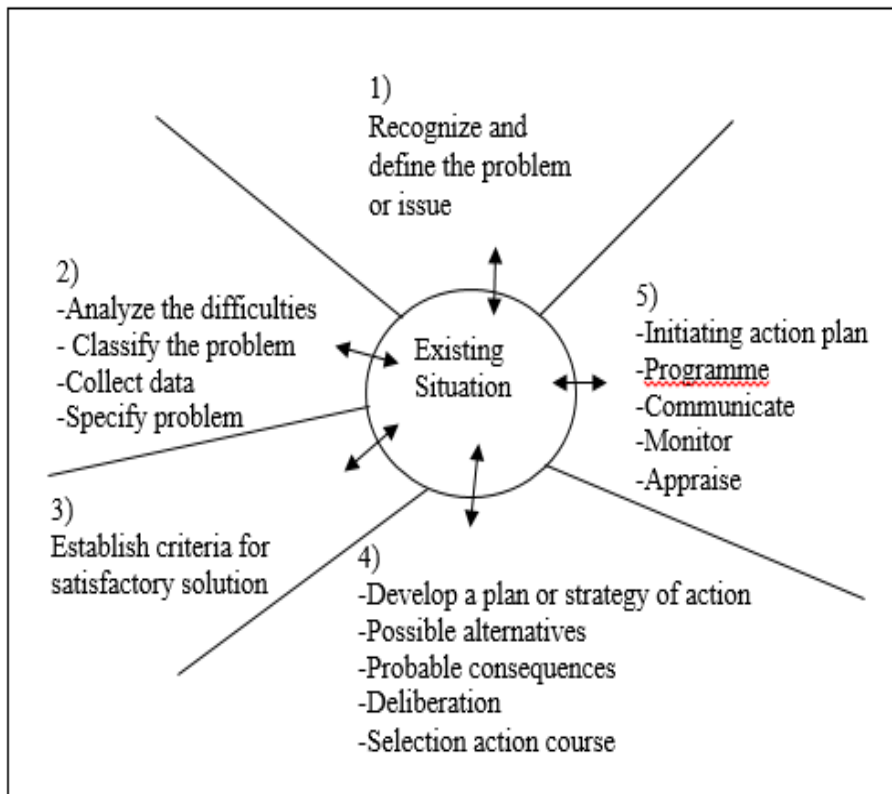


Figure 3.2: Decision-Making Action Cycle (Hoy & Miskel, 1996, p.272).

I would add that these stages have been used to build discourses on the decision-making process relative to the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reforms below and guided by findings in chapter six.

¹⁸ See chapter two for decisions based on action lines adopted across contexts as per Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reforms.

In Europe, some authors perceived that decision-making of the Bologna Process was both a means to solve problems plaguing European HE systems as well as a political underpinning¹⁹. To Cippitani and Gatt (2009, p.388), European ministers of higher education, based on the reality of these problems plaguing the EU made a decision to integrate Europe by restructuring the European HE system which resulted to the Sorbonne Declaration. In line with this, ‘one can identify a strong convergence of interests between policies developed at national level and policies developed at European level’ (Huisman & van der Wende, 2004, p.158); aimed at generating multiple solutions to complex problems and which enhances learning from one another (Waldron & Mcleskey, 2010, p.59).

From a political standpoint, Voegtler, Knill and Dobbins (2011, p.77 &78) affirmed that HE policies in contemporary decades have become indeed a sensitive political issue. Decision-making has been an integral part of the Bologna Process with assorted stakeholders involved performing different/similar roles (UK HE Europe Unit, 2005, p.11). According to Cippitani and Gatt (2009) examples of Bologna Process actors in Europe include: education ministers who were responsible for taking political decisions on the Bologna Process; the European council responsible for supporting other actors; European University Association (EUA) which is a Bologna Process representative of universities in Europe; the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA); BusinessEurope also known as trade-unions like the European Trade Union Committee for Education (ETUCE); Union of Industrial and Employers’ Confederations of Europe (UNICE); other employers; and the European Association of Institutions in Higher Education (EURASHE) whose function is to engage professional and applied research across cycles of the Bologna Process; the Bologna Follow-Up Group (BFUG) constituting of all actors instructed to supervise the operationalization of decisions originating from ministerial meetings thus responsible for supporting the coordination of the Bologna Process; and the European Students’ Union [ESU] which represents students in the process (Crosier & Parveva, 2013, p.28). The figure below summarizes some Bologna Process actors in Europe according to Voegtler *et al.* (2011).

¹⁹ See section 2.4.1 where Voegtler, Knill and Dobbins (2011) mentioned some problems like rising unemployment, brain drain among others.

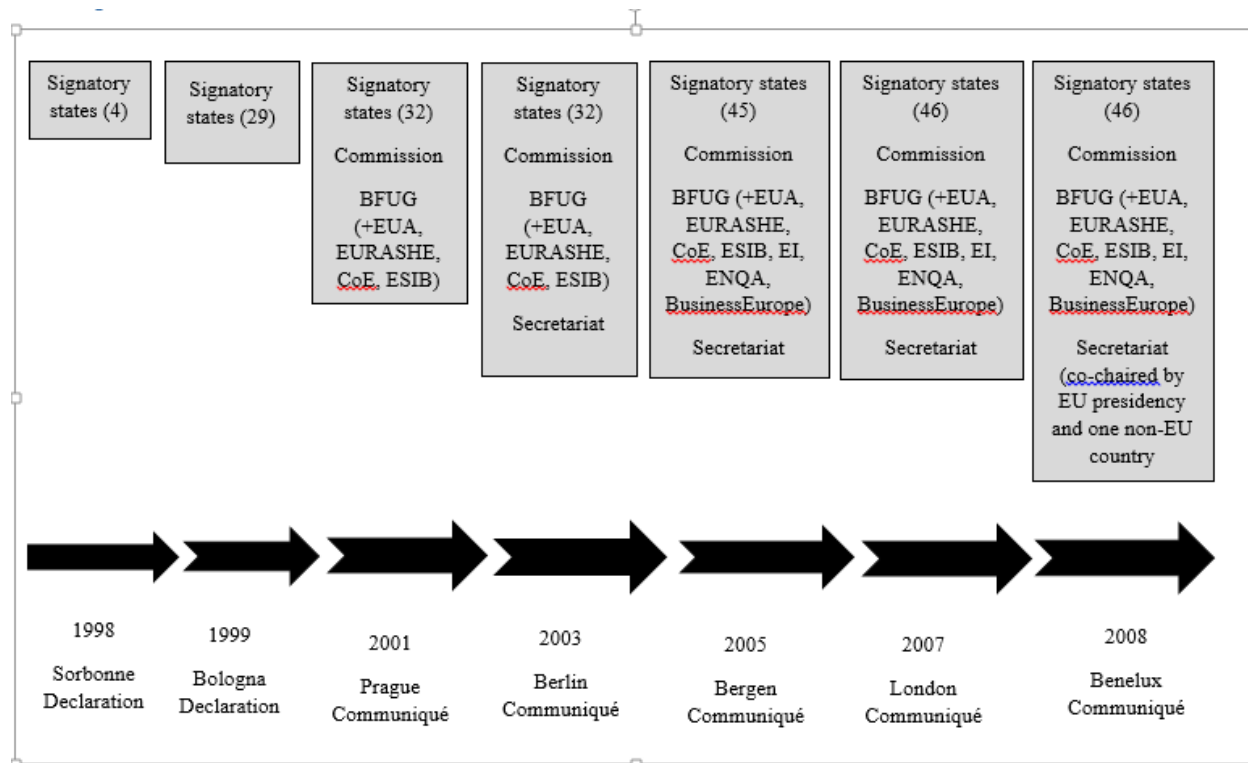


Figure 3.3: Some Bologna Process actors in Europe (Voegtler, Knill & Dobbins, 2011, p.80).

Cippitani and Gatt (2009, p.389) added that the above provide a visible illustration where different actors through joint efforts have come together to foster European integration by forming a ‘single European group’ hence promoting the communication of solutions to problems plaguing Europe. To Viegas and Amaral (2006) in terms of governance, the Bologna Process has been an open method of coordination (OMC) system of intergovernmental policy cooperation and neither confined to EU member states (but a broader European region) and highly decentralized to enhance mutual learning processes and communities of practice through involvement of assorted stakeholders. The Bologna Process is a bottom up approach (Bergen Communiqué, 2005). Furthermore, the UK House of Commons (HC, 2007, p.14) reiterated that ‘...although created by governments, the success of Bologna is dependent upon ‘bottom up’ initiatives and actions, and cannot readily be legislated for by national governments and international agencies’. The successful cooperation in the EHEA is such that it enhances the capabilities of all involved to contribute to common objectives and also to pursue higher education goals deemed important to them (Klemenčič, 2009, p.3). Hudson and Lowe (2009, p.249) noted that the ‘bottom up’ approach to decision-making is important as it addresses the human side in organizations with more interactions between those at the top and those at the bottom. Lunenburg (2011, p.1) described this approach as ‘group’, ‘consultative’ and ‘democratic’ decision-making which has many benefits including more expertise/knowledge made available for

problem-solving; and existence of many alternatives available for decision-making (p.2). Schermerhorn, Hunt and Osborn (2011) added that there is also increased commitment among group members as they make sure the decision actually works. Nonetheless, Ravinet (2008, p.353) argued that the Bologna Process has gradually evolved from ‘voluntary participation to monitored coordination’; and from a ‘non-binding to a binding agreement’ facilitated via soft laws, such as the Bologna follow-up group, evaluations of national and stocktaking reports (Brogger, 2014). The Bologna Process in Europe, in terms of decision-making has also been criticized. According to Klemenčič (2009, p.4), there has not been much improvement despite the eradication of what is known as ‘democratic deficit’ in decision-making in Europe since 1999; or any improvement in raising knowledge of European citizens or enhancing a sense of ownership to the central European ideas; thus presenting decision-making as a difficult process. To Gaston (2012), the constant addition of members as signatories to the Bologna Process does not only question the “true shape” of HE in Europe but also poses concerns to cultural, political and geographical diversity. Guthrie and Wong (2008, p.71) criticized that partisan disagreements, however, could pose political obstacles when bills (educational bills like the Bologna Process reforms inclusive) are enacted. However, to Task Force (2000, p.51), successful HEIs are those immune to political manipulation. Having talked about Europe, my attention now drifts to Africa/CEMAC.

According to Croché and Charlier (2012, p.457), despite the fact that Europe still expresses doubts relative to the Bologna Process, it is still globally relevant as it has spread its certainties and integrated itself into the novel Licence-Master-Doctorate (LMD) system (practiced in Africa) though these reforms only serve as one specific means of initiating, addressing and solving HE problems. From a CEMAC regional standpoint, the LMD was a political desire expressed by the CEMAC heads of state to establish a sub-regional Higher Education, Research and Professional area using the LMD as an operational instrument in the sub-regional area (MINESUP, 2010b). However, other actors were involved during the adoption/implementation phase at this level comprising of heads of states, ministers of HE, university rectors and heads of research units (Eta, 2015, p.169), Association for the Development of Education in Africa Working Group on Higher Education (ADEA-WGHE), Association of African Universities (AAU), African Union Council of Ministers (AUC), and UNESCO (Mohamedbhai, 2013) and World Bank (Maiava, 2002, p.1). Ngarsou (2008) added that CAMES (a sub-regional body of CEMAC) also functions in decision-making networking platform which brings together HE stakeholders; and has been delegated by AUC to implement the LMD reform in the sub-region (Mohamedbhai, 2013). Croché and Charlier (2012, p.468) noted that though African HE administrators are well knowledgeable that ‘the Bologna model does not represent a solution to their most acute and urgent problems’; nonetheless, without alternatives, they have been forced to accept the Bologna Process as a point of reference. To ensure the success of the

Bologna Process, Croché and Charlier (2012, p.467) noted that the declarations between 2008 and 2010, led to a joint project organized by the European University Association (EUA) and the AAU and financed by the European Commission (EC) titled '*Access to success: fostering trust and exchange between Europe and Africa*' meaning establishing trust and exchanges between Africa and Europe has been a gateway to success. Quick fixes are important in decision-making (Sun, Creemers & de Jong, 2007, p.117) which is one of the impulses for policy borrowing (Phillips & Ochs, 2003 & 2004) for instance borrowing the Bologna Process from Europe to CEMAC/Cameroon (Eta, 2018). However, decision-making/governance has been criticized in Africa. According to the University World News (2018), academics like vice chancellors are not taking up the challenge to domesticate and harness the spaces (in terms of decision-making and governance in policy making) they are given; and secondly, there has been too much focus on external university governance while internal governance relative to the evaluation and accountability roles of university councils has been ignored. Task Force (2000, p.63) added that undemocratic African nations plagued with corruption are unlikely to promote shared governance in its HE system. Furthermore, in line with the Bologna Process, Croché and Charlier (2012, p.457) criticized that the exportation of the Bologna Process model in Africa might have triggered worries among individuals concerning its ability of adding up within the political system what is known as 'sovereignty bubble' that is sorely needed to promote collective endeavours, critical stances and creativity. Based on these criticisms, Yepes (2006, p.111) recommended that multinational organizations involved in HE should enhance autonomous regional processes and ensure close monitoring.

It is important to note that the political decision by CEMAC heads of states (of which Cameroon is a signatory to the CEMAC convention) to adopt the LMD system also had political implications for its adoption in Cameroonian HE (MINESUP, 2010b & Eta, 2015). While MINESUP (2010b) recounted that the LMD in Cameroon was introduced in its HE system via its Ministry of Higher Education, Eta (2015) perceived that this was some kind of imposition/coercion as consultations were not made with other university stakeholders - depicting a top-down approach (Hudson & Lowe, 2009). According to Tuck (2007, p.48 & 49) stakeholders required for participatory decision-making ought to include: learners/students; governments and their agencies; educational and training providers; academic researchers; career guidance professionals; accreditation and quality assurance agencies; teachers/lecturers unions; employers and professional bodies; and community members; which is not the case in Cameroon relative to the decision-making process in the adoption of the LMD/BMP. To Sweeney (2017) the Bologna is a transparent process and expects universities to be transparent in their actions as they control and monitor their activities - hence promoting good governance; as good governance promotes educational quality (Task Force, 2000, p.66), and academic freedom (Tereffa & Altbach, 2004, p.40). It is important to note that the introduction of the LMD/BMP was also aimed at solving problems plaguing the Cameroonian HE ranging

from graduate unemployment (Mbah, 2014), numerous concerns brought about by the dual nature of the HE system due to the French and English-subsystems (Doh, 2008) such as the existence of a plurality of degrees (Eta & Vubo, 2016), concerns with credit values (Eta & Vuban, 2017), student mobility concerns (Eta, 2015); and much more. However, Ball (2010, p.123) criticized that in some contexts this movement (Bologna Process) carries ideas and creates a kind of cultural and political dependency which instead works to devalue or deny the feasibility of local solutions (Ball, 2010, p.123).

I would argue it is apparent that there exist some similarities and differences between the decision-making process of the Bologna agreement in Europe, LMD in CEMAC and LMD/BMP in Cameroon. I argue that the similarity across the European, CEMAC and Cameroonian HE contexts is that the decision to adopt the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP has been a political decision, geared at solving problems plaguing HE systems. However, while from a European and CEMAC level, the nature of decision-making/adoption of the Bologna Process/LMD was participatory, democratic and a bottom up initiative involving other stakeholders in the process; in Cameroon, decision-making relative to adoption of the LMD was top-down and non-participatory as the LMD/BMP was handed down to universities by the Cameroonian Ministry of Higher Education without consulting university stakeholders. Having said this, I now turn my attention to colonial/post-colonial theory.

3.6 Colonial/post-colonial theory

Knowledge from colonial/postcolonial theory has been used in critiquing findings in chapter eight based on the postcolonial influence on policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE hence portraying the relevance of this theory in this study. Takayama, Sriprakash and Connell (2017, p.3) also argued that postcolonial comparativists have paid ‘inadequate attention to the geopolitics of knowledge in the disciplines from which their theories and concepts are derived’; which has stimulated the colonized to seek ways of understanding what is occurring around them in the event of invasion and subordination by colonizers so as to understand their old intellectual and cultural traditions and those of the colonizers too.

In this section, I have presented colonial/post-colonial theory by examining the historical affinity Europeans had with Africans/Cameroonians; as well as the cultural implications of this relationship on Africans/Cameroonians (to aid the interpretation of data analysis in chapter eight in accordance to the implications of European’s Bologna Process on African/Cameroonian HE); while fitting in arguments raised by some authors on how the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reforms have re-cemented colonial ties in present-day HE where appropriate.

Historically, according to Boddy-Evans (2017) and Millennium Issue (1999), several factors such as: slave trade, quest for more exploration and interest of leading explorers, capitalism through legitimate trade, medical improvements and Quinine discovery for malaria treatment, political objective by empires to maintain dominance over colonies; and the development of weaponry to aid military intervention, led to the scramble and partition of Africa by European imperialists and colonizers; and this was enhanced by the 1884-1885 Berlin Conference which set the ground rules for partition. European explorers during the Scramble for Africa identified the African population as good market for Europe's manufactured goods (Boddy-Evans, 2017). During that period, there were many colonial policies used in administering Africa in French and British colonies of which Cameroon is part. These include; the policy of differentiation wherein there were separate political systems for Africans and whites for specific reasons (Brar & Brar, 2012, p.582); policy of assimilation (Tambo, 2003; Tsiwah, 2014 & Diouf, 1998, Crowder, 1964); policy of indirect rule (Firmin-Sellers, 2000); policy of direct rule (Crowder, 1964); policy of divide and rule (Tambo, 2003; Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2011); policy of association (MacOjong, 2008); and policy of indigenat (Firmin-Sellers, 2000). I would argue amongst the aforementioned colonial policies, the policy of assimilation was heavily used during colonial control on African soil worth elaborating. According to Tsiwah (2014) France used the policy of assimilation to control West Africa (Cameroon inclusive) economically, politically and socio-culturally during colonial rule. Tsiwah (2014) added that the policy of assimilation pertaining to political administration was entrenched in centralization; as France was pig-headed to comply to the rhythm of loot-all-natural-resources of Africans to lead them suffer in agonies and poverty; while rebellious leaders were machinated through a *coup d'etat* launched by France. According to French civilization, Africa was ungodly and barbaric thus necessitating Africans to accept western divinely ordained culture (Tsiwah, 2014). The policy of assimilation also led to economic assimilation wherein colonies were made to produce raw materials to run French industries to enable it favourably compete within European industrialization (Tsiwah, 2014). There was also social assimilation which dehumanized Africans as most of them were asked to do forced labour without monetary payment; thus making them to be called *deuxieme contingent* or 'slaves' in their own countries (Tsiwah, 2014). Croche and Charlier (2012), reaffirmed that the Bologna Process version in French Africa is perceived to be the French-assimilated version of the Bologna Process which France has presented to its ex-colonies as a reform in HE. On the other hand, in British West Africa, the policy of assimilation undermined divine authority of chiefs, rulership, military, and political authority of Africans thus making them objects of stoogism and puppetism (Tsiwah, 2014).

According to Mudimbe (1994), from a historical perspective, education has always been pivotal in the administration of colonial masters such as French and British control in South Asia and Africa. Kandel (1933, p.xix) noted that to properly apprehend, evaluate and appreciate the actual meaning of a given

nation's educational system, a sound knowledge of its historical traditions; the nature of its social organization; and the economic and political conditions that influence its development are fundamental. European colonial enlargement has established not only the material economy but intellectual breakdown of knowledge among different groups with worldwide peripheries serving as 'data mines' of knowledge and theoretical development within the global North (Hountondji, 1997). Rodríguez *et al.* (2010, p.55) noted that this is so because according to the Weberian philosophy, Europe is the cradle of not only civilization or culture but presents signs of universal validity and evolutionary advancement (including education/knowledge universal validity and advancement which I argue has been the case with the Bologna Process).

Tambo (2003), Fonkeng (2006), Ngoh (1996& 2011) and Ebongue (2017) narrated that after the defeat of the Germans in German Kamerun during the first World War by Britain and France, the colony was partitioned into two by the League of Nations Mandate of June 28, 1919 and shared among these colonialists. While France had the greater share (80%) and ruled its part of Cameroun from Yaounde with other French colonies of the region; Britain had the smaller share (20%) and ruled its part from Lagos-Nigeria. During the struggle for independence in Cameroon, French Cameroun gained independence in 1960 while in 1961, British Cameroons was given two options through a plebiscite of the United Nations, to gain independence by either uniting with French Cameroun (La Republique) or by uniting with Northern Nigeria; who decided to gain independence by voting to join La Republic also known as French Cameroon (Tambo, 2003; Suh, 1983; & Fonkeng, 2006) – hence the onset of the postcolonial era²⁰. The colonial cultural heritage led to the use of English and French as official languages in Cameroon (Ebongue, 2017).

However, several authors have argued that the postcolonial era in Africa is still plagued by colonial influence particularly with the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reforms. According to Araia (2018) despite independence in the 1960s most Africans have still adopted western styled educational systems without critically examining the relevance of this to Africa's development. In Cameroon – an African nation, Doh (2008) noted that when formal university education was introduced, it was patterned to reflect university education in France. Eta and Vuban (2017) added that in the creation of Cameroon's Anglo-Saxon university education, inspiration was drawn from the Anglo-American system of education. I would argue these all depict French and British/American influence on African/Cameroonian education resulting from colonial heritage. Disparities and problems plaguing these two educational systems in Cameroon led to the adoption of the LMD/BMP reform to harmonize them (Doh, 2008) which resulted from Europe's Bologna Process (Mohamedbhai, 2013). While the advent of steam engines and iron hulled

²⁰ Sawant (2011, p.2) defined postcolonial as a '...period beginning with national independence in contrast to the colonial rule'.

boats changed the face of international relations between Imperial Europe (west) and the rest of the world during the scramble for Africa (Boddy-Evans, 2017); I argue that the onset of the Bologna Process has given a new dimension to international relations between the West and the rest in contemporary society from a HE standpoint. WENR (2007) stressed that the series of conferences held in Africa to discuss on lessons learnt regarding the Bologna Process within the continent present it as a probable model for reforming African HE systems; nonetheless, it remains true that majority of collaborative and cooperation reform efforts in Africa are supported on a common historical, linguistic and cultural traditions. Eta (2018, p.30) remarked that the Bologna Process in Africa was adopted owing to colonial relationships between Africa and Europe which has had no end even after independence. Khelfaoui (2009) reiterated that the adoption of the Bologna Process in Africa is perceived to be disguised colonization because the reform has been influenced by ex-colonial nations. According to Croché and Charlier (2012), the Bologna Process in Africa is an instrument used by Europeans to establish western hegemonies on HE in Africa. The Department of Education and Skills (2009, p.10) presented the views of Professor Maurice Whitehead (Associate Dean (Bologna), Swansea University) who remarked that the Bologna Process is an unprecedented international movement; and never before in educational history have educational institutions in so many countries freely elected to embrace and implement a common agenda. To Doh (2012), despite academic mobility that existed among ex-colonial networks in the past, the Bologna Process in present-day society has shifted such networks more internationally. Away from the historical connections with ex-colonialists, in the subsequent paragraphs, I have presented the influence of colonial culture on African/Cameroonian HE.

Several authors affirmed that one of the colonial cultural impacts in Africa/Cameroon is that of language. Komagome (2008, p.157) for instance illustrated colonial education in support of the imperial power using the ideas of Masso (1924, p.450) who noted that the use of English as a language for integration (in ex-colonies) till present is because of the presence of diverse and numerous native languages which have not been documented. This is also the case with the French colonial language in Cameroon – which the nation inherited from its French colonial power (Fonkeng, 2006). To support Masso (1924) and Komagome's (2008) claim on the importance and use of colonial languages over indigenous languages in ex-colonies, according to Owona (2010) and Ebongue (2017, p.316), Cameroon (like many other African nations and ex-colonies) has many ethnic languages which have been estimated to be about 248; with English and French adopted after reunification following colonial heritage to be the two official languages in the country which has also been used as languages of instruction both in the English and French part of the nation respectively. I would add these colonial languages have made communication easier as it is difficult for individuals to master say 248 ethnic languages to effectively use for communication or administrative purposes. However, Bawa (2017) argued that using indigenous languages as instructional tools is one of

the surest ways of enhancing indigenous language sustainability. Furthermore, English language is the dominant lingua franca and communication tool across business and the scientific space (Huisman & Van der Wende, 2004, p.250), the global academic community (p.268) as well as the Bologna Process. I would say that as France and Britain (Cameroon's ex-imperialists) among two other nations were the original conceivers of the Bologna Process in Europe, the colonial relationship Cameroon shares with the former has been a driving force for this nation to be part of the Bologna Process.

Several authors have stressed that colonial languages used as 'official languages' in ex-colonies particularly in the education sector have attracted many criticisms²¹. According to Huisman and Van der Wende (2004, p.268), language as a factor of internationalization though may attract students from various linguistic and other cultural affinities may also serve as mobility barrier to students who are non-native speakers of a given language – thus a negative consequence for Bologna Process' mobility agenda. Okie (2016) recounted that in Cameroon, the recent 2016 political unrest or strike action originated from the quest of Anglophone lawyers and university lecturers to combat the dominance of French language in courts and universities in Anglophone regions. The University World News (2017) added that the strike was also caused by the treatment of Anglophones generally as second-class citizens within the same nation who are often marginalized and discriminated. Specifically, from a university standpoint, the University World News (2017) carefully pointed out the major reasons for the protest which included: the setting of national entrance examinations into professional schools in French which leaves Anglophones at the disadvantage; all ministries of education are French-oriented; all official documents are in French with (limited or) no English translation; majority of heads of Anglophone schools and other institutions are French-speaking even within English-speaking regions; inspection teams or seminar facilitators deployed from Yaounde to Anglophone regions address English-speaking audiences in French not English; and international documents and treaties to which Cameroon is a signatory such as 'the Organization for the Harmonization of Business Law in Africa' among others are in French. Therefore, I would say Cameroon is still living out a colonial rivalry between Britain and France, even though these two powers have 'physically' withdrawn.

The strike action has led to devastating consequences including occasional closure of transport systems, markets and schools to permit angry residents protest in the streets (Okie, 2016); loss of lives (Akana, 2018) including those of lecturers and students, brutalization of students, staff and their families, many casualties and increased Cameroonian refugees in neighbouring countries (University World News, 2017). There has also been loss of property, and arrest of notable Anglophone activists who have been protesting against governmental actions (Okie, 2016). The University World News (2017) reported that further to

²¹ See Brar and Brar (2012), Bawa (2017), Uzochuku (2017), Wolf (2018) for more criticisms on colonial languages in ex-colonies.

these consequences, the Universities of Buea and Bamenda which happen to be the only two Anglo-Saxon state universities in Cameroon have been shut down by the Cameroonian head of state due to the failure of military staff to suppress university students and staff who have been demanding complete independence in the Anglophone regions and who desire forming a new independent state known as 'Republic of Ambazonia' (a return to the 1961 federalism); and to eradicate all secessionists within universities. However, from personal communication (2018), despite the presidential closure of the Universities of Bamenda and Buea as alleged by the University World News (2017), staff and students in these universities have decided to continue schooling because they do not want to be at a completely losing side in the course of the strike in terms of education as their French counterparts have been going to school since the start of the strike. To Akana (2018), the Anglophone crisis is a nightmare which would not be aborted soonest.

According to Brar and Brar (2012, p.583) colonialism does not only examine historical realities of Africans but addresses the alienation of Africans from their indigenous values and ways of life. In accordance to this, Brar and Brar (2012, p.584) provided a metaphoric conclusion by using ideas from Chinua Achebe's novel titled 'Things Fall Apart' (Achebe, 1987) - by reflecting on the shortcomings of African society by colonial rule as colonial rule was made to tear Africans apart because colonizers alienated Africans from their African relationships, rituals and customs by transforming these to western standards (which I argue is evident in Cameroon today). I would argue given that the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform in Cameroon was geared at harmonizing the French and English HE system, the strike action makes the future of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP ambiguous in this context. To solve this problem, the University World News (2017) reported recommendations raised by Professor Awasum on the crisis facing Cameroonian universities by raising that there is need for an enabling climate of dialogue monitored by the United Nations and African Union to ensure the respect of mutually and legally binding agreements by both French and English Cameroon; and the 1961 Constitution on federalism should be revisited wherein there is equality of both Francophone and Anglophone regions.

Several authors have also stressed that the notion of superiority versus inferiority complex is a consequence of European cultural influence on ex-colonies. According to Sawant (2011, p.2), Eurocentric universalism according to Said's Orientalism addresses Western or European superiority; and inferiority of the imperial Other. In line with this, Bhabha (1995) added that colonizers had unquestionable authenticity and absolute authority that led to such superiority and inferiority complex. I would argue this has been the case with the Bologna Process perceived to be of Euro-centric superiority in Cameroon partly explained by the connections between Cameroonian elites and former colonial power – for instance children of the elite class going to school in the UK and France.

Several authors have also raised that mimicry is an example of colonial cultural influence on ex-colonies²². Mimicry is the blind imitation of western cultural lifestyles, literature and ideology by natives without knowledge of how this leads to the natives' cultural and identity destruction (Sawant, 2011, p.6). Most African nations have the propensity to uncritically and slavishly imitate innovative, technological and scientific policy paradigms and approaches from abroad (Mouton, 2008). According to Eta (2015 & 2018) the Bologna Process which originated in Europe (core) is perceived be an imitation (mimicked), inspiration and an admired reform which has been translated into the LMD in the CEMAC region and LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE following its dual HE system that is French and English subsystems.

Several authors have argued that ex-colonies in the advent of post-independence from colonial rule still face several problems. According to Thompsell (2017), one of such major problems in Africa was the lack of a sense of national identity caused by the creation of national boundaries by European imperialists during the scramble for Africa without regard for social or ethnic realities, leading to many negative consequences. In line with this and relative to the Bologna Process, WENR (2007) added that though Bologna is working towards developing the appeal of the EHEA to those from outside the EHEA; African policymakers and institutions have been continuously caused to look for European partners for collaborations rather than their African counterparts – caused by a lack of sense of national/regional/continental identity.

Several authors have also criticized that colonialism has devalued African knowledge and competences. According to Shizha (2005, p.65) the African school curricula in contemporary contexts of globalization, knowledge internationalization and even within multiethnic Africa is hard to define. Furthermore, the devaluation of African knowledge and competences is what Shizha (2006, p.24) described as a *de facto* legitimization of Western views. Borrowed from the ideas of Shizha (2006, p.20 & 21), the Cameroonian schooling system in the postcolonial era still replicates and perpetuates in its educational practices (curriculum, teaching and learning styles) the worldview and cultural capital of the dominant social class wherein Euro-centric knowledge is being promoted as superior knowledge which has neglected ideas of cross-cultural education; the socio-cultural realities students bring to school and the place of indigenous knowledge in schooling experiences. According to Levine (1996), modern science was therefore used as a colonial tool to make western knowledge universal and to make local knowledge become marginalized. The existence of subjugated indigenous knowledge and Euro-centric knowledge in Cameroon is what Stoler (2000, p.74) described as “two nations inside a society that will conceive itself in binary terms”; otherwise

²² See Bhabha (1995); Shrum and Shenhav (1995) on colonial mimicry.

known by many authors as ‘hybridity’ (Bhabha, 1995; Shizha, 2005 & Sawant, 2011, p.5)²³. Having said these, I now turn my attention to the theory of dominance.

3.7 Theory of dominance

Knowledge of the theory of dominance has been used to critique findings in chapter eight relative to the part played by dominance as a factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE - thus a justification of the relevance of this theory in this study. I would argue that the theory of dominance originated largely from colonial theory and to an extent development theories based on the following claims provided below; and having been inspired by my findings in chapter eight to design this which intend would easily aid the critical appraisal of the findings.

Political and economic domination in Africa by the west started with the partition of Africa at the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 which abolished Africa’s indigenous development thus paving the way for metropolis (Matunhu, 2011). According to Matunhu (2011) Africa was and is still continuously dominated politically, culturally and economically by powerful hegemonies particularly Europe and America. Brar and Brar (2012, p.583) noted that though colonialism was initially aimed at acquiring territories for economic reasons, it at same time constructed empires to enhance colonial domination over people of the third world leading to the transformation of sociopolitical, religious and ethno-cultural control and enslavement which disconnected the people from everything they possessed. Brar and Brar (2012, p.583) added that Edward Said’s Orientalism was a Western style used in dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient; as Africa was perceived by imperialists as a dark continent needing imperial radiation thus explaining monopolization and standardization of imperial power over its indigenes. Spivak described the colonial Other or colonized using the term ‘subaltern’ which denotes not only its lower rank but suppression and marginalization (Sawant, 2011, p.6). According to Ravinet (2008) the Bologna Process mounts pressure on nations despite their voluntary dedication to the agreement – which I would argue is a new dominant policy in contemporary HE. MacGregor (2008) affirmed that the adoption of the Bologna Process in Africa has continuously followed same ex-colonial relationships; a typical example of what I would term as ‘colonial dominance’. Khelfaoui (2009, p.23) also added that such foreign influence has been perceived and described as a ‘new paradigm of domination’ which has prevented African nations from developing their own policies.

Several authors have stressed that colonial/postcolonial dominance of ex-colonies took and have taken the form of control of ex-colonies. According to Kelly and Altbach (1984), colonization is a process wherein a

²³ Sawant (2011, p.5) defines hybridity as multiculturalism and syncreticism.

given territory or nation takes control of other territories or nations using either force or mere acquisition. To Sawant (2011, p.5), this means the west formed hegemonies which depict power and control over the colonial Other. According to the Millenium Issue (1999), such control was because colonial powers were regarded as foster parents of colonies. Haughton (2004) used a metaphoric analysis to describe such parental relationship between imperialists and ex-colonies (a neocolonial control) from his careful examination of colonial dominance in Jamaica (an ex-colony of Britain) which I argue is same for Cameroon as the Cameroonian nation is also not only an ex-colony in general but partly British colonized; by raising that despite independence, most ex-colonies are still like babies whose umbilical cords were never severed at birth thus making the babies to grow up being underdeveloped still attached to their mothers by their extended umbilical cords which tend to restrict the babies movements and at same time provide the uncaring mothers great control over the babies by imposing their will on the babies, putting unfair demands on the babies or withdrawing services from the babies upon failure to conform to their demands. Based on this metaphor, I would argue that ex-colonial powers as mothers (Europe) still have dominating control over their babies (ex-colonies) particularly in the educational sector via the umbilical cord (known to be the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reforms in contemporary society) which still links the babies (ex-colonies like Cameroon) to their mothers (ex-colonial powers like France and Britain). However, some authors argued that the dominant control of metropolises over their colonies have had devastating effects on indigenous knowledge²⁴. According to Bauman (1991) and Shizha (2006, p.24) the true spirit of enlightenment centers around certitude and control; and it is unfortunate that in colonial or metropole nations their quest to control instead marginalized and under-valued local indigenous knowledge claiming that it is irrational and unscientific and “replaced” this with Euro-centric knowledge with the aim of making Africans become civilized. On the contrary, Chikako (2001) and Shizha (2006, p.23) argued that indigenous knowledge empower individuals to control their lives and create connections and relationships with their physical, spiritual and social environments; provides individuals with realities owing to where they originated, where they are as well as where they are going to (which have been destroyed by the metropolises).

According to some authors, one of the forms in which colonial dominance took effect in colonies is the notion of power which has been perceived from a dual dimension including power owing to neocolonial ties; and power relative to international organizations (IOs). In line with this claim, while Vengroff (1975, p.236 & 237) argued that the internationalization of neocolonial ties permitted the continuous extraction of resources for the benefit of developed capitalist nations, without the need for the costly use of overt national power; Finnemore (1996) and Verger, Novelli and Altinyelken (2012, p.23) on the other hand noted that the main sources of power of IOs bureaucracies rely on their control of information and data. IOs exercise

²⁴ Also see Boshoff (2009) on historical dominance and control across contexts.

power by organising three types of apparently technical and apolitical actions (Barnette & Finnemore, 2004) including classifying the world; fixing meanings in the social world; and articulating/disseminating new forms, principles and beliefs by spreading what they consider as ‘good and best practices’ in educational development like the Bologna Process (Klemenčič, 2009) hence exercising what Mbua (2003, p.219) described as ‘expert power’ which is the ability to influence or control the behaviour of others by virtue of possessing specialized skill or knowledge.

Several authors also have stressed that the use of European languages in colonies was one of the ways of exercising colonial dominance over the curriculum (particularly in the domain of textbooks) thus a problem. According to Shizha (2006, p.26) at all levels of education, western knowledge still dominates the school curricular and classroom practices. For instance the importation of textbooks from Western publishers and the inclusion of literature that portrays life in Britain foster a dependence on alien definitions of knowledge. To Sawant (2011) literature of the marginalized (colonized) has been exploited, thus making the universe apart from America and Europe to be affected by imperial dominance. Sawant (2011, p.2) added that ‘the European literatures of the then English literature were used as a tool of manipulation, to set the rule, to repress the Orient in Said’s term’. However, European language from a dominant perspective is perceived by some authors to be problematic. To Bawa (2017) the dominance of European languages poses language issues in the educational arena – universities inclusive in most developing countries (see other language concerns in postcolonial literature above).

Though Croche and Charlier (2012) perceived that the Bologna Process template in French Africa is perceived to be the French-assimilated version of the Bologna Process which France has presented to its ex-colonies as a reform in HE; however, France on its part (despite the Bologna process) is perceived by many researchers to have been the source of political unrests in Africa/language domination concerns which have had spillover effects in education elaborated thus. According to Tsiwah (2014), in French West Africa, the numerous incurable problems faced stem from France’s policy of assimilation due to France’s overlord (dominance) over the former with severe consequences in case of failure of allegiance. For example the payment of colonial annual benefits to France; for French west African nations to primarily trade with France and no one else as doom awaits such nations if they fail to do so; and *coup d’état* spearheaded by France for rebellious west African leaders (Tsiwah, 2014).

Several authors have also stressed that one of the forms of colonial dominance in ex-colonies took the form of dependency²⁵. Dependency is perceived to have two main dimensions viz education and economic

²⁵ Dependency theory hold that the universe is partitioned into three distinct groups; namely: periphery nations, semi-periphery nations and core nations (Barfield, 1977). According to Piana (2004) core nations

dimensions. From an educational dimension, according to Kandel (1932, p.v) the education of backward or indigenous people in colonial dependencies is beginning to receive attention to a degree never manifested before'; as 'the civilized world is gradually extending its boundaries and the significance of educating vast millions of people who have hitherto been isolated and content with their own customs, traditions, and occupations is being realized' (Kandel, 1932, p.xiii). Europe's Bologna Process is perceived to be in line with this which has been extended to other regions like Africa (Eta, 2018) which I argue depict a neocolonial dependency. From an economic standpoint, Matunhu (2011) argued that dependency has caused Africa to be characterized as 'a dump for waste and excess labour and a market where the terms of trade work to the advantage of the developed world while this is exploitative and impoverishing Africa.

Several authors also stressed that conditionality is one of the forms through which ex-colonies have been dominated. I would add that from literature provided, conditionality also has a strong relationship with economic dependency (see above). Haughton (2004) from a postcolonial perspective, metaphorically asserted that colonialists have kept their ex-colonies perpetually poor and needy a strategy to pass or drop a penny and reap a pound and under such pressurized circumstances, the baby (ex-colony) would succumb to the mother (colonialists). Furthermore, Radelet (2010, p.3) posited that in the last two decades, almost all economies in Africa have suffered bankruptcy, 'double-digit inflation', massive budget deficits, massive borrowing and debts, flourishing black markets, lack of basic commodities, limited investments caused by heavy state control and economic mismanagement, economic stagnation, hiking capital flight and overall escalating poverty. This means financial crisis in developing countries indeed have led to huge debts (Mead, 2012). To Castles and Davidson (2000, p.vii &viii) while national governments gradually lack power to control the economy, international corporations and markets have been gaining tremendous influence. According to Huisman & van der Wende (2004, p.124), supporting education in developing countries has been of primary concern for international cooperation which often originate from ex-colonial relationships and novel importance by governments for aid developments. Initiatives such as Heavily Indebted Poor Country Initiative (HIPC) and 'Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI) have been put in place to aid low-income countries (like Cameroon) become debt free thereby reducing poverty (Radelet, 2010; Mead, 2012; & IMF, 2016, p.9). Furthermore, Radelet (2010), added that other strong economic policies were introduced around the 1980s by the International Monetary Fund (IMF)-World Bank known as the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) to cater for economic policies and to harness relationships between aid donors and African countries. Adedeji (1995) added that in Africa, foreign support such as the ability

are characterized by hegemony; semi-periphery nations are dominated by core nations and at the same time dominate peripheral nations; whereas periphery nations are highly dominated by both core and semi-periphery nations.

for African nations to get rid of their debt burdens has been triggered by the award of a certificate of good behaviour' by multinationals owing to the ability of these nations to respect SAP and other conditions. Due to the fact that multinationals like UNESCO are heavily concerned with supporting HE across the globe to implement the Bologna Process/LMD reform (Mohamedbhai, 2013), I would argue the satisfactory implementation of this reform has become a new 'certificate of good behaviour' and/or condition for multinational aids awarded or donated to national governments and their universities. However, SAP is perceived to have both strengths and weaknesses. As a strength, Radelet (2010) mentioned that the economic policy is perceived to have aided to curb black markets, foster sustainable trade and budget deficits, minimize state control, ensure stimulating business environments and break business and trade barriers. As a weakness, Matunhu (2011, p.67) mentioned that the imposition of IMF's Economic Structural Adjustment Programme – ESAP, (an idea conceived from the post-world war II Marshall Plan and a Euro-centric experiment) which was to alleviate poverty and underdevelopment in the 1980s failed in Africa due to the lack of consideration of Africa's local, cultural and socio-political values. According to Mead (2012) strings attached to conditions for debt cancellations by the IMF and World Bank have led to other problems and described by Jeffry Sachs as a 'belt-tightening for people who cannot afford belts'.

Some authors also argued that dictatorship is one of the forms through which ex-colonies have been dominated. According to Tsiwah (2014), the ability for France to dictate on financial and economic decisions of its colonies (like Cameroon) in its interest or favour at the expense of its colonies has been linked to what is known as the 'French Colonial Pact'. This pact lifted France as the 'god' of trade within its colonies and forbade them from any other foreign trade leading to 'one-evil-route-trade' to serve France's selfish interest; which seems to be a generational 'curse' as it still operates till date as the failure of trading mainly with France leads to potential serious crises (Tsiwah, 2014). However, the Millennium Issue (1999) argued that not all was plunder or oppression in Africa as Europeans brought in western civilization, constructed hospitals, schools, other infrastructure and instituted modern administration as a foundation for prospective independent states.

Several authors also stressed that imposition is one of the forms through which ex-colonies have been dominated. According to Brar and Brar (2012, p.583), the imposition of colonialism on colonies as a ruling policy of imperialistic nations or capitalist empires was a means to exploit and subordinate their dependencies. Britain as an example of a colonial empire was known for imposition on its colonies (Sawant, 2011). British territories were of two types, viz those which they colonized by establishing their culture such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada; and those whose rulers were forced and imposed western norms and institutions like Nigeria, India (Sawant, 2011, p.1), and Cameroon. According to Shizha (2006, p.25), such colonial imposition led to cultural invasion of the indigenes. Haughton (2004) affirmed that

colonialists imposed false identity on indigenes, diminished resources that would have aided in their growth and development, discouraged self-reliance, equality and justice for the indigenes and despite the wealth of these nations they were/are still referred to as underdeveloped or Third World. According to WENR (2007), many centuries after the imposition of European education systems on foreign shores via colonial imperial conquest; and mid-century after parts of Asia adopted the US model, one could argue that a new 'Euro model' (known to be the Bologna Process) is beginning to emerge which influences educational systems across the globe via increasingly collaborative ways of cross-border cooperation.

Despite the above general and specific claims (using the above mentioned themes), some authors argued that dominance in contemporary society has been combated in many ways. According to Takayama, Sriprakash and Connell (2017, p.2), Comparative and International Education has always advocated respect for one another and the alleviation of Eurocentric dominance. To Dale (2000), dominance nowadays is caused by globalization not colonialism as globalization has become a dominant process characterized by: commodification and consumerism in the cultural domain, governance without government in the political domain, and hyper-liberalism in the economic domain. Having said this, I now turn my attention to the theory of change.

3.8 Theory of change

Eta (2015) on the justification of adopting the LMD/BMP limited her analysis to what I describe as the 'adoption-outcome' (of the Bologna Process/LMD action lines), with the 'adoption-process' being absent - hence a gap. Though Eta and Vuban (2017) focused on both the 'implementation-process' and 'implementation-outcome' (of the Bologna Process/LMD), I argue re-visiting the implementation-process of change based on findings in this study would extend knowledge of the existing literature. However, no attention has also been paid to the continuation phase which the study addresses. Therefore, this section from a theoretical standpoint fills in these gaps. My argument has been based on the works of Fullan (2001) who stipulated that in studying change/reform, there are four stages involved viz, adoption, implementation, continuation and outcome. I would say the first three stages underscore both 'processes' and 'outcomes' though the latter is perceived by Fullan as the 'last stage' (see below).

Change otherwise known as reform, metamorphosis, mutation, modification (Fullan, 2001 & 2009), revitalization (Mohamedbhai, 2013), innovation (Davies & Guppy, 1997; Cohen & Ball, 2006; & Piro, 2006) and improvement (Sun, Creemers & de Jong, 2007; Fullan, 2009; Fullan, Cuttress & Kilcher, 2009); (and known to be synonymously called amendment, amelioration, adjustment, revision and transformation) has been an ongoing educational practice for a long time with the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP playing a

great role in reforming the status quo of present-day HE systems across the globe (Scott, 2005; Fearn, 2008; Crosier & Parveva, 2013) including Cameroonian HE (Doh, 2008; Mngo, 2011; Eta & Vuban, 2017). Whilst I have used the word ‘change’ most often to tie with Michael Fullan’s perspective of educational change, whose processes I have examined (relative to the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform), I have also used the above terms interchangeably depending on the usage by different authors to mean same thing. Having said this, it is important to understand a brief history of the change process.

Universities world-over are undergoing rapid changes ranging from increased articulation with socio-economic activities, reduction in funding, inability to meet demands with labour market transformations, inability of keeping abreast with rankings and relevance, and dealing with student activism (Bawa, 2017); among other problems (see other problems across the thesis). Education policy is therefore in a state of change across the industrialized countries; and governments everywhere are re-examining many aspects of the provision of schooling (Levin, 1998, p.131). In Europe for instance, Cipittani and Gatt (2009, p.387) remarked that ‘Renaissance Europe’ was experiencing massive changes (which has been further described as “waves of new ideas by Morin in 1990) leading to the rich advancement of European culture, and the birth of science and the scientific method which makes knowledge more European than of national origins. According to Fullan (2009, p.8) since 1997, there has been a big shift with a clear focus on action – action which addresses the entire (HE) system; has a moral purpose as well as strategies for achieving these. In line with this, I argue these perhaps formed part of the overt story that led to the initiation of the Bologna Process in 1998 (Sorbonne Declaration, 1998) with the actual adoption taking place a year later in 1999 (Bologna Declaration, 1999). Several authors have affirmed that the Bologna Process is indeed the main, major or chief HE reform in Europe (Nyborg, 2004; Floud, 2005; Dow, 2006; Fearn, 2008; & Vögtle & Martens, 2014). To Vögtle and Martens (2014, p.246) for instance, ‘the Bologna Process (BP) presents the largest ongoing reform initiative in higher education (HE)’ which has triggered large-scale structural changes in European HE. To Fearn (2008), the Bologna Process is aimed at reforming European HE to enhance a pan-European system and to aid global competition. However, the need for educational change has not only been limited to Europe as other world regions are part of the process facing other educational issues needing urgent change (WENR, 2007). According to Fullan (2009, p.8) this means ‘the “challenge for change” is everyone’s favourite phrase these days. And for good reason. Never in education has the need been greater for reform that results in both individual and societal benefits’. In this regard, Crosier and Parveva (2013, p.27) added that it is undeniable that the Bologna Process as a ‘major wave of the higher education reform’ has been expanded across continents and in both small and big nations. Having talked about the brief history of change relative to the Bologna Process, it is important to examine the processes involved.

According to Michael Fullan, change is a staged process comprising of four stages including adoption, implementation, continuation and outcome (Fullan, 2001) represented thus:

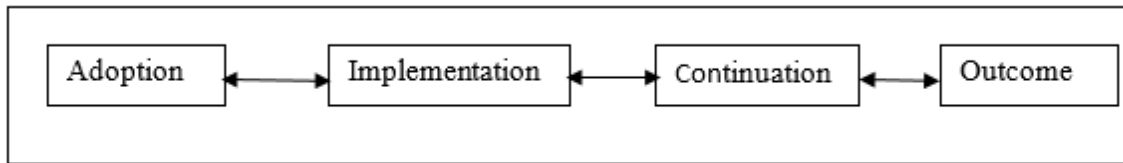


Figure 3.4: Stages of the change process (Fullan, 2001, p.50).

Fullan (2001, p.53) remarked that what obtains in a given stage, strongly affects the other stages since the processes are very much entangled. I now focus my attention on the adoption phase.

3.8.1 Adoption phase

Phase I also known as adoption, initiation, or mobilization stage is defined as the process leading up to and including the decision to proceed with change (Fullan, 2001). There are many reasons for engaging in the adoption of educational change or reforms. According to Fullan (2001) the reasons why educational systems would want to engage in the adoption of change/reforms include: individuals may voluntarily adopt it due to dissatisfaction, inconsistency, or intolerability in their situation; or simply because the changes are decision(s) made by the central education authority (Fullan, 2001, p.53); the need to enhance programme clarity (Fullan, 2001, p.55); the quest to access information/new technology (Fullan, 2001, p.57); the need to satisfy advocacy from central and/or school administrators/political influence (Fullan 2001, p.58); teacher advocacy (Fullan 2001, p.59); external change agents (Fullan 2001, p.60); community pressure/support/opposition/apathy (Fullan 2001, p.61); availability of new policies/funds (Fullan, 2001, p.62); problem-solving and bureaucratic orientations (Fullan, 2001, p.63).

Several authors have affirmed that the adoption of educational change/reforms is triggered by globalization (attention paid to this relative to findings – chapter seven). Croché and Charlier (2012, p.457) noted that when the Bologna Process was launched in 1998 at Sorbonne, the promoters were aimed at reforming European HE to resist competition coming from Asian nations and USA. In line with this, Fearn (2008) reported that it is even amazing to see the pace with which the Bologna Process has been snowballed. Sweeney (2017), Brookes and Huisman (2009), Dale & Robertson (2009) added that the Bologna Process has attracted lots of interests in other countries such as China, Japan, Brazil, Australia, Canada and USA – thus going global. According to Eta (2015, p.169-174), there are several justifications (reasons) for adopting the LMD reform (which originated from the Bologna Process) from an international, regional and national standpoint. From an international standpoint, the justifications (reasons) for adopting the LMD reform has

been - the need to adhere to international standards; and the need for the international recognition of certificates and graduates (Eta, 2015, p.173 & 174). From a CEMAC regional standpoint (Eta, 2015, p.169-170), the justification of adopting the LMD reform has been – a political decision to address the CEMAC sub-regional Higher Education, Research and Professional Area (space) geared at tackling staff/student/researcher mobility; harnessing convergence in degree structures/degree recognition; and adoption of the credit system to take care of students' mobility needs. From a national standpoint, the justification for the adoption of the LMD (Eta, 2015, p.170-173) includes: the quest to harmonize degree structures; adoption of a common credit system; to renew the curriculum with focus on student-centered and outcome-based curriculum; ensure mobility; and enhance graduate employability. According to Klemenčič (2009, p.2) most often, globalization is known to be 'the lifting of national boundaries in commercial relations, as a result of more effective and affordable information and communication technologies and transportation'; and as a result, the local supplier of goods and services are progressively being exposed to a much extensive and diversified competitiveness. To Altbach and Knight (2007, p.291), within the global era, the use of English as the lingua franca for scientific communication – has aided adoption of reforms (like the Bologna Process). However, there are also many problems associated to the adoption of change relative to the globalization indicator. Chabbott (2003) criticized globalization for being 'a spread of western ideas rather than a global consensus between equal partners' in other words these are ideas that have been successful just because they have been promoted by money supplied by non-governmental, governmental and novel international educational bureaucracies like UNESCO. To Dale and Robertson (2002, p.10) "globalization" is too broad and too ambiguous, to be utilized unproblematically in the determination of its effects on national educational systems in terms of its structures, processes, institutions and practices.

Several authors have revealed that one of the reasons for engaging in adopting change or reforms is related to context. According to Takamaya *et al.* (2017, p.2), it is imperative for comparativists to provide complete contextual information of the educational practices of other nations because external narratives of these are important in justifying home-based policies. Eta (2018, p.3) reiterated that the involvement of world regions in present-day HE governance for instance the Bologna Process; as well as the transfer and operationalization of agreed goals (see Bologna Process action lines in chapter two) within national contexts have some implications for policy studies. According to Peck *et al.* (2010, cf) there is need for globalization to be understood as a novel terrain known as the novel 'context of contexts'; relative to global educational policies or GEPs (Verger *et al.*, 2012, p.17) like the Bologna Process (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012). Context therefore plays a central role in interpreting and implementing borrowed policies (Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002). However, some authors have affirmed that there are several contextual problems which have negative

effects on the adoption of change/reform process. Crossley (2008) argued that though so much can be learned through the study of foreign educational systems, there are also dangers involved. According to Beech (2006) since imported educational policies are locally mediated and re-contextualized through multiple processes, the consequences of transfer of these imported policies remains unpredictable. Besides, Crossley and Watson (2003) added that the development of global education programmes is often questioned for not taking sufficiently into account local social contexts and needs. Generally, one can conclude that some of the problems plaguing the adoption phase is that adoption is expensive/costly (Clark, Lotto & Astudo, 1984). Having examined the adoption phase/stage, the next stage is that of implementation.

3.8.2 Implementation phase

Phase II is the implementation phase. Fullan (2001, p.39) defined the implementation of educational change as putting 'change in practice' particularly at the classroom level. According to Fullan (2001, p.56), the main factors that trigger the implementation of institutional change/reform include staff and administrative support; the nature of instruction and the curriculum; availability of materials and supplies; various kinds of grouping and scheduling; monitoring students' progress and performance; and family/community support.

Fullan (2001, p.29) noted that 'the crux of change is how individuals come to grips with this reality' in relation to the 'subjective' meaning of change (personal construct) and the 'objective' meaning of change (which comprises of elements of educational change). Such subjective meaning which aids the implementation of reforms has been variously explained by some authors. Relative to the Bologna Process and the meaning of change, according to Klemenčič (2009, p.15), the Bologna process is a cooperation platform among European students, HEIs and governments in Europe each bringing in particular perceptions to the process while playing important roles in implementing shared objectives. This means the shared objectives among the different HE stakeholders in Europe provide a unanimous subjective meaning of the Bologna reform hence aiding the implementation process. However, there are also many problems associated with understanding the meaning of change. Most failures according to Fullan, Cuttress and Kilcher (2009, p.9) is caused by the lack of what is known as 'change knowledge' which is the understanding and insight about the change process and the main forces that trigger successful change in practice. Fullan (2001, p.37) added that 'false clarity' sets in when people think they have changed but in actual fact have only achieved the superficial trappings of the novel practice. Relative to the Bologna Process, Furlong (2005, p.53) remarked that 'the Bologna Process has attracted considerable attention and some misunderstanding'. According to Marris (1975, p.121) in Fullan (2001) "any information cannot be

assimilated unless its meaning is shared”; meaning there is need to have a common or objective meaning of the change reform among all HE stakeholders to aid the implementation phase.

Apart from the problem of understanding, many other implementation problems exists. According to Eta and Vuban (2017, p.352-361) the challenges of implementing a borrowed model like the Bologna Process/LMD in Cameroon include: concerns related to its conceptualization, perception and implementation (like concerns with credits and various institutional implementation plans); insufficient resources; concerns with LMD/BMP degree structure; concerns with the credit system; mobility concerns; as well as concerns with the professionalization agenda. (For more on what these comprise of see Eta & Vuban, 2017 in Piot-Lepetit). Existing cultures also pose problems to the implementation of change (Fullan, 2001, p.38). In Cameroon, cultural concerns have triggered resistance to educational change. Several studies conducted by Njeuma *et al.* (1999); Ngwana (2000); Doh (2007); Fonkeng (2007); and Mngo (2011, p.10) have either directly or indirectly attributed resistance to educational change in Cameroon to the respective attachments by Francophone and Anglophone Cameroonians to the French-style and British-style systems of education, adopted after the reunification of the two Cameroons, following their independence from France and Britain in 1960/1961. To Mngo (2011) resistance to change and the BMP reform in Cameroon is caused by staff perceived fears and expectations of the reform. In line with this, Schon (1971, p.12) cited in Fullan (2001) remarked that all real changes entail “passing through the zones of uncertainty...the situation of being at sea, of being lost, of confronting more information than you can handle”; thus explaining the psychological concerns.

In addition to the above problems, the problem of lack of resources (finance, infrastructure, instructional materials, and staff) also pose concerns for reform implementation. According to Uzochukwu (2017), most African government officials are very selfish and are only interested in embezzling public funds which turns to downplay the quality of education – and reform implementation. Fullan (2001, p.37) added that change will always fail due to lack of infrastructure and processes that aid teachers establish novel understandings. Besides, African lecturers lack computers and laptops to keep them informed with recent information, thus making it difficult to know what changes have been made in their disciplines (Uzochukwu, 2017) which affects the content of what is being taught. In Africa, there are concerns with shortage of staff and/or concerns with qualified staff (Mohamedbhai, 2013). Mngo (2011) added that in implementing the BMP reform in Cameroonian HE, staff age and longevity in service – posed problems as older, more experienced, more qualified, and higher ranked respondents (faculty staff) were more supportive of the BMP reform than younger, less experienced, less qualified, and lower ranked faculty.

Several authors have attributed the problems involved with the implementation of change/reforms to contextual underpinnings. According to Verger, Novelli and Altinyelken (2012, p.30) there are four main

arguments which explain why Global Education Policy (GEP like the Bologna Process) re-contextualization can be so problematic, particularly in developing nations which includes ‘material’, ‘political’, ‘cultural’ and ‘scalar’. However, while I have used ‘political’ and ‘scalar’ here to explain such problems, for ‘material’ (see lack of resources above) and for ‘cultural’ (see colonial/postcolonial and dominance theories). From a ‘political’ perspective, Taylor and Henry (2000) stressed that political ideology is one of the main reasons why nations do not deliver equally in the GEP field such as the Bologna Process (Heinze & Knill, 2008). From a ‘scalar’ perspective, the problem with Global Education Policies (GEPs) according to Steiner-Khamsi (2010, p.331) is that GEP failures reflect ‘the fundamental contradictions that arise when (policy) solutions are borrowed from educational systems where the problems are entirely different’. To Fullan, Cuttress and Kilcher (2009, p.9), the history of educational innovation and reform is full of good policies or ideas (like GEPs such as the Bologna Process) which fail to get implemented; or tend to be successful in a given situation but not in others. To Schriewer (2000b), Phillips and Ochs (2003), Steiner-Khamsi (2004), Steiner-Khamsi and Stolpe (2006) the problem is that borrowed/global policies mutate during their journeys, rarely travel as complete packages, as they move in bits and pieces – as selective discourses, inchoate ideas, and synthesized models – and they therefore “arrive” not as replicas but as policies ‘already-in-transformation’ thus a problem for implementation in local contexts.

To solve some of the implementation concerns raised above, some recommendations have been raised. Fullan, Cuttress and Kilcher (2009, p.16-19) recommended some ideas to ensure that change is successful which they called the ‘power principles’ which includes the need to:

- strategize to enable stakeholders evolve and reshape ideas and actions;
- acknowledge the fact that pressure means ambitious targets;
- acknowledge the fact that support involves the development of new competencies;
- be aware that knowledge of the ‘implementation dip’ can minimize the difficulty of the learning period;
- understand that mastering the process of implementation is important to overcome the fear of change;
- understand that mastery of the differences between ‘technical problems’ and ‘adaptive challenges’; is important to do away with change concerns.
- be aware that getting others involved in the change process needs persistence to alleviate the inevitable challenges.

Fullan, Cuttress and Kilcher (2009, p.11) also recommended that to make change work, needs ownership, commitment, ideas and energy. Markus (2004) suggested that there is need for the curriculum to be handled

by experts or specialists as well as being proactive. Fullan, Cuttress and Kilcher (2009, p.10-11) also suggested that ‘capacity building’ to aid the implementation of change; and the need to develop leaders imbued with ‘change knowledge’ who would also intend develop leadership in others (p.16) is needed. Having talked about the implementation phase, I now turn my attention to the continuation phase.

3.8.3 Continuation phase

Phase III is the continuation, incorporation, routinization or institutionalization phase and occurs when change becomes an integral part of the educational system or disappears by decision(s) to discard or attrition (Fullan, 2001). Continuation is defined as the extension of the period meant for implementation of new reforms (Fullan, 2001). To Skidmore and Carmichael (2013) continuation is defined as a recognition of the fact that if educational systems are not being reformed, the future generations of scholars who will be facing a competitive and global world will be let down thus necessitating reform and why it is wrong to bow down to the forces of educational conservatism. I would say the prolong implementation and use of a given reform making it an integral part of an educational system is what is known as continuation. Fullan (2001, p.52) therefore concluded that ‘change is a process, not an event’ - thus ensuring continuity.

Several authors have remarked that the Bologna Process reform is a continuous process. According to Woldegiorgis, *et al.* (2015, p.243), neofunctionalism explains that regional integration (for instance in the era of the Bologna Process/LMD) is not a static action but a continual process which is interlinked across various sectors. In the words of Williams (2004, p.15) ‘it is not easy to dismiss the Bologna Process like spaghetti bolognese especially as universities are undergoing radical changes’ - thus depicting continuity. According to Neave (2005) the continuous adoption of numerous agenda/action lines done biennially has made the Bologna Process to have no end. Thus:

Bologna, because it is a process and therefore ‘on-going’, has no end either. It merely adds to itself ‘new areas’ of activity in the curious belief that the dynamism of the ‘process’ is the same thing as the spiralling length of its agenda ... (Neave, 2005, p.114 & 115).

Several authors have also remarked that change/continuation relative to the Bologna Process is plagued with lots of problems. According to Gaston (2012), a concern that could be harmful to the Bologna Process within HE is the constant changes of the process every two years by European Ministers of HE which is perceived to have prevented the creation of a dedicated and strong institution. According to Doh (2008), Eta and Vuban (2017), and Eta (2018), given that the adoption of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform was geared at harmonizing the dual nature of the HE system; I would argue that the future of this reform in terms of continuity is difficult to speculate (as to properly analyze the reform requires examining what goes

on in both subsystems at same time using similar action lines to reflect a holistic picture of the national harmonization of HE) as the outcome of the strike maybe national secession which may trigger individual HE systems to revert to their original form of HE organization that lie antiparallel to each other. Rauhvargers (2010, p.4) also argued that the Bologna Process as a reform ‘will take time for proper implementation; thus limiting the scope of continuity.

Apart from problems plaguing change/continuity relative to the Bologna Process specifically, several authors have also raised arguments on general problems of change/reforms relative to continuity (which deductively also affects the Bologna Process being a reform). According to Riddel (2013), there are four main challenges plaguing educational reforms (with potentials of affecting continuity) viz the continuous resistance to ‘common core state standards’; the nature of leadership; shift in public opinion (than educational opinions); and advent of more reform opponents. To Fullan, Cuttress and Kilcher (2009, p.9), the problem with continuity is that it is not easy to amend failures caused by the lack of ‘change knowledge’ as policymakers do not desire being slowed down by the knowledge of change since it is time consuming to amend such knowledge. To Fullan (2001, p.21) ‘the main problem is not the absence of innovations in schools but the presence of too many disconnected, episodic, fragmented, superficially adorned projects’; and also multiple innovations colliding (Hatch, 2000). To Crossley and Watson (2003), the development of global education programmes (like the Bologna Process) is often questioned for not taking sufficiently into account the social contexts and needs - such as lack of finance (Lewin, 2007); blockage or resistance to educational reforms by veto players (Martens, Nagel, Windzio, & Weyman, 2010), among other concerns - thus limiting reform continuation.

Some authors have also generated recommendations to cope with change/continuity concerns – suitable for the continuity of the Bologna Process. According to Osterwalder (2009, p.5), there is need to autonomously empower HE financially and politically to take care of global change geared at revitalizing HE. Klemenčič (2009, p.9) advised that most HE reforms will need time and massive effort by both HEIs and governments – hence there is need to take caution when dealing with sustainable change to ensure continuity. To Karam (2015) educational administrators should both ensure proper and transparent communication systems of information to every stakeholder involved; and a culture of accountability and periodic monitoring should be done. Having elaborated on the theory of change, I now conclude the chapter in the next subsection.

3.9 Conclusion

From literature on policy borrowing as well as other theories provided above which have extended literature on policy borrowing discourses particularly within an African context (Cameroon), one can conclude that the term ‘policy borrowing’ is too broad a term, ambiguous, attracts multiple interpretations, means

different things to different people, varies across contexts, and is highly controversial thus calling for criticality in the study of policy borrowing while employing sensitive consciousness to local contexts. This explains why Steiner-Khamsi (2012) remarked that no one term can be properly used to describe the varied processes and meanings of the policy borrowing phenomenon. Further to this, analysing studies into policy borrowing in an African context like Cameroon would be very shallow, narrow and not quite informative if one has to stick to the original model of policy borrowing propounded by Phillips and Ochs (2003 & 2004), without taking into cognizance local contextual realities by applying the theories/concepts of decision-making, development, change, post-colonialism, dominance, and human capital development (which have been carefully reviewed based on findings in chapter six, seven and eight as these depict the African reality of the policy borrowing process). These theories and their conceptualizations I argue play somewhat different significant roles in shaping the policy borrowing framework within an African context. The theory of decision-making is important to the study of policy borrowing in Africa/Cameroon as it examines the decision-making actors particularly external actors like UNESCO and IMF/World Bank which have the power to influence and control decisions regarding HE policies and reforms like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP, other programmes and practices across the globe and in Africa/Cameroon (Mohamedbhai, 2013) through the use of their expertise (Maiava, 2002; Verger, Novelli & Altinyelken, 2012) and eligibility conditionality schemes required for benefiting from foreign HE finance (Ravinet, 2008 & Trohler, 2009). The theories of development (modernization theory in particular) relative to policy borrowing is very important as this is something which continues to guide, consciously or unconsciously, important policy actors such as NGOs, national governments and ministries on what 'development' is as there also exists other forms of development characterized by Afro-centric realities (African renaissance theory; Matunhu, 2011).

The theory of change/reform relative to policy borrowing is important as it analyses the underlying processes that trigger and prevent successful adoption, implementation and continuation (Fullan, 2001) of borrowed HE reforms like the Bologna Process in local contexts as quite often research into change/reforms seem to focus on change-outcomes than the change-process (see Eta, 2015). Colonial/post-colonial theory relative to policy borrowing is important as it clearly traces the roots, connections and reasons why European/western HE systems/reforms still have a strong hold on contemporary African/Cameroonian HE (Khelfaoui, 2009) - despite the abolition of slave trade/slavery and national sovereignty of nations acquired via independence from colonial rule (as it was the case in Cameroon in 1960/1961 following independence of French Cameroun and British Cameroon respectively, Doh, 2008); - despite the Bologna Process noted for being voluntary and legally non-binding (Ravinet, 2008); - and despite the rising urgency for individual universities to be autonomous to ensure good governance (Klemenčič, 2015; Sabel & Zeitlin, 2007) and competitiveness (Klemenčič, 2009 & Mohamedbhai, 2013). The theory of dominance is relevant to policy

borrowing as it highlights the complex interplay of colonial dominance (Matunhu, 2011; & Sawant, 2011) and multinational dominance (Verger, Novelli & Altinyelken, 2012) on contemporary HE systems in Africa which have both influenced the implementation of Global Educational Policies like the Bologna Process/LMD in this context. Lastly, the theory of human capital development relative to policy borrowing is important as it would be no use and wastage of albeit resources if systems of education invest in policies particularly costly GEPs like the Bologna Process/LMD without the central aim of developing human capital through student-based and competency-based formation (Klemenčič, 2009) to serve as workforce for home/global use.

I would argue based on prior findings and scholarly discussions, colonial/postcolonial theory seem to be the most influential theory of policy borrowing than the others. This is because the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP perceived to be a neo-imperial HE policy (Khelfaoui, 2009) seem to be what is presently shaping not only decision-making processes, change/educational reforms and need for human capital formation in terms of staff/students in HE; but developmental agenda and perceived conditional aid donation (dominance) to HEIs offered by multinationals like UNESCO and the World Bank who are external players of the Bologna Process. In the next chapter, I will be presenting the methodology of the study.

Chapter Four

Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is aimed at identifying, explaining and justifying the process of the research which was done to address the research questions. The main research question as well as the sub-research questions of this research are:

General research question (RQ): To what extent has the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP shaped harmonization and policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE? This research addresses two specific research questions as seen below.

Specific research questions: According to key policy makers in Cameroon's higher education system:

RQ1: How does harmonization integrate Cameroonian HE internationally, regionally and nationally?

RQ2: What factors facilitate and inhibit (problems encountered) policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities?

The chapter presents a discussion of the study area; research design; and rationale of the study (in terms of research strategy and structure; and philosophical commitments comprising of positional statement and epistemological viewpoint of the study). It also presents lessons learnt from the pilot study (with its emerging results presented in Appendix I to minimise word counts). The population and sample of the study have also been highlighted (see Appendix N for details on demographic information of the population). Data collection sampling techniques; data collection methods such as interviews (structure of interview guide, credibility, trustworthiness and dependability of the data collection methods; and procedure for conducting elite interview); and focus group discussions have been discussed. Also the administration of the methods have been examined. Fieldwork conducts (including general information regarding fieldwork conducts; dealing with gate keepers, negotiating access, multiple positionalities and bias; as well as obstacles encountered) have been raised. Ethics have also been considered. Data transcription, analysis and reporting have also been presented. Credibility, trustworthiness, bias and transferability of findings to other contexts have also been discussed. The chapter ends with a comprehensive conclusion. Having introduced the chapter, I now present a discussion of the study area.

4.2 Discussion of the study area

Geographically, the Republic of Cameroon is situated between Central and West Africa bounded to the north by the Republic of Chad, to the east by Central African Republic, to the west by Nigeria and to the south by Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and Congo Brazzaville (Eta, 2018). The figure below presents the map of Cameroon. The dark circles illustrate the areas where the study was conducted.

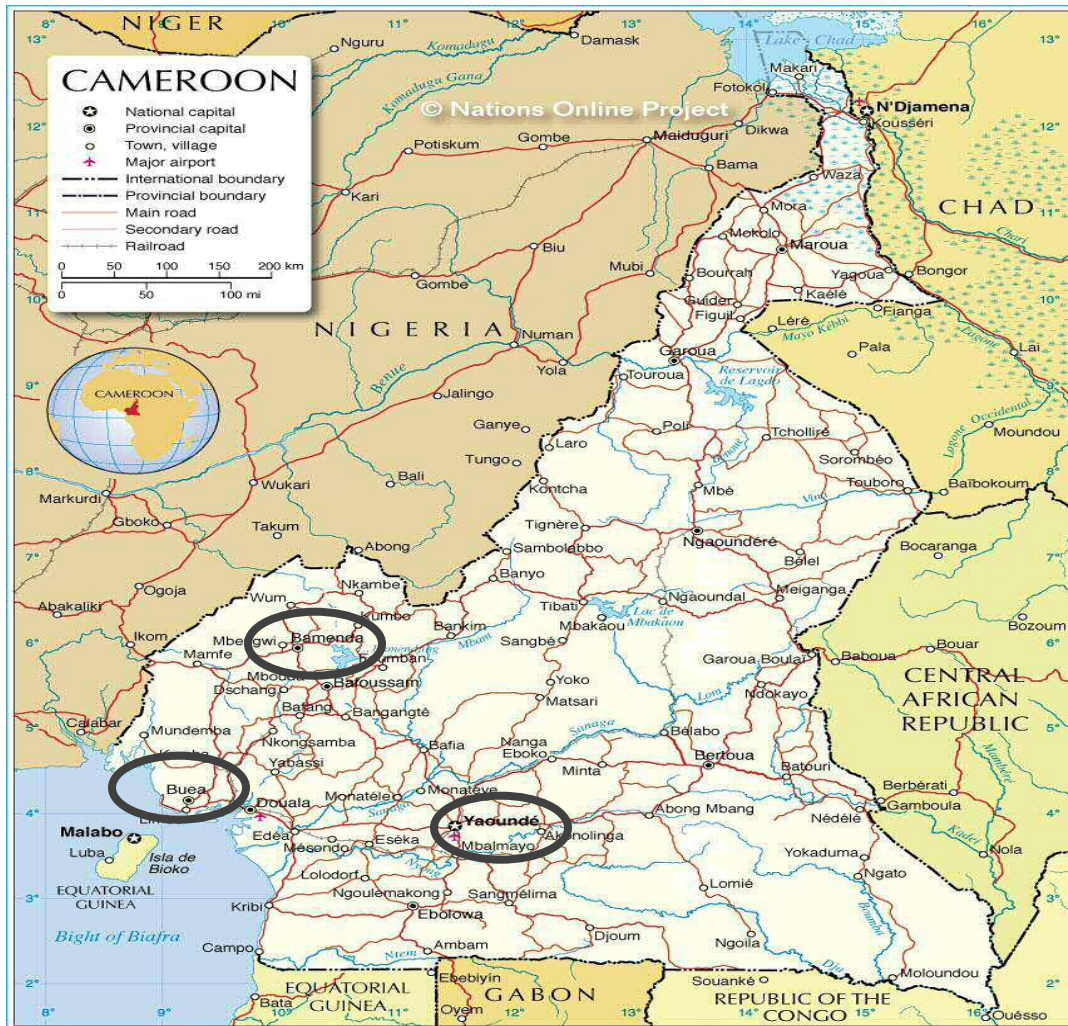


Figure 4.1: Map of Cameroon and area of the study

Cameroon has a surface area of 475,440 square kilometres (183,000 square miles) and it is one of the smallest states in Africa. It is divided into 10 regions. The administrative capital city is Yaoundé and the economic capital is Douala. World Bank Report (2018) estimated the population to be 24 million. The vast differences in terms of culture, religions and ethnic groups provides a rich geographical diversity of the country. Economically, 80% of the economy of Cameroon is agrarian though there exist few industries in

Yaounde and Douala. The exploitation of crude oil and its refinery is also present but not fully managed and developed. Cameroon uses the Francs CFA as currency with other countries of the CEMAC region (Fonkeng, 2007). Educationally, Cameroon offers basic, secondary and higher education be it public, private, vocational/technical, or denominational. Cameroon's higher education is comprised of eight state universities of which two are Anglo-Saxon and many private higher education institutions.

According to Marshall and Rossman (1999, p.69), a good research site is characterized by one where: accessibility is possible; the presence of a variety of people, processes, interactions, structures and programs of interest to the researcher are present; the investigator easily establishes trust worthy relationships with the research participants; and also there is assurance in the quality and credibility of the data obtained. To Anderson, Lofman, Lofman and Snow (2006, p.18); Lofman & Lofman (1995, p.19-21), a good research site is appropriate when it matches with the research questions, interest and methods in a manner that these can be easily studied. Though Anderson *et al.* (2006, p.34) described these research settings as public settings characterized by free access; the research sites of this study were public due to the fact that they addressed public needs but not quite accessible due to protocols and administrative bureaucracies (see other problems encountered below in section 4.10.3). Having said this, I now present the research design.

4.3 Research design

The study made use of a qualitative research design. Poovey (1995, p.84) strongly advocate for qualitative studies by remarking that:

There are no limits to what the rationalizing knowledge epistemized by statistics can do. No matter how precise, quantification cannot inspire action, especially in a society whose bonds are forged by sympathy, not mere calculation (Poovey, 1995, p.84).

There are many advantages and disadvantages of qualitative research design. According to Patton (1990, p.14) one of such advantages is that qualitative inquiries are important as they provide a rich wealth of particular information concerning a smaller number of people, among other advantages. Patton (1990, p.24) also mentioned that one of the disadvantages of qualitative research is that it is difficult to analyze data in qualitative inquiries due to responses not being standardized or systematic, that is the responses are longer, vary in content and more detailed; among other disadvantages. Next, I present the rationale for the study.

4.4 Rationale for the study

4.4.1 Research strategy and structure

There has been very little research into policy borrowing and harmonization particularly with the coming of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform in Cameroonian higher education. According to Powell and Finger (2013, p.272), Zgaga (2003); and Powell, Bernhard and Graf (2012) though there are familiar phrases often used for citations and to commence many arguments, there still exist insufficient methodical analyses of Bologna in terms of regulations, norms and ideals. Kehm (2010) added that the lack of sufficient data, tensions and contradictions and rising complexities of the Bologna Process amidst many publications is also of concern. Eta (2018, p.5) further added that no extant research exists that examines the influence of the Bologna Process in Cameroon – particularly in the domains of harmonization and policy borrowing. According to Ball (1990, p.9) less attention has been paid to research methodology particularly in literature of educational policy as the discipline tends to be dominated by critique and commentary rather than empirical research. To Taylor (1997, p.23), it seems methodological questions regarding what ‘data’ is required for analysis as well as how information is collected have been less important in critical policy studies than even the theories used and questions asked. In line with these arguments, I argue that examining the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP within the developments of policy borrowing from an Afro-centric standpoint (Cameroon) and current harmonization processes grounded on empirical data is therefore very timely. In other words, my research aims at filling these gaps relative to harmonization and policy borrowing through the lens of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. The thesis is exploratory, grounded on the opinions of key higher education stakeholders in Cameroon using interviews and focus group discussions. Exploratory research is “research that aims to discover what participants think is important about the research topic” (Mathews & Ross, 2010, p.476). According to Marshall and Rossman (1999, p.33) the exploratory purpose of a qualitative study seek to identify and/or discover important themes, patterns or categories of meanings among the participants (see findings in chapters five, six, seven and eight).

Though the study initially was structured to consider key policy makers in Anglophone universities only, however, due to snowballing, two policy makers from the University of Yaounde I which is a bilingual university; and two others from Catholic University of Central Africa (UCAC) which is French-speaking were being interviewed. Proposals from participants to interview certain groups of people and the difficulty of gaining access to participants at the beginning, propelled me to doing two focus group discussions conducted on lecturers and students through the student union in the University of Bamenda. The study at the beginning was planned to use the following local and foreign organizations that partake in university education in Cameroon including parastatals like the University of Buea Development Fund (UBDEF),

Societe Nationale de Raffinage (SONARA), and Cameroon Development Corporation (CDC); as well as NGOs like the World Bank Group (WB); United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO); International Monetary Fund (IMF); Department for International Development (DfID); and Commonwealth Scholarship Commission (CSC) in the United Kingdom (UK); and also some higher education consultants. However, due to the reality in the field in terms of problems of gaining access and much time spent on fruitless appointments, organizations visited that agreed to participate included: the Commonwealth department at Cameroon's Ministry of External Relations (MINREX); L'Agence Universitaire de La Francophonie (AUF); and African Development Bank (ADB). I now present the philosophical perspectives of the study.

4.4.2 Philosophical perspectives (positional statement; and epistemological viewpoint of the study)

4.4.2.1 Positional statement

During my final year at the undergraduate in 2008, a new higher education policy was implemented which was geared towards harmonizing the two HE sub-systems (English and French) in Cameroon. This policy was called the BMP (Bachelor's-Masters-PhD) or Bachelor's-Masters-Doctorate (BMD) in the English-speaking sub-system with its equivalence, the LMD (Licence-Master-Doctorat) in the French-speaking sub-system. The BMP was borrowed from Europe's Bologna Process which was established in 1999. While the disguised Bologna Process was introduced to tackle a number of problems such as unemployment, credit concerns, student mobility concerns and much more; and to uniformise university education in both sub-systems; it at the same time brought in new challenges. These challenges included: high failure rates and repetition of courses on students' part; lecturers found it hard to teach and evaluate students because they did not understand the modalities of this policy, they also experienced increased workload as contact hours increased as a result of the voluminous nature of the new courses implemented; at an institutional level there have been shortage of amenities like classrooms, laboratories just to name but a few to cater for students' need (BUN, 2008). Though BMP/LMD is the watch word in Cameroon's HE, there are still lots of problems existing in the system that I tend to question if borrowed educational policies despite their good intentions actually have a place in this context. Besides, having explored models that are used to explain borrowed educational policies in local contexts like the model of policy borrowing among others, I realized these models are Euro-centric and do not properly analyse the African reality (evident in the onset of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in present-day Cameroon). These autobiographical elements ("starting where you are"; as Anderson, Lofman, Lofman & Snow, 2006, p.9; Lofland & Lofland 1995, p.14; call it) has therefore shaped my interest at the PhD to study policy-borrowing and harmonization within the Cameroonian higher education framework in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP.

Due to the sensitive nature of my research which addresses hurtful feelings resulting from neocolonialism; and being ‘black’ African studying in a western university, one might metaphorically perceive/criticize me to be a ‘white’ woman with a ‘black’ skin (or have a ‘white’ mentality as a result of studying in the UK though being ‘black’ which may raise concerns about the quality and authenticity of the findings I have provided). This means one may think my approach to critically examining findings of my research may tend to be bias in favour of westerners than Africans/Cameroonians having been influenced by the context where I am presently studying. On the other hand, being ‘black’ and having experienced negative situations in Cameroon at large and the HE system in particular, others might criticize me for being bias with the findings in favour of Africans/Cameroonians other than westerners. However, I argue my research considers an authentic and fair viewpoint as I have taken a neutral stance in this study²⁶. Patton (1990, p.55) asserted that taking a neutral stance on the issue under investigation adds credibility to the research. Next, I present the epistemological viewpoint of the study.

4.4.2.2 Epistemological viewpoint of the study

The research takes into consideration an epistemological standpoint of critical realist approach. Critical realists support qualitative inquiry by asserting that the use of people’s opinion to investigate a given phenomenon (such as policy borrowing, harmonization and the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP) is best done using qualitative research (Mathews & Ross, 2010; & Maxwell, 2006). Maxwell (2006, p.5) opined that this approach maintains on one hand a position of ontological realism which holds that the real world is independent of individuals’ perceptions, constructions and theories, thereby objectivity; and on the other hand it holds an epistemological position of relativism and constructivism which maintains that individuals’ comprehension of this world is indeed a construction of their standpoints and perspectives, hence subjectivity. According to Matthews and Ross (2010, p.29-30 & 475-476), Maxwell (2012) the critical realist approach uncovers both hidden mechanisms and structures that lead to inequality or injustice and thereby provide opportunities for social change by negating or changing the structural mechanisms which have been spotted as having these impacts. This approach also uncovers power relations and dominant ideologies; deals with observable effects; fosters research that leads to action and involves the collection of both qualitative and/or quantitative data (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p.29-30, 475-476). The approach is pertinent to this study as it therefore seeks to: uncover the underlying hidden factors that govern policy-borrowing, harmonization and the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in Cameroon’s universities, unveil the possible problems that have emerged as a result of this social structure within the framework of higher

²⁶ See section 4.13 where I mentioned how I dealt with bias to ensure credibility and trustworthiness of the findings.

education, using well-informed theories such as (theory of change, theories of development, decision-making theory, colonial/post-colonial theory, theory of dominance and theory of human capacity development) to reduce the inequality, power relations and dominant ideologies that exist between Cameroonian universities and universities abroad (particularly western European universities where the Bologna Process originated); and external agencies concerned with the provision of HE; which would have potentials of enhancing a well-coordinated future action that takes into consideration Cameroon's unique identity and resource availability. This research makes use of qualitative methods of data collection by analyzing the viewpoints of various educational stakeholders regarding policy-borrowing, harmonization and the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP through interviews and focus group discussions.

Like postmodernist and feminist, critical theorists believe that research is liberating. Marshall and Rossman (1999, p.198) remarked that critical theorists aim at discovering and creating collaborative knowledge that are advantageous to marginalized groups (Cameroonian universities) from the dominant groups (external agencies and foreign universities). Thus, this emerging research opposes the challenging and dominating practice of the dominant class (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p.198); which is in accordance with this study as higher education policies in Cameroon are perceived to be constantly borrowed from hegemonies. I now present lessons learnt from pilot study.

4.5. Lessons learnt from the pilot study

A pre-pilot study on policy borrowing into higher education was conducted in October 2015 using the interview method before going to the field to collect data. This was done on just one CSC Commissioner residing in the University of Liverpool who accepted to participate at that time. The interview was designed to reflect six main sections which addressed 1) the conceptualization of higher education (subdivided into the roles of higher education; and comparing universities across contexts); 2) factors that trigger policy borrowing; 3) problems encountered as a result of policy borrowing; 4) prospects of policy borrowing; 5) impacts of policy borrowing; and 6) models of foreign policy appropriation. The interview was aimed at: practicing how to conduct interviews in Cameroon; identify themes that emerge to find out whether they were consistent with literature or not; testing my skills as a researcher to identify my strengths and weaknesses; and testing the appropriateness of the instrument. Though he was not knowledgeable about the state of higher education in Cameroon, the instrument was modified to reflect policy borrowing in Africa. This made the context somewhat differ by being more generic than specific. Lots of references were made to the University of Malawi where he had taken some courses. However, I noticed that the factors, problems and prospects of policy borrowing in "Malawian universities" were same to an extent as those affecting

“Cameroonian universities” after conducting a similar study in Cameroon, though other emerging themes came up. The findings ensured credibility of the instrument and some early forms of transferability of the results to other African contexts. With these, I gained confidence that the pre-prepared instrument was credible.

A decision was made by my supervisor to do a pilot study in Cameroon to take into consideration contextual realities. However, he advised that if the analysis of the pilot study correlates with initial findings of what will constitute the main study, then should I merge the pilot study with the main study and consider the pre-pilot study as pilot study. It is worthy to note that the design of the interview guide used in the pre-pilot study was same as that of the pilot study and main study with the only difference being that of context as the former reflected Africa (using Malawi for illustration); while the latter two reflected Cameroon. Three vice chancellors were used in the pilot study from the University of Bamenda (UBa), Cameroon Christian University (CCU) and Bamenda University of Science and Technology (BUST). Due to the fact that findings of the pilot study were similar to initial findings of the main study, both studies were merged to constitute the main study. These findings were aimed at providing answers to the research questions (see Appendix I). Some of the lessons I learnt during the pilot study and in the course of the main study are presented in the next paragraph²⁷.

Due to the fact that the initial interview guide was very long and time-consuming to administer following complaints raised by the interviewees, I re-structured the interview guide (see Appendix K: Interview Guide Plan A) to make it shorter by asking main questions that would answer my research questions and orally probed where necessary (see Appendix L: Interview Guide Plan-B). I also realized the data was so massive with assorted areas that could make up for different theses - whereby exploring all these areas in one thesis would be problematic due to space and precision. From the data and subsequent data, I started thinking of ways on how to focus the study and RQs. In this way, in the analysis of the main study, I dropped the roles of HE in Cameroonian HE which was initially my RQ1. I merged factors that trigger and are problematic (inhibit) to external policy appropriation or policy borrowing into one research question – RQ2 (for the sake of organization based on categories raised, findings in RQ2 has been discussed in chapters six, seven and eight). I dropped prospects and impacts of foreign policy adoption which would have made use of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP for illustration²⁸. I also dropped the idea of analyzing models of foreign policy adoption and have focused on Phillips and Ochs’ model of policy borrowing (Phillips & Ochs, 2003 &

²⁷ See Appendix J for lessons learnt from pre-pilot studies.

²⁸ What I have discarded in the research is for the purpose of precision as I plan to use these for publications in the future.

2004)²⁹. I realized that harmonization was very vital in policy borrowing discourses so in the analysis of the main study, I addressed this as my new RQ1. In illustrating policy borrowing/harmonization in the thesis, I used the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP as the main borrowed policy since it is the most recent/widely used and ignored talking about the other mentioned policies which have little evidence. I also contracted the research questions from six to two to manage analysis. Having said these, I now present the population/sample of the study.

4.6 Population and sample of the main study

The sample was drawn from university officials and lecturers, university students, officials from multilateral and bilateral organizations that participate in Cameroon's university education. According to Patton (1990, p.184), "there are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry". To him, sample size is dependent on the following: what the researcher wants to know; the objectives of the investigation; what is at stake; what will have credibility; what will be useful and lastly, what can be done with available resources and time. As concerns the sample size, though I intended using a population of 50 participants in the ratio 44 for the main study; and 6 for the pilot study; and 32 expected participants in the ratio 28 for the main study and 4 for the pilot study, I ended up using a sample of 53 participants for the main study in the interviews; with an additional 8 participants used in the focus group discussions making a grand total of 61. The pilot study made use of 3 participants. This means, the total number of interviewees in the study was 56 (53 in the main study and 3 in the pilot study). However, summing up the population of the main study (interviewees and participants of the focus group discussions) and the pilot study totaled 64 participants which constituted the overall sample of the study. It is important to note that the actual number of participants used in the main and pilot study constituted the accessible population of the study. Marshall and Rossman (1999, p.68) propounded a limitation to selecting sample sizes which states that unless a given investigation is construed narrowly, investigators are unable to study all important people, events and circumstances in depth and intensively; they therefore select sample sizes. The increase in the number of participants used in the main study was due to snowballing in the course of the study through recommendations by high-ranking and committed participants that were interviewed earlier; high level connections gotten through snowball; as well as my personal commitment to do an excellent research even after hitting the target. Institutions such as: AfDB, AUF, University of Yaounde I and CATUC Bamenda which were not initially planned to be investigated did feature in the main study. The coloured section of the table below indicates the actual number of participants per institution being investigated in the main and pilot study. This is illustrated below:

²⁹ See Appendix H for descriptive accounts of existing models in comparative education.

Table 4.1: Distribution of intended/expected participants in the main and pilot study based on organizations/locations: population and sample of the study

Type of Organization	Location	Intended Number of Participants to be Interviewed		Total	Expected Number of Participants to be Interviewed		Total	Actual Number of Participants interviewed	
		Main Study	Pilot Study		Main Study	Pilot Study		Main Study	Pilot Study
MINESUP officials	Yaounde	3	1	4	3	1	4	10	/
NGOs Official	UBDEF-Buea	1	/	1	1	/	1	/	/
“	SONARA-Buea	1	/	1	1	/	1	/	/
“	CDC- Buea	1	/	1	1	/	1	/	/
World Bank Officials	Through snowball by Prof Hardman; or Y'de	2	/	2	1	/	1	/	/
UN Officials	“	2	/	2	1	/	1	/	/
IMF Officials	“	2	/	2	1	/	1	/	/
Commonwealth Officials	London or Yaounde	2	1	3	2	1	3	6	/
University of Bamenda Officials	Bamenda	5	1	6	4	1	5	11	1
University of Buea Officials	Buea	5	1	6	4	1	5	5	/
BUST	Bamenda	4	1	5	2	/	2	6	1
Cameroon Christian University (CCU)	Bamenda	4	/	4	2	/	2	4	1
UCAC	Yaounde	4	/	4	2	/	2	2	/
SMU	Buea	4	/	4	1	/	1	3	/
Other Multinationals e.g Dfid		2	/	2	1	/	1	/	/
HE Consultants		2	1	3	1	/	1	/	/
Grand Total		44	6	50	28	4	32		
Multinationals									
AfDB	Yaounde	/	/	/	/	/	/	1	/
AUF	Yaounde	/	/	/	/	/	/	1	/
University of Yaounde I	Yaounde	/	/	/	/	/	/	2	/
Catholic University of Bamenda (CATUC)	Bamenda	/	/	/	/	/	/	2	/
Total								53 Interviewees	3
Focus Group Discussion with Lecturers; UBa	Bamenda	/	/	/	/	/	/	4	/
Focus Group Discussion with Students; UBa	Bamenda	/	/	/	/	/	/	4	/
Total								8	/
Grand Total								53 interviewees + 8 FG participants = 61	53+8+(3 from pilot study)= 64

However, the issue of bias in selecting participants for interviews through snowballing might have cropped in as early participants had the tendency of recommending those contacts that shared identical: ideological, political, professional or demographic backgrounds or simply mere friendship thereby limiting wide representativeness of the sample. To overcome this bias thereby ensuring fairness, I used just those recommended participants who were ready to comply and many other participants that were not recommended but were listed and considered important in the sample from the beginning. These catered for a good representativeness of the sample. Next, I present data collection sampling techniques.

4.7 Data collection sampling techniques

This research takes into consideration two main types of sampling techniques including: purposeful sampling (subdivided into both critical case sampling, and sampling important political cases); and snow ball sampling. Purposeful sampling deals with ‘information-rich-cases’ that is those individuals who were considered well knowledgeable about my topic under investigation by virtue of their experiences and job positions relative to higher education as seen in the type of organizations I visited above. This study addresses key political educational policy makers in Cameroon from an educational dimension without considering their political lives or other aspects of their jobs/positions (Marshall & Rossman, 2011) – thus leading to a sampling technique called ‘sampling politically important cases’. Patton (1990, p.180) believed that when political cases are used in qualitative investigations, there will be an increasing importance and utilization of the information (results) where the available resources allow only a small number of cases being investigated. The research also considered snowballing/chain sampling which ‘identifies cases of interest from people who know people who know what cases are information rich’ (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p.111). The use of my TAP members, supervisor and familiar educational officials, early interviewees in Cameroon, kind-hearted gate keepers, family relations and individuals from same tribe were used in recommending and obtaining relevant participants for this study. Snowballing was used as a strategy to bypass mistrust and gate keepers and to access many interviewees. This technique was also used to identify high level academics whose expertise were relevant for the research. Next, I present the instrument/method for data collection.

4.8 Instrument and/or method for data collection

The researcher is the instrument in qualitative studies (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p.79 & 2011, p.112; Patton, 1990; Anderson *et al.*, 2006, p.3). This implies I had a great role to play. Qualitative research methods refers to ‘methods that are primarily concerned with stories and accounts including subjective understandings, feelings, opinions and beliefs’ (Mathews & Ross, 2010, p.478). This study takes into

consideration interviews and focus group discussions as methods used for data collection. I now present interviews.

4.8.1 Interviews

As mentioned severally elsewhere in this thesis, this research made use of the interview method of data collection. Interviews have strengths and weaknesses. According to Marshall and Rossman (1999, p.108-109 & 2011, p.145) some of the advantages of the interview method include; it is the most appropriate means of quickly obtaining voluminous amounts of data. Also, there is depth and breadth of information obtained when using interviews; and immediate clarification and follow-up of information is possible among other advantages. Some of the disadvantages according to Marshall and Rossman (1999, p.110 & 2011, p.145) include: participants in interview(s) may be reluctant or uncomfortable to share all that the researcher intends to explore. Data obtained from interviews like any qualitative method are time consuming to analyze; among other disadvantages. The research made use of a special type of interview known as elite interview.

Elite interviewing is that kind of interview that deals with a particular kind of interviewees called elites (Marshall & Rossman, & 2011, p.155). According to Marshall and Rossman (2011, p.155), some of the advantages of elite interviewing includes,

- Important information can easily be acquired from these kind of interviewees as a result of the high positions they occupy in administrative, financial, political and social fields;
- Original first-hand sources of information from prominent policy-makers and decision-makers can make the outcome of the research more colourful and interesting.
- They are capable of providing a good report on an institution's past histories, future plans and policies from a given stance.
- Elites usually contribute to meaning and insight to the interview due to the fact that they are quick-thinking and intelligent individuals in the realm of affairs, policies, ideas as well as generalizations.

Some disadvantages of elite interviewing include:

- The difficulty of gaining access to the elites because they are elusive, busy and work under very tough conditions. These groups of respondents are also difficult to initially contact. For instance the interviewer usually may rely on introductions, recommendations and sponsorships as a means of establishing appointments with the elite class;
- It is very demanding on the side of the interviewer in elite interviewing who must develop competences by either exhibiting knowledge of the topic under investigation or in case where

he/she lacks such knowledge, project a perfect conceptualization of the problem via intelligent questioning;

- The interviewer may likely have to adapt the plan or structure of the interview according to the desires and/or preferences of the elite interviewee (see section 4.8.1.1; and Appendix L for interview guide plan B which was adapted from plan A in Appendix K) upon request from some participants);
- An elite individual may take control of the interview by turning it around and taking charge of it. This calls for an unbalanced situation with the interviewee having much power in the interview. I now present the structure of the interview guide.

4.8.1.1 Structure of the interview guide

Initially, the interview guide I framed was a set of well structured, planned and formulated lists of questions and topics to be covered concerning Cameroon's universities as seen below. The initial structure of the interview guide was divided into 10 sections with many probing questions and sub-questions (see Appendix K). Thus:

- Section 1: Self-introduction
- Section 2: Demographic information
- Section 3: Conceptualizing higher education from a role and comparative perspective
- Section 4: Types of higher education policies/reforms
- Section 5: Factors that trigger external policy appropriation
- Section 6: Problems encountered as a result of external policy adoption
- Section 7: Prospects of foreign policy adoption
- Section 8: Impacts of foreign policy adoption
- Section 9: Models of foreign policy adoption
- Section 10: Last comments, appreciation and request for relevant official documents.

However, because early interviewees complained of the initial interview guide being too lengthy, the interview guide was re-written to reflect a semi-structured interview guide with very few questions. With the, semi-structured interview guide and experience gained from conducting early interviews, in the later interviews, I was able to skillfully probe for clarification of ideas. The modified interview guide had just two sections with very few questions (no sub-questions); and conclusive remarks illustrated below. Thus:

- Section A: Demographic information
- Section B: Containing 11 questions (For a clearer vision, see in the Appendix L).

Demographic Information

1. How would you like me to refer to you in this thesis? Can I anonymously identify you or call you by your real name?
2. Where were you before you came here?
3. Is your former position different from your present position?
4. What position do you presently hold?
5. How long have you served in this position?

Section B

- 1) What do you think the roles of university education in Cameroon are or should be?
- 2) What strategies have universities put in place to realize these roles?
- 3) What higher education reforms/policies are you aware of in Cameroon?
- 4) Why do you think these reforms/policies were adopted?
- 5) Do you think these reforms/policies were developed in Cameroon or were they influenced by foreign ideas?
- 6) Why do higher education managers/administrators in Cameroon engage in adopting HE policies from abroad?
- 7) What factors facilitate/inhibit foreign policy adoption in Cameroon universities?
- 8) What are the problems encountered as a result of foreign policy adoption in Cameroon universities?
- 9) What do you think are the prospects of foreign policy adoption in Cameroon universities?
- 10) How impactful is foreign policy adoption in Cameroon's higher education?
- 11) Among policy convergence, Information and Communication; Policy learning; policy transfer; and policy borrowing (*I will explain these*); which model do you think best describes the situation of policy adoption in Cameroonian universities?

Thank you very much!!! Can you also kindly link me up with other people to have an interview with? Do you have any documents that can buttress this study?

Figure 4.2: Sample of the interview guide

I now present credibility, trustworthiness and dependability of the methods used for data collection.

4.8.1.2 Credibility, trustworthiness and dependability of the data collection methods

In terms of credibility, trustworthiness and dependability of the data collection methods, I received advice from some members of staff such as Drs Kenneth Bush and Sansom Milton, and Professor Frank Hardman on what should constitute the questions and probes of my interview guide which I later discussed with my supervisor thus increasing rigour. After building the interview guide, I presented it to my supervisor again to re-check and provide feedback. His feedback guided me on which sections and questions to amend thus increasing credibility. During fieldwork, I also received feedback from some interviewees on how to shorten questions on the interview guide which I did and also presented to them to ensure credibility. I now present how participants were approached for interviews.

4.9 Fieldwork conducts

4.9.1 General information regarding fieldwork conducts

The decision to use entirely an interview as a data collection instrument was suggested following discussion with my TAP members who raised that interviews provide first-hand information and it's very suitable for exploratory investigations. We agreed that a questionnaire would need not only a different ethical approval but piloting and may not be really suitable for the study. They stressed that interviews provide data with perceptions, reasons and so on which cannot be obtained from surveys.

Though I tried contacting potential interviewees online prior to going home for data collection, this was not effective as I registered no responses. I also paid a research assistant from home whose role was to make initial contacts with potential interviewees based on a guiding form I sent to him (that contained the: type of participant in terms of job description, institution and region where the participants are located, name, e-mail address, phone number). I also attached documents such as my interview guide, consent form, offer letter from UoY and Commonwealth Scholarship Letter of Award to my application (using the supposed research assistant) to enable the contacts know who I am and what kind of questions I will be asking them. Unfortunately, this method did not succeed as participants were not willing to comply and demanded to see me in person. I also tried contacting the Cameroon alumni at the University of York and other universities in Europe but unfortunately got no response. The use of online sources in contacting participants was therefore not suitable.

The period between 15th of October 2015 and 4th of January 2016 was the period designated for data collection in Cameroon. Upon my arrival three weeks was spent in Yaounde collecting data from MINESUP, Commonwealth Department of MINREX, University of Yaounde I, Catholic University of Central Africa (UCAC), AfDB and AUF. During this period, I visited and deposited application files to carry-out research in the following institutions in Yaounde: French Embassy, The World Bank Group, UNESCO and British Consular. I also rang the reception of IMF in Yaounde introduced myself, explained my mission and requested to speak with the educational expert but was told that the IMF 'does not' participate in educational matters. I also contacted the educational expert of the American Embassy of Yaounde, who told me he was not knowledgeable about HE in Cameroon but well-grounded in information concerning American educational institutions. I think other than stiff bureaucracy, these organizations were reluctant to grant me audience eventhough they constitute some of the main external stakeholders of the Cameroonian HE system. These institutions and officials there-in would have constituted part of the study if they had agreed to participate. Next, I moved to Bamenda where I visited and conducted interviews in

the: University of Bamenda, BUST, CCU and CATUC. Two focus groups were also conducted in the University of Bamenda. These interviews and focus groups took place in the month of November. I later moved to Buea around the first week of December where I visited and administered interviews in the University of Buea and SMU. I also visited and deposited an application in Catholic University Institute of Buea (CUIB) as recommended in the course of the interview but unfortunately was never granted access. I later moved to Yaounde from Buea to follow up some early applications I had made in the above-listed institutions and to have more participants from other institutions I had already visited and conducted interviews but unfortunately could not get participants as that period was a busy one with individuals out of office preparing for X-mas and/or university convocations.

Both interviews and focus group discussions were largely audio recorded using my phones. Whenever I went out to gather data, I carried along my phone chargers, adaptors and distributor. Before the conduct of the interviews and focus group discussions, participants were informed of the recording strategy which was done using my phones. Milton (2013, p.172) reported that audio recordings are advantageous in recording almost every verbal communication. After recording a conversation, data was logged based on the time and dates when the data were collected; the places where the data were collected and the names of the participants. This was then uploaded online through my university e-mail for security purposes.

However, during recorded interviews and focus group discussions I also took down notes almost verbatim as these facilitated transcription and catered for lost data which occurred when the recorder was off as a result of forgetting to turn it on due to frequent interruptions of individuals coming in and out of interviewees' offices demanding to speak with them; or interviewees reacting to phone calls in the course of the interviews. These recorded interviews were transcribed much later. To better comprehend how both interviews and focus group discussions were specifically conducted, see the following subsections below.

4.9.1.1 Conducting elite interviews

Elite interviews were conducted with MINESUP officials, an official each from AUF and ADB, Vice Chancellors, deputy Vice Chancellors, Directors of Academic Affairs and sub directors, Deans, Vice Deans, Faculty Officers, Heads of Departments other senior academics. Other interviews were conducted with junior academics, junior administrators, lecturers and students through the student union. High priority was given to high-level academics over junior academics and lecturers in terms of interviews because of the level of their expertise. In most cases, having visited a given institution for the first time demanding to speak with some of its officials, I was asked either by the director of academic affairs, secretary, gate man or any first contact I encountered ("gate keepers") to write and present an official application letter to carry out research in the said institution. This application was addressed to the institution's highest authority. For

instance vice chancellors as was/is the case with universities, minister of higher education as was/is the case with the Cameroon Ministry of Higher Education (MINESUP), and heads of multinational and bilateral institutions like the World Bank group and British Consulate among others. However, at the level of bilateral and multilateral organizations I made two separate applications addressed to the head of the institution (e.g ambassador and/or country manager) and the educational expert of that institution. The aim was to by-pass administrative bureaucracies, unnecessary hierarchies and the long length of time with which documents get processed from top level management. Fortunately enough I started the research in Yaounde at the Ministry of higher education where I was issued an authorization letter by the minister that permitted me carry out research in any institution I desire. This authorization letter served as a “key which opened the doors of every institution I visited” because it was issued by the minister whose authority is unquestionable in the domain of higher education affairs. Each application file consisted of a: hand-written or typed official letter addressed to the authorities I mentioned above, letter of authorization from the minister of higher education, letter of confirmation of Commonwealth scholarship, informed consent form, interview guide, photocopy of University of York (UoY) student ID and photocopy of Cameroon national ID card. These were handed to the secretaries which after scrutiny by the head of the institution, was issued an authorization letter to carry-out research in that particular institution. However, this was not an absolute situation. In some cases, while the institutional authorization letter was still in the process of being issued, through personal courage and snowballing, I contacted and interviewed some of its officials. In some cases, I was asked by the interviewees the names of those I have already interviewed. I had to mention the names of some top level officials I had spoken to. Though I understood this was not a right thing to do as I did not have to disclose the identities of individuals for confidential reasons, in my local context this was very important in order to gain the trust, confidence and willingness to participate by others. This is because there is this general culture of respect of superiors in my context. Disclosing the identities of those individuals without discussing the content of our conversation was therefore a plus than a minus.

The official letter written to respective institutions contained same information. It was brief but was clearly informative of the: purpose of the research; who I was; why the institution was chosen, and the kinds of participants needed; length of the interview; expectations of the interviewees and ground rules.

In some cases, there was on the spot administration of the interview where participants were free and agreed to grant me audience. Questions posed were concise, focused as well as relevant as they answered the research questions. According to Marshall and Rossman (1999, p.108), the investigator explores a limited amount of general topics to facilitate the exposure of participants’ viewpoints and in the process of doing this show respect in the manner in which the participants structure and frame their responses. These authors added that this aspect is in accordance with a basic assumption in qualitative inquiries which holds that the

research participants' viewpoints about the phenomenon of interest under study should emerge with respect to participants' views and not researcher's views. Participants were made to understand that their responses were useful and valuable. I was passive in the course of the interview and treated each interviewee as an individual and then drew conclusions by combining all the responses.

In other cases, I was given a rendez-vous on a specific date and time which I wrote down in my daily diary and respected. In the latter case, a copy of the interview guide was given to them to enable them familiarize with the questions. At the end of each interview I asked them to recommend other officials they think are knowledgeable on university education in Cameroon so that I could have an interview with. This is how snowballing came into the picture. I showed so much respect to them which is a fundamental cultural practice in Cameroon when dealing with superiors. Some of the strategies I employed to guide me during the interviews were:

- ❖ Establishing trust was fundamental;
- ❖ Interviewees were made to be comfortable, felt secured and relaxed;
- ❖ I avoided the use of academic jargons in our conversations. For instance instead of saying 'policy borrowing', I said 'foreign policy adoption/appropriation'.

I understood it is often very difficult to go back to the elites for clarification of questions. So, I collected their contacts (personal telephone numbers and e-mail addresses to aid access if need be) on a directory I had earlier prepared; and promised sending them copies of the transcripts that emerged from the interviews by e-mail for them to proof-read and send back to me. I added that if there was anything they wanted to add or subtract in the transcripts they should feel free to do so. The telephone numbers obtained were used to inform interviewees that an e-mail has been sent to them; and also to remind them to react to the mail in case of forgetfulness. Just two interviewees refused to be recorded, stating that they are not good at speaking English. One opted to send an email after collecting the interview guide from me which he did with some follow up questions being emailed by me for clarification to which he also responded. This particular interviewee also mentioned that interviews had almost jeopardized his job. The other interviewee preferred that hand written notes be taken during the interview which was done. It was in this interview that an accidental translator was used who was one of the director's mechanics. To ensure credibility and/or authenticity of the data while conducting this particular interview, I had to repeat in English what I heard and understood from the "translator" to the interviewee who either accepted or rephrased the sentence partly in French and English to permit me understand what he actually said and meant. There was a period I realized that new participants kept saying same things (data saturation) where I decided to stop doing

interviews though I had just over a week left to return to the UK and despite reaching my intended and expected sample sizes for the study. Generally, interviewees were free to respond to the questions the way they deemed fit while their ideas were being respected. Very few of them who went out of topic or overdwelt on a given issue with constant repetition of ideas in the course of the interviews were, constructively guided and brought back on track using good words of appreciation and questioning techniques. Next, I present how I conducted focus group discussions.

4.9.1.2 Conducting focus group discussions

Focus group discussions were later considered during field work as a “Plan B” in the search for data. This was because after successfully doing 19 interviews in Yaounde in: MINESUP, Commonwealth Department of MINREX and University of Yaounde I; I found it extremely hard to get participants for the study when I next moved to Bamenda to collect data from the University of Bamenda. In conducting focus group discussions, I assumed the roles of a researcher, coordinator and interrogator. I started by presenting myself to the participants, the objective of the focus group discussion, my expectations of their behaviour during the exercise, read out and presented a copy of the consent form to each individual to sign and date as proof of participation and mastery of ethical issues mentioned. The interview guide was administered on the focus groups. Two focus groups were used; one conducted on lecturers and the other on students recommended by some MINSESUP officials. These participants were also recommended by early officials to be part of the study as they constitute implementers and consumers of HE policies, practices and programmes – and/or face the realities of the latter. The focus group discussions took place in the evenings of different days at about 5pm due to participants’ availability. Group dynamics was enhanced. Each of the focus groups were heterogeneous comprising of two males and two females. Participants reacted to my questions according to their sitting positions. Each participant was given an equal chance to self-expression and was free to contribute more points even when their turn to speak had past. Lecturer participants were well coordinated and knowledgeable on the topic. They gave me the reality of what they thought is the situation at hand regarding my topic. Students on their part had very little knowledge of events, policies and practices in the university. Their knowledge was limited to admission policy and some rudimentary information of the LMD/BMP reform. At the end of the exercise, they signed up the consent forms. “Envelopes” were presented to them as a sign of appreciation which made them very happy though this was not appreciated in most cases. This was therefore an example of how I used reciprocity which is an ethical principle in the course of data collection.

At the end of each session, participants seized the opportunity to network with me by engaging in informal conversations. They raised interests in travelling out of the country for short courses, seminars, workshops,

conferences and part-time teaching. They wanted to know the kinds of opportunities that are available in the UK. They asked me to tell them about my experiences in the UK and how I got my scholarship. They told me about their areas of specialisation and interests and urged me to look for opportunities that matched their interests and specialisation on their behalf. They asked me to continue keeping in touch with them in every way. One of them made me to understand that as they have helped me with my project, so should I help them with scholarships which in a local Cameroonian slogan means “you scratch my back, I scratch your own!” (depicting returning a favour). I therefore was more of a resource person to them at this junction. Having said these, I now present the administration of the research instruments.

4.10 Administration of the data collection methods

The pre-pilot study was conducted via video/skype and was audio recorded. This was some kind of face-to-face communication though being distant apart. Interviews conducted in the pilot and main studies and focus group discussions were done face-to-face with the participants hence there was direct communication. There was just one interviewee who preferred sending his responses by e-mail with serious follow up questions. The language of the interview was English which was fairly administered on all the participants, French-speaking participants alike. I now present dealing with gate keepers, negotiating access, self-presentation and bias during fieldwork.

4.11. Dealing with gate keepers, negotiating access, self-presentation and bias

4.11.1 Gate keepers

In negotiating entry or access to participants, or sites where participants reside, formal as well as informal channels are used (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p.80; 81 & 2011, p.114-117). A former acquaintance I made during my application for the Commonwealth Scholarship in MINESUP and one of the junior staff in the communication unit of MINESUP who hailed from the North West Region of Cameroon (my origin) were very helpful upon my arrival at MINESUP. They were ready to help me in any capacity to get in touch with the kinds of officials I needed. They took me on different occasions to see the personal secretary of the Minister for him to establish a contact with the Minister though the outcomes were unfruitful. Other gate keepers were security men of multinational and bilateral organizations, secretaries, low profile colleagues, university campus security men/women, high profile interviewees who led me to the offices of their colleagues as it was the case at MINREX. The head of department (HOD) of Science of Education UBa advised me to deposit an application alongside my credentials at the vice chancellor’s secretariat. My former mentor of UB who happened to be the present provost and vice president at SMU was also helpful. Old friends were also helpful. For instance in UB, I met an old friend who took me to his boss the deputy

vice chancellor in charge of research and cooperation with the business world. I now present how I negotiated access.

4.11.2 Negotiating access

According to Locke, Spirduso and Silverman (1993 & 2000) and Marshall & Rossman, (1999, p.79 & 2011, p.112), the interaction of the researcher and participants call for varying strategies, personal and ethical issues that do not attend quantitative aspects. They added that researchers in qualitative studies need to make decisions about negotiating for access and deployment of the researcher's resources and time. In order to gain access to these offices, I strategically dressed professionally, was polite in talking to the secretaries and greeted the directors with my two hands as a sign of respect (an informal Cameroonian culture of dealing with officials), wearing a smile at every given moment. Personal courage and efforts were made to gain access into institutions, offices and individuals. Upon my arrival I moved from one office to another presenting myself at the secretariat and demanded to have audience with their bosses. It was in doing so that I stumbled on the director of academic affairs at MINESUP, the step-father of a Commonwealth scholar I had always wanted to be in touch with. After self-introduction and to verify if my introduction was true, he picked up his phone and called his step-daughter and passed the phone to me. Upon getting her voice, I was so happy and we started chatting. This alone was a confirmation to the director, that I was her step-daughter's mate. With this I was highly favoured. He immediately granted me audience. He typed a letter to the minister on my behalf and sent one of his secretaries to deposit it in person at the mail service. He advised that it was not right for me to walk into the ministry and demand to speak with people without having the Minister's consent. Secondly, having an authorization from the Minister will open more gates for me and make other participants to fully comply. I had my first interview with him. He snowballed me with several others. Some of the gate keepers were very humble and polite like those working in Christian institutions and multinational organizations as they either have a Christian heart for humanity or have been trained to professionally render good services to the community.

When I visited UCAC Yaounde, the Dean of education on his part told me it will be very fruitless for me to pass through the hierarchy of the institution to get participants to comply for the interviews. He explained that this is a very typical French culture as Francophones and French-speaking institutions detest having interviews for fear of releasing information that may jeopardize their jobs and positions. So, he assured me of linking me with his colleagues- his friends who happen to be deans and vice deans who are friendly and bilingual too. Passing through hierarchy in MINESUP and by-passing hierarchy in UCAC were strategic examples depicting how flexible and adaptable I was in the field.

The use of snowball recommended by high ranking officials provided easy access in some cases. Tracy (2013, p.136) remarked that snowball sampling is the best option used in reaching difficult and inaccessible populations. In such cases, I directly met and interviewed officials even without passing through their secretariat. In other cases, a secretary was assigned to not only lead me directly to the office of a snowballed participant but present me and my mission there. This also made it easier for them to instantly comply, bypass protocols and difficult gate keepers.

Some early participants had very attractive personalities such as being very humble, patient, humourous, understanding, warm, helpful, confident and also enjoyed doing their jobs. Some of them showed lots of enthusiasm for the thesis and zeal to express themselves with lots of elaborations. At the end of the interviews, the last comments of such personalities were really touching and encouraging. They also provided me with their complimentary cards to get in touch with them whenever I am in need. In this case, access was not a problem.

In some cases, to gain access and get interviewees to voluntarily participate, I had to be either informal by calling some of the interviewees “daddy” or too formal by calling them “Monsieur le Director” or “Mr Vice Chancellor” as most of them were males – depending on the nature of the reception. This made them extremely happy in the sense that I demonstrated a high sense of humility despite coming from the UK or being a prestigious Commonwealth Scholar. With these, I was either treated as their child or a junior colleague which aided access. I now present dealing with multiple positionalities.

4.11.3 Dealing with self-presentation (multiple positionalities)

I adopted multiple positionalities in presenting myself to different individuals and institutions differently though a common presentation to all was that I was a Cameroonian, PhD research student from the University of York and Commonwealth Scholar. In Christian institutions in addition to the above, I presented myself as a Christian. In English speaking institutions I presented myself as an Anglophone from the North West Region. In the North West, where I visited some universities, I presented myself as the indigene of Big Babanki Kedjom Keku. In BUST where I formerly was an assistant lecturer, I presented myself as a former lecturer of that institution. To individuals whom I knew were ex-students from Cameroon Protestant College Bali I presented myself as a junior ex-student of that institution (BOBAN meaning “Bali Old Boys Association”). These various and strategic presentation of self, aided in helping me gain access to institutions and participants. Anderson *et al.* (2006, p.9) remarked that “starting where you are can ease your access to certain research sites and informants”. By “Starting where you are” these authors meant that the investigator relates his/her autobiography to either the topic under study and/or

access to informants and settings. Researchers in qualitative enquiry need to constructively present aspects of themselves. Anderson *et al.* (2006, p.21) also mentioned that researcher's characteristics, the nature of the research site and situation topic under investigation as well as the research informants to be studied have a tendency of impeding rich data collection – calling for caution.

I respected the culture of the institutions I visited. For instance in mission institutions such as CCU and Catholic University of Central Africa Yaounde, there is a culture of celebrating mass service at specific times of the day 12 noon inclusive. Coincidentally, I used to be present around this time in these institutions. I attended mass service and participated in their worship. This made participants identify with me as a Christian thus granted me access. I now present dealing with bias.

4.11.4 Dealing with bias

Different kinds of bias can mar an investigation and raise questions about the significance of the results and/or credibility. For instance status, age, spatial and gender bias. To redress these forms of bias the above mentioned were not considered variables. Though the ratio of male participants outnumbered significantly that of female participants, gender was not regarded as a variable in this investigation but a mere coincidence. The sample made use of participants who were available and willing to comply. Again the operational use of the word “elite” as mentioned elsewhere in this thesis mitigated bias in the selection of the sample in several ways. However, it is worthy to mention that it was impossible to redress all forms of bias in the course of the interviews. Focus groups had an equal number of males and females just for the sake of group dynamics and equality.

Personal bias on the part of some participants might have cropped in due to the fact that I came from the UK and I am being sponsored by an international organization – the Commonwealth. These features about me increased suspicions among some participants who feared to participate in the study thinking I was a “spy” and have been sent to investigate what goes on within the higher education system of Cameroon which might lead to its discredits. In addition to these, there has been so much tension in the entire country as a result of the catastrophic activities of Boko Haram (a Muslim terrorist group of the North) whose activities have been known to spread in other parts of Cameroon. These terrorists are difficult to identify as they appear as normal civilians. So, everybody is considered to an extent a suspect. My case was not different as my mission was centered on investigation regardless of the topic. To dismiss this fear, I made them to understand that my research is strictly for academic purpose and I would anonymously identify them in the research (that is on transcripts and use of quotations). I presented a consent form to them which they signed as well as I did and this served as a legal instrument in protecting the participants and in holding

me guilty if confidentiality is breached. Next, I present some obstacles encountered and overcoming strategies.

4.12 Some obstacles encountered and overcoming strategies

Data collection was a stressful event. I have presented just three of these challenges I encountered and their corresponding overcoming strategies to cater for word counts. However, these were turned into opportunities that speeded the research process. Rager (2005) reiterated that researchers have the fundamental role to consider ways of coping with “compassion stress”, fatigue, and other strong emotions.

One of the major challenges I faced was excessive bureaucracies and administrative procedures. I was compelled in each institution I visited to write down an application letter to the head of the institution requesting to carry-out research despite presenting an authorization letter from the Minister of HE that urged every institution to open doors for me. Some institutions insisted I present a typed application letter and not hand-written. Due to early experiences on this, I visited a documentation, typed a general letter and edited the address of the addressees that is the head of the institutions, educational experts and country managers as was the case of international organizations and made many copies to facilitate my job when visiting institutions lodging the kinds of participants I needed for my study. Even after typing those letters with my name below, some institutions called me days after my submission to come and sign my application letter before it could be channeled to the appropriate quarters. In most cases I had to fill in the “Request for Interview” form, which was either for formality as I was never granted audience or took a very long time to be processed. In other instances, I had to re-do another typed application due to the nature of the administrative set-up. When I visited the Catholic University Institute of Buea (CUIB) for instance, I was told by the receptionist to change the address of the addressees because the name of the school was wrongly spelt and the administration was composed of a President (Reverend Father); a Provost (a man) and a Director (a lady); a typical American system in terms of governance. So I had to return to the documentation and effected these corrections. Unfortunately, though I did this I never had the chance of interviewing a single administrator in this institution. Lofman and Lofman (1995, p.41) affirmed that legal, political and bureaucratic obstacles can limit access.

Another challenge I faced was the very poor means of transportation in terms of dilapidated and untarred highway roads, untarred dusty roads in the quarters full of pot holes; very old buses that kept breaking down on the high way making passengers to spend more hours in travelling; overcrowded buses with poor sitting conditions and facilities etc. These made it difficult for me to budget my time appropriately to commune from one place to another; and made me miss some scheduled appointments. I had to redress failed

appointments by making calls in such situations apologizing either for the delay or inability to attend the appointment; and to re-schedule appointments.

Negative mentality of most interviewees towards research and interviews in particular was a major obstacle. Some intended interviewees said they detested interviews based on their negative experiences about interviews which almost jeopardized their jobs. They added that whatever thing that is said even if they are saying their own opinions also affect the organizations they are working for since they are part of these organizations. I encouraged them not to be afraid by presenting my consent form which was legally reassuring, and to address issues surrounding my thesis and not the jobs or organization. Next, I present ethical considerations.

4.13 Ethical considerations

Several authors have written extensively on the importance of ethical issues in research (Anderson *et al.*, 2006, Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 1992; Lofman & Lofman, 1995; Marshall & Rossman, 1999, 2006 & 2011; Rossman & Rallis, 1998, p.67). Anderson *et al.* (2006, p.33) added that “it is one thing to decide for yourself about interest, appropriateness, accessibility, and ethics; it is quite another to get all of the relevant parties to go along with your plan”. This means that gaining access to participants requires considerable ethical concerns. Marshall and Rossman (2011, p.121) remarked that “the qualities that make a successful qualitative researcher reveal themselves as an exquisite sensitivity to the ethical issues surrounding any moral act”. Prior to data collection, there was a thorough review of ethical procedures by members of the ethical committee in the department.

Interviewees were verbally informed of the research process and its implications in terms of: the right to withdraw, utilization and protection of data, anonymity, avoidance of harm and others. They were also given consent forms to sign which I also signed and this was considered legally binding in protecting participants’ self-interest lest confidentiality was/is breached (see Appendix E). Some of the interviewees demanded extra copies of the consent form which were handed to them in case of any eventuality. The use of consent forms was a major strategy to avoid deception. According to Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1992, p.79) informed consent is important when informants or participants are demanded to forfeit individual rights or are exposed to risks.

Reciprocity was also enhanced. By this, participants received letters acknowledging the importance of their participation. Participants also had the freedom of expressing themselves the way they deemed fit and of

choosing convenient settings for the interviews and/or focus groups. I was also sensitive and reciprocated to participants as they adjusted their daily routines and priorities due to my presence.

Promises were made and respected by giving copies of transcripts that emerged from the conversations with participants and of sharing research findings with them. In cases where they strictly wanted to be anonymous, they were promised to be identified by the name of their institutions on the transcripts and whenever direct quotations are used.

There was risk assessment too as participants were being prevented from harm via ensuring high level confidentiality in information disclosure. Most participants were top level educational administrators whose positions were highly political. It was therefore particularly important to protect them from any potential harm. According to Goodhand (2000), there is an ethical responsibility for researchers to prove to members of the research community that there are elements of ‘do some good’ in research other than “do no harm”. This can take several forms. For instance, some participants seized the opportunity during interviews to express their frustrations and/or viewpoints about the state of higher education in Cameroon and other specific issues plaguing the country which I held in confidence.

Anonymity was quite important as those elites had political strings in the sense that appointments in Cameroon are done based on officials’ affiliation to the party in power and not necessarily on: educational background and expertise, meritocracy, ethnicity or longevity of service. However, anonymity was a controversial issue. While some officials preferred to be anonymous, others proudly preferred to be identified by their real names. A university official strongly emphasized that I should anonymously identify him in my thesis because he does not want to run into trouble with politicians. He was so bitter about the political state of the country as well as the very slow rate of development despite the country’s abundance of resources. In cases where individuals preferred to be anonymous, this was respected and they were given pseudonyms via the name of their institutions followed by an alphabet – for instance ‘MINESUP official-A’. Officials who aspired promotion to more senior administrative positions were scared of participating as what they might say might infringe on their job. They therefore preferred to be strictly anonymous. Contrarily, there were some officials who were self-sufficient and retired from the public service though still occupying very high academic positions in private universities who never bothered about anonymity. They preferred to be addressed by their names. There were also others still in active service who preferred to be identified by their names. For instance, an official in MINESUP who went further to tell me not only to call her by her name but to take a photo of her in order to match it with what she had said. She added that this is a typical western culture of doing things and people should feel free and be proud of what they say. Having investigated her background, I found that she studied in Europe and America where freedom

of speech is more respected than in an African context. However, to avoid potential problems this might bring, I anonymized all the interviewees in my transcripts and analysis.

Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1992, p.79) noted that the right to privacy means “the freedom of the individual to pick and choose for himself the time and circumstances under which, and most importantly, the extent to which, his attitudes, beliefs, behavior, and options are to be shared with or withheld from others”. Participants indicated extreme anxiety when issues surrounding problems plaguing the system were addressed. In dealing with these issues in my analysis, I employed anonymity using their pseudo names to respect their privacy.

Throughout the study, I received advice from the participants on what I should do in the course of conducting the interviews, and what I should emphasize in my thesis. Participants were made to understand that data will be protected and housed in the JB Morell Library and access to it will only be limited to my TAP members and myself; and this will be destroyed after a period of time.

Ethics was also considered during transcription. Intelligent strategies were used in cleaning up unwanted phrases, sentences and words. Transcripts were done word verbatim as a means of presenting and respecting participants’ ideas. These were presented to participants for validation, to check grammar or eliminate/adjust incomplete sentences, as well as add/subtract anything of interest to them. Next, I present data transcription, analysis and reporting.

4.14 Data transcription, analysis and reporting

4.14.1 Transcription of data

Data was transcribed manually by listening to the audio recording and typing information (data) on micro-soft word document. Participants neither speak in paragraphs nor indicate punctuations when talking. I therefore determined semicolons, periods, exclamation signs and so on which intend directed the meaning of words written down and also the interview. One disadvantage of transcription is that visual clues present in the interviews are absent when one listens to tape recordings. According to Tilley (2003), this therefore prevents the transcriber from having access to vital paralinguistic signals regarding meanings. Next, I present data analysis and reporting.

4.14.2 Data analysis and reporting

According to Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) and Bryman (2016), one of the ways of analysing qualitative studies such as interviews is to analyse findings by employing concepts and theories raised in the study

among other techniques. Emerging findings as well as field notes were also considered important and constituted an integral part of the analysis. Based on this background information, I employed both the inductive and deductive approaches to data analysis. To illustrate how these were done, I started coding by keenly reading through my transcripts to identify what interviewees are saying and to mentally generate themes. This was followed by actual coding illustrated in the paragraphs below.

After transcribing and organizing data, rigorous coding was done with an intimate understanding and familiarity of the data. Thematic analysis was used in analyzing data. The quotations of individuals were conceived in mind as coding was done aimed at generating themes. I used the NVivo software in producing nodes (parent nodes and child nodes) or codes (themes) based on concepts and theories raised in chapters two and three respectively. To illustrate how I created nodes, using ‘harmonisation’ for instance, I created a parent node where I put together every quotation that addressed harmonisation regardless and labelled this node ‘harmonisation’. Next, I searched for similar ideas or patterns from the parent node and generated themes or child nodes. For instance quotations which addressed the Bologna Process as a global form of harmonizing HE systems (Cameroon inclusive); the need for Cameroonian HE to align to international standards using the Bologna Process; and to enhance the internalization of Cameroonian HE geared at promoting credit transferability, student and staff mobility among others were lodged under a common theme (or node) which I labelled as ‘the internationalisation effect’ as these have attributes of internationalisation. This procedure was used in creating other child nodes (themes) on harmonisation. Inspired by the works of Fielding and Lee (1998), Strauss and Corbin (1998), axial coding was also considered. Axial coding deals with grouping codes in relation to conceptual categories that reflect similarities among codes. This means that the codes are clustered around a common axis or intersection points. Themes were further explored with the aid of diagrams drawn on Microsoft word. Some quotations based on the ideas they carry were lodged under more than one node (theme). For instance the quotation below has been lodged under both ‘the “internationalisation effect”’ and ‘the adoption of an “international policy framework” for HE: Bologna Process/LMD/BMP’ nodes. This is because the quotation presents the Bologna Process as a global (international) policy; with international policies normally constituting basic elements of internalisation.

.....it was kind of a global thing which came in as the Bologna Process....I think it was accepted in Cameroon and in some other developing countries as a result of trying to harmonise the system we have with those from other areas from where it came. (University Official-E; UB:2015).

In generating categories for example, using harmonisation for illustration, I realised that participants addressed the harmonisation of Cameroonian HE by making references to three contexts viz international, regional and national contexts. These contexts were then used as categories where themes addressing a similar context were lodged. For instance in harmonising Cameroonian HE internationally (an example of a category), I generated themes such as ‘the internationalisation effect’, the creation of an internationally harmonized HE space; and the adoption of an “international policy framework” for HE; as these all situate Cameroonian HE within an international context. In a nutshell, categories were formulated via lengthened familiarity with the data or text. Categories were modified concepts obtained from contextual/conceptual framework and literature review (or theoretical framework). These were created based on a common pattern existing among themes. Divergent and convergent categories were also considered.

I then descriptively wrote down the findings based on each research question and being guided by the formulated categories, nodes (themes) and quotations. I employed lots of reflexivity and questioned the data in generating categories, themes and patterns. These explanations confirm my argument of using both inductive (from data to context/theories or literature); and deductive (from context/theories or literature to data) approaches to coding and data analysis.

Interpretations were done by checking back with the data. In searching for alternative explanations, there were lots of criticality involved in challenging patterns that looked so obvious. These alternative explanations were linked to the data. This confirmed that research is a debate that provides assertions about data; supply considerable proof of those assertions; establish a logical relationship among them and also present an aggregate of how these assertions relate to past and future investigations. Overarching themes were used to explore data; possible explanations of relationships were made; while data was constantly checked upon. Next, typology was identified (such as the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’). This was followed by returning to the questions to find out if the analysis had answered the questions.

In writing the final report of the findings section, caution was exercised in the choice of words used in summarizing the data in order to avoid misinterpretation and wrong meaning. Words used in the write-up were simple and clear to facilitate understanding of the analysis and research as a whole by any person reading it. Marshall and Rossman (1999, p.5) emphasized that researchers in qualitative studies must be keen to address the reactions of participants in the research and the “voice” used in the research write-up as a means of representing the relationship that exist between participants and the researcher. Writing was also personalized with the use of the personal pronoun ‘I’. Participants presented their ideas in controversial and divergent ways provoking further reasonable debates illustrated in this study. Owing to the massive

data, quotations have been limited to cater for word counts and those used reflect a trend within the data set to strengthen points raised. Next, I present credibility, trustworthiness and transferability of findings.

4.15 Credibility, trustworthiness, bias and transferability of findings

I also ensured data credibility and trustworthiness. Cross checking of data to obtain credibility and hence transferability was done through triangulation. McNabb (2004, p.366) and Tracy (2013, p.40) mentioned that triangulation aims at viewing a given phenomenon from more than two dimensions geared towards enhancing not only reliability and validity but generalizability; which in qualitative terms mean credibility, trustworthiness and transferability. Information across the thesis and given sections of the findings were used for cross-referencing thus boosting triangulation (and credibility). In addition to these, conferences, seminars and workshops attended as well as academic social networks like LinkedIn, Researchgate and Academia.edu provided opportunities to gather insight from different individuals through constructive feedback upon presenting some aspects of my findings. My supervisor and TAP members also provided feedback on the findings to check credibility. According to Patton (1990, p.14), the researcher is the instrument in qualitative research. Therefore, the credibility of qualitative methods relies to a greater extent on the competences, skills as well as rigor of the researcher conducting the investigation. This is evident in the categories and metaphors I have used in the analysis to explain concepts raised as well as the cross referral of similar or antagonistic sections to enhance criticality.

According to Silverman (2003, p.290-1), respondent validation (or credibility) refers to the act of taking findings to research participants to verify the findings. It is argued that qualitative inquiries attain much higher validity (or credibility) than quantitative inquiries because in qualitative inquiries, the data are nearer to the research field and respondents' views and opinions are considered closer to reality which permits successful expansion of data; than in quantitative inquiries (Lemnek, 1988, p.154-159). Other than verifying findings through triangulation, the following ways were used to enhance credibility. Thus: searching for disconfirming evidence of themes raised from interviews and literature that is searching alternative explanations, being involved in reflexivity; collaboration/request for feedback from supervisor and peers. Due to the fact that findings of the pre-pilot, pilot (transformed into main study), and main study were similar, it shows that the data obtained across contexts (Malawi and Cameroon) and at different time intervals were credible and authentic.

Bias in general was overcome with the aid of a friend who critically questioned my analysis. Reflexivity was also employed in recognizing elements of bias while being an integral aspect in data analysis. With respect to data analysis, bias was overcome by dual note taking whereby the initial aspect of the analysis was entirely done descriptively based on quotations from interviewees; while in the later part of the analysis,

tentative categories and theories raised in chapter three were used to boost criticality of the descriptive analysis. Both stages guided my reflections and arguments raised in the analysis hence avoiding bias.

The issue of transferability of findings was also important. Findings from the pre-pilot study though conducted from an African standpoint (using Malawi as an example in most cases) were similar in many ways to emerging findings (transformed into main findings) conducted in Cameroon. These as well had many similarities with findings of the main study conducted in Cameroon. Some interviewees also constantly used the words ‘Africa’, ‘Africans’ or ‘Cameroon’, ‘Cameroonians’ interchangeably to mean the same thing³⁰. Based on these assertions, findings obtained in Cameroonian universities can be transferred, related or used to provide better insight across universities in the CEMAC region and to an extent Africa. The above assertions provided strong claims for ensuring transferability. Next, I conclude the entire chapter.

4.16 Conclusion

The chapter presented an exploration and provided reasons for the methodological approach used in the study. The chapter began by discussing the area of the study; research design; and rationale for the study (in terms of research strategy and structure; and philosophical commitments comprising of positional statement and epistemological viewpoint of the study). It also presented lessons learnt from the pilot study. The population/sample of the study were presented too. Sampling techniques; instrument/method for data collection such as interviews and focus group discussions were also discussed. I also presented how administered the instrument and some information on how I dealt with fieldwork conducts. I also presented various ethical principles I employed in the course of data collection. Information on how I transcribed data, analysed data and reported data were also presented. Information about the credibility, trustworthiness, bias and transferability of findings were also discussed. Having concluded this section, I now move to discussing research findings geared at answering the research questions. In line with this I now tend my attention to addressing RQ1 by analyzing harmonization in Cameroonian HE – a perceived prelude to policy borrowing – according to perceptions of key HE stakeholders.

³⁰ This explains why in section 1.6, under assumption of the study, I mentioned that ‘Africa’ and ‘Cameroon’ have same meaning - and these terms have been used interchangeably in the thesis.

Chapter Five

Analysing harmonisation in Cameroonian HE – a perceived prelude to policy borrowing according to perceptions of key HE stakeholders

5.1 Introduction

I argue that the complex interplay of harmonization, policy borrowing and the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP has formed what I describe as the ‘educational homologous series’. Just like in organic chemistry where a series of compounds with the same generic formula but which vary by a singular parameter and have same properties forms what is known as a homologous series (like the alkane group which has compounds like methane CH₄, ethane C₂H₆ and so on differ by the CH₂ group), the educational homologous series in contemporary HE I would say is a combination of harmonization (see chapters two and five), policy borrowing (see chapters three, five, six, seven and eight) and Bologna process/LMD/BMP action lines (see chapter two) but vary in terms of the derivative (or action line) used. This means the educational homologous series = harmonization + policy borrowing + Bologna Process/LMD/BMP + derivatives (e.g degree recognition). To explain what this means, one cannot talk of the degree recognition derivative for instance without thinking of how processes like harmonization and policy borrowing as well as how policies like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP have shaped this. This is same for the other derivatives such as employability, mobility, credit transferability among others.

In sections 1.3 and 2.3, I argued that in Cameroon, though some research into harmonization of educational systems have been carried out (e.g. Fonkeng, 2007; & Ngalim, 2014) there remains little substantial research on the harmonization of Cameroonian HE in an age of new reforms like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP from either a national, regional or global standpoint. Accordingly, in this chapter, I address in detail the conceptual/analytical framework of the harmonization process across international, regional and national contexts in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reforms to illustrate further how these concepts have contributed to policy borrowing through its transnational effect. In other words, I have addressed RQ1 which is ‘How does harmonization integrate Cameroonian HE internationally, regionally and nationally?’ Though interviewees have raised several conceptualizations of harmonization across these contexts, for the sake of precision and space, I have specifically limited my analysis to conceptualizations based on the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform as this has been identified as the main borrowed policy in Cameroonian HE in this thesis.

I would say that the cross-border movement of educational policy like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform (which has led to the harmonization of HE systems across contexts) is an indication of policy

borrowing which Phillips and Ochs (2004) described as ‘cross-national attraction’. In other words, as a major finding, the chapter highlights harmonization to be a prelude or backbone or catalyst to policy borrowing. I would argue that, like policy borrowing (see chapters three and six, seven and eight), harmonization is a multifaceted concept which means it is open to various interpretations. This brings us to three levels of harmonization based on context namely macro-harmonization, meso-harmonization, and micro-harmonization depicting harmonization from an international, regional and national standpoints respectively. In this regard, I argue harmonization is not only a ‘policy’ but a ‘process’.

As another major finding, based on the analysis raised on problems encountered/inhibiting factors impeding the harmonization of Cameroonian universities from a macro, meso and micro levels, despite “harmonization”, the Cameroonian HE system is still heterogeneous across these contexts – though there exists elements of policy borrowing. This means macro, meso and micro “harmonization” of Cameroonian HE seems to be more of an assertion than a reality – but policy borrowing exists. I also argue that the discussions reveal a very wide range of takes on harmonization at different levels and in relation to the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform with considerable confusion among interviewees. I say so because in many cases interviewees could discuss the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP as well as international/regional/national differences on harmonization, but without much of an idea of why harmonization (across contexts) have been introduced or how this might help the Cameroonian HE system.

Having said this, in the subsequent sections/subsections, I have provided findings based on interviewees’ perceptions/conceptualizations of harmonization starting from macro-harmonization (international) to meso-harmonization (regional) and finally micro-harmonization (national) to illustrate the transnational effect of harmonization (using the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP) on policy borrowing. The chapter ends with a comprehensive conclusion.

5.2 Analysing macro-harmonization via the lens of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform – ‘the starter’ of policy borrowing

As stated above, macro-harmonization is the harmonization of educational systems from an international standpoint. Specifically, it relates to how harmonization integrates Cameroonian HE internationally particularly with the onset of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform, thereby unveiling the roots of policy borrowing through this transnational effect. I call it ‘the starter’ of policy borrowing because based on the subsequent evidence, macro-harmonization (consisting of many HE systems across the world) is perceived to be the starting point of policy borrowing. In section 3.5, for instance I mentioned that the creation of Europe’s Higher Education Area was intended to harmonise the architecture of the European HE system triggered by the Sorbonne Declaration of 1998 and ratified one year later in the Bologna Declaration

(Bologna Declaration, 1999) in other to prevent a “Europe of Bits and Pieces” (Majone, 2014, p.6); which I argue has been transferred to preventing an Africa/CEMAC and Cameroon of ‘bits and pieces’.

Having said this, it is imperative now to introduce what interviewees’ think/perceive/conceptualize macro-harmonization to be geared at answering RQ1. A majority of the sample population comprising of MINESUP, Commonwealth, AUF, public and private university officials and state lecturers, agree that harmonization integrates Cameroonian HE globally (macro-harmonization) though they argue these differently discussed below. In brief, these interviewees perceived that macro-harmonization is caused by three main factors. These include: the ‘internationalization effect’; the creation of an internationally harmonized HE space; and the adoption of an international policy framework for HE (BMP). There are also two main problems encountered which have potentials for serving as inhibiting factors to macro-harmonization namely internationalization issues; and the lack of a sense of “Africanism”. I have presented these problems using continuous numbering below to group similar macro-harmonization ideas together, while signposting these problems to enhance criticality/clarity and avoid confusion. I now present the internationalization effect of macro-harmonization.

5.2.1 The “internationalization effect”

According to some interviewees, one of the ways harmonization integrates Cameroonian HE internationally (macro-harmonization) is through what I describe as the “internationalization effect”. Mohamedbhai (2013, p.21) affirmed that harmonization, also known as ‘Cross Border Higher Education (CBHE)’ is a typical effect of internationalization in African HE; which arises from unfulfilled demands of African HE which have triggered HEIs particularly from the North to establish Cross Border Higher Education Institutions (section 2.3.1). I would add that macro-harmonization in this context relative to internationalization has been perceived differently. According to some public university officials, MINESUP, Commonwealth and AUF officials, the idea that Cameroon is a signatory state to many international conventions, reforming its universities through the BMP is geared at integrating these universities with those of international/global standards. In line with this, an interviewee remarked that: “In fact, the academic administrations of the universities in Cameroon as part of the reforms have opted for the BMP system to harmonize academic systems and to align with international standards.” (AUF Official:2015). The quotation highlights that internationalization is an individualistic university-driven idea. This means HE internationalization is a global agenda which compels individual universities to be part of.

I would also say that the quest for educational standards has always been the brain-child of international organizations like UNESCO, the World Bank (among many aid donors including AUF) and this is evident

in the roles they have played in the adoption/implementation of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reforms across international educational contexts in terms of: providing expertise during seminars/workshops to train individuals on what these reforms are and how to implement them (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012); aiding Bologna Process/LMD/BMP policy governance in Africa (Mohamedbhai, 2013) and Europe (Crosier & Parveva, 2013); among other roles – with the aim of aiding the modernization and development of educational systems across the globe (Matunhu, 2011) – thus reinforcing macro-harmonization. Therefore, from the above perspective, I would argue that macro-harmonization of HE systems (via internationalization) aided by the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform is a tool used in obtaining international standards. Some interviewees, particularly MINESUP officials only agreed on the role of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform in enhancing macro-harmonization/internationalization but went further to explain how this is beneficial in terms of credit transferability and student/staff mobility. Thus:

...one of the new policies in Cameroon is that of internationalization. There is a move to internationalize higher education, by making it possible for there to be transfer of credits, student mobility, lecturer mobility, and all of that....To internationalize, we have to adopt international norms and best practices... (MINESUP Official-F:2015).

I would say that since the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reforms (Bologna Declaration, 1999; MINESUP 2007 & 2010b) have credit transferability, student and staff mobility among other action lines (see section 2.4) making it synonymous to the quotation above, it can be deduced that the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform is a novel policy for internationalization and macro-harmonization. It is also interesting to note that some private university officials particularly perceived macro-harmonization via internationalization in light of the supposed desire for Cameroonian youths to travel and live abroad. Thus:

...To tell you the truth, many of our young men want to go to France, UK and all that. So, if we do not tie up with what they are doing, they will not have this opportunity. So, I think the stimulus came from all of these needs to conform, to meet up with the new international standards in education. (University Official-B;CCU:2015).

Phillips and Ochs (2003 & 2004) in the policy borrowing framework described this practice (for instance outward mobility) as an ‘impulse’ which drive individuals to get attracted to other nations also known as ‘cross-national attraction’. However, I would argue there seems to be more to outward mobility than being a mere impulse. According to Doh (2012), there has always been academic mobility from Africa to Europe due to colonial ties and the Bologna Process has extended such mobility to a global dimension. I would argue this means macro-harmonization through the lens of internationalization and the advent of the

Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform is a postcolonial effect. While some authors argue that this may lead to brain drain (Ndulu, 2004), Jowi (2011) conversely opined that there are many things Africa stands to benefit from internationalization including the enrichment of learning experiences; the enhancement of cultural diversity in terms of learning new ways of doing things; the promotion of mobility opportunities - and much more; which are all enhanced by Europe's Erasmus Mundus mobility programmes³¹.

From the quotations above, it can be deduced that interviewees differed in their perceptions of the "internationalization effect" on macro-harmonization. While some MINESUP officials perceived that internationalization is a policy that enhances staff/student mobility, credit transferability and sharing of best practices; some AUF officials consider internationalization as an institutional university drive to promote international standards; while public university officials consider internationalization to be propelled by globalization and to satisfy the crave of Cameroonian youths who desire travelling and benefitting from opportunities found abroad. I would say these divergent views depict the depth/scope of what internationalization is in the context of Cameroonian HE.

Furthermore, I would say that three main insights into macro-harmonization (or the manner in which harmonization integrates Cameroonian HE internationally) via the "internationalization effect" can be deduced. One of such insights is that macro-harmonization via internationalization in the wake of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform serve as a tool for international HE development. Another insight, is that the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform is a novel policy for internationalization and macro-harmonization. Lastly, macro-harmonization through the lens of internationalization and the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform is rooted in post-colonialism. All in all, I would argue that HEIs found in different regions and nations across the world where the Bologna Process/LMD has been adopted/implemented could be termed 'Bologna Process/LMD branch campuses or satellite schools' as these institutions have the potentials of reinforcing internationalization characterized by student/staff mobility, sameness of programmes offered and much more. In line with this argument, I would say Cameroonian HEIs can be perceived as 'Bologna Process/LMD branch campuses or satellite schools'. The next subsection presents the perception of the creation of an internationally harmonized space as having triggered macro-harmonization.

5.2.2 The creation of an internationally harmonized HE space

Based on data analysis, it is interesting to note that the creation of an internationally harmonized HE space

³¹ Also see more shortcomings of internationalization effect in section 5.2.4.

has been the perception of some MINESUP officials only – considered as one of the reasons governing the adoption of the Bologna Process/BMP/LMD reforms in Cameroon geared at harmonizing its HE system with other HE systems internationally while depicting policy borrowing. A MINESUP official opined that:

Higher education is a social and economic sector like any other sector of the economy which is good to harmonize. ... we have same problems like Europe who were interested to create a European space that's why we were inspired by Europe...It's hard to build a common economic space without harmonization.... (MINESUP Official-C:2015).

I would argue the creation of an economic space to enhance trade, free movements of people and much more has been facilitated by the creation of an international HE space for all triggered by Europe's Bologna Process; and it is through this transnational effect that Cameroonian HE gets harmonized with other universities internationally. In line with this argument, it was a political decision by ministers of European HE to create a European Higher Education Space (EHEA) initiated in the Sorbonne Declaration (Sorbonne Declaration, 1998) and finally effected a year later (Bologna Declaration, 1999) to solve problems plaguing Europe in terms of rising unemployment, poor global reputation among others (Voegtler, Knill & Dobbins, 2011, p.77 & 78), and to enhance a competitive Europe (Cippitani, & Gatt, 2009). However, it was announced in the Berlin Conference that there was need to include other member states in the Bologna Process and not limit the process just to European member states (Berlin Communiqué, 2003) – thus giving birth to an international space for HE. The creation of such international space for HE through the inclusion of late adopters and non-signatories to the European Convention is what Zgaga (2006) described as the 'external dimension' of the Bologna Process. According to the European Student Union (ESU, 2014, p.2&3), without attaining a minimum standard for integration and commitment pertaining to the Bologna Process, it will be difficult to achieve a comprehensive functioning of the European Higher Education Area; and likewise other 'Higher Education Areas' found in other global regions – thus stressing on the need to create an international space for HE. In Africa, Mohamedhai (2013) added that the creation of AHERS (African Higher Education and Research Space) which is similar to the EHEA has been accelerated by a 'space race' – thus leading to macro-harmonization. (Also see CEMAC space for HE under meso-harmonization or regional harmonization below). To conclude, I would argue that without a common international space for HE, it would be hard to achieve macro-harmonization of HE systems. Having said these, the next perception deals with the adoption of an international policy framework for HE.

5.2.3 The adoption of an “international policy framework” for HE: Bologna Process/LMD/BMP

The adoption of an international policy framework for HE such as the LMD/BMP which is known to have originated from Europe’s Bologna Process (Mohamedbhai, 2013) is perceived by interviewees to be one of the ways harmonization integrates Cameroonian HE internationally (macro-harmonization). This explains why Olds and Robertson (2014) recounted that whether for good or for bad, the Bologna Process has accelerated subsequent ‘echoes’ (using Zgaga’s terminology) in the HE landscape of other regions of the world. In line with this, WENR (2007) added that the Bologna Process has encouraged more North-South linkages between European and African universities (WENR, 2007). From these evidence, I would say that the Bologna Process is a new international policy for HE.

According to some private university officials, the quest to adopt an international policy like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform is based on the dependency on the European reform to enhance lifelong learning among students to permit them transfer their credits. An interviewee specifically said ‘Europeans wanted to harmonize their degree structure and as they did, we who equally depend a lot on them as far as higher education is concerned had it extended to non-Europeans who adopted the BMP; Bachelors-Masters-PhD.....’ (University Official-A;BUST:2015). According to dependency theory, the core (wealthy nations like Europe) are known to exert influence (using the Bologna Process) over the peripheries (poor nations like Cameroon) in every sphere of life, education inclusive (Piana, 2004). From a colonial/post-colonial perspective, Takayama, Sriprakash and Connell (2017) citing Kandel (1932, p.v & p.xiii) noted that the education of indigenous people in colonial dependencies (like Cameroon) is beginning to receive attention to a degree never manifested before’; as ‘the civilized world (Europe) is gradually extending its boundaries and the significance of educating vast millions of people who have hitherto been isolated and content with their own customs, traditions, and occupations is being realized’ (p.xiii) – using the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reforms; thus making the Bologna Process from a macro-harmonization standpoint to depict what I term neocolonial/post-colonial dependency. I would say neocolonial or post-colonial dependency is dependency created as a result of neocolonial or postcolonial ties ex-colonies share with ex-imperialists.

According to some public university officials, AUF and MINESUP officials, macro-harmonization via the adoption of an international policy framework for HE (BMP), has been triggered by globalization wherein Cameroon is perceived to have a more connected than an isolated educational system as it is dangerous for a given nation’s higher education institutions (HEIs) to be isolated and not being part of the global knowledge society to ensure belongingness. Some officials said:

It was a kind of global thing which came in as the Bologna system....I think it was accepted in Cameroon and in some other developing countries as a result of trying to harmonize the system we have with those from other areas from where it came. (University Official-E;UB:2015).

Well, we've had a more connected not isolated educational system. It's dangerous for a country's higher education institutions to be isolated and not being part of the global knowledge sharing. It also ensures belongingness of what happens elsewhere. It aids individuals share same visions through their connections So, inequalities in knowledge are reduced. (MINESUP Official-C:2015).

According to Verger, Novelli & Altinyelken (2012, p.13) nowadays, a common set of 'education policy jargon' and same educational reforms tend to be applicable across many areas of the globe even across areas that are incredibly diverse in terms of economic and cultural development otherwise known as 'Global Educational Policies' (GEP) - with the Bologna Process in higher education being a typical example of a global HE policy – leading to institutional isomorphism and convergence (Drezner, 2001). I would argue that whilst a glaring example of macro-harmonization is the adoption of an international policy framework like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP among other policies; as well as the adoption of international practices like common degree structures (Eta & Vubo, 2016); or international programmes like the Tuning programme (Mohamedbhai, 2013) to be applied across contexts, neocolonial dependency and globalization have had a great role to play in ex-colonies like Cameroon.

The quotations above depict areas of convergence and divergence in participants' perceptions. While private university officials perceive macro-harmonization relative to the adoption of an international policy framework for HE (Bologna Process/LMD/BMP) in terms of dependency on European HE geared at harmonizing degree structures; both public university officials and MINESUP officials perceived this in terms of globalization. However, MINESUP officials went further to argue that the drive for adopting an international policy framework triggered by globalization is explained by the fact that educational systems (Cameroonian HE inclusive) cannot work in isolation, as working with other HEIs across the globe aided by harmonization ensures a sense of belongingness as well as reduced knowledge inequalities. I would say, globalization is a strong force behind the adoption of international policies which in today's global HE systems is the Bologna Process.

Though there are positive perceptions of macro-harmonization (or how harmonization integrates Cameroonian HE internationally), findings also portray that, there are also two main problems encountered which have potentials for serving as inhibiting factors to macro-harmonization such as internationalization

issues; and the lack of a sense of “Africanism”. I have presented ‘these problems’ using continuous numbering as mentioned above to group macro-harmonization ideas together, while signposting these problems to enhance criticality/clarity and avoid undue confusion. I now present issues with internationalization.

5.2.4 Internationalization issues

According to some MINESUP and public university officials, issues surrounding internationalization owing to the lack of educational resources in Cameroonian universities with potentials of affecting university ranking and accreditation is one of the biggest challenges. In line with this, an official said,

if you take the policy of internationalization, which is being facilitated using the LMD system, you’ll find out that there are lots of problems. One, the LMD needs some basic structures and requirements including pedagogic materials which are not available in Cameroon... I find this a big problem. (MINESUP Official-F:2015).

Albatch and Knight (2007, p.303) affirmed that internationalization has been plagued by several uncertainties including the cost of study, expanding domestic capacity among other concerns (see section 2.3.1). A MINESUP official claimed that internationalization of Cameroonian HE faces problems that tie with concerns with standards thus “The whole world is not standard...” (MINESUP Official-D:2015); which I would say indicate that since the world is not standard, universities too are not of same standards and this affects not only comparability but the extent to which internationalization is felt across countries including Cameroon. Another official raised the concern of university rankings (accreditation); thus “.... Cameroonian universities are not yet being rated internationally...I think there is a big difference....” (MINESUP Official-F:2015). In line with these Mohamedbhai (2013, p.22) agreed that ‘Global University Rankings’ is a negative effect of internationalization for African HE as university rankings are usually highly biased in favour of research which is a major limitation in African HEIs (Cameroonian HEIs inclusive).

However, to some public university officials, the problem with internationalization in African HE (Cameroon inclusive) has been that of brain drain. An official recounted that:

One of the things about the Bologna Process is that it is a new strategy to drain the poor nations from manpower to the extent that Europeans have had many programmes aimed at encouraging African scholars to go over there in the name of internationalization or through the mobility of students....Europeans are thinking about ways of pulling.... (University Official-A, UB:2015).

In line with the above quotation, Shewa (2008, p.27) described brain drain as ‘European gain’ but ‘Africa’s development demise’. From the analysis above, one can deduce that macro-harmonization is/can be plagued by concerns with internationalization. However, those who agreed on this claim perceived this differently. While MINESUP officials, perceived internationalization as a problem with respect to lack of resources in local national HEIs, concerns with standards, and concerns with ranking/accreditation, public university officials perceived internationalization as a problem in terms of brain drain. This means internationalization can be hindered by many concerns. The next macro-harmonization concern is what I describe as the lack of a sense of “Africanism”.

5.2.5 Lack of a sense of “Africanism”

The lack of a sense of “Africanism” is what I define as a situation where Cameroonians and Africans desire and/or prefer to adopt western styled educational policies, practices, products and models over their local African educational policies, practices, products and models which mark their identity. Analysis detail that this is one of the problems plaguing Cameroonian HE in the onset of macro-harmonization. According to Croché and Charlier (2012), the LMD in French-speaking Africa (Cameroon inclusive) was inspired by France and other European countries, which MacGregor (2008) criticized is linked to ex-colonial ties. Teichler in Muche (2005, p.116) and Zgaga (2006, p.14) also criticized that, many spectators have noted that much attention in the Bologna Process have been paid to ‘intra-European’ affairs as the long list of objectives to be chased in all the activities typically focus on creating a ‘European Higher Education and Research Area’; while connections to the wider world (Africa/Cameroon inclusive) remain a singular item among these lists thus posing questions if the Bologna Process is typically Euro-centric or if students in other parts of the world constitute the ‘forgotten half’ (see section 2.3.1). In line with this, recall in section 2.3.1, I argue that the Bologna Process which is a pan-European initiative that ought to entirely address European affairs seems to be a problem for Africa given that Europe for a long time since colonial rule has been perceived to be the cradle of global knowledge and civilization (Shizha, 2006) – meaning it is evident that what goes on in European HE systems would definitely impact on other global HE systems particularly Africa/Cameroon. In this case, the lack of considering other contextual realities like Africa in the external dimension of the Bologna Process and/or establishing guidelines to aid non-European signatories like Africa to implement this reform pose serious problems for Africa at large and Cameroon in particular. Therefore, one can easily conclude that there is a lack of a sense of “Africanism” in the development of the Bologna Process. I would also argue this portrays a new form of unidirectional flow of Euro-centric policy leading to disguise dominance and re-colonialisation of continental Africa (Cameroon inclusive). Analysis portray that private university officials and MINESUP officials take the lead in assessing this concern from a postcolonial perspective but in different ways. According to an official,

Most Africans think that they will become like Europe whereas it is not possible. If they want to be like them, they have to make same policies....We have never tried to see if we can become more and more African by affiliating with African Universities. We are just fighting to become American or European,... (University Official-G;BUST:2015).

I would argue this is a problem depicting brainwash caused by European superiority and African inferiority complex (Shizha, 2006) as it is commonly perceived in Africa that everything that comes from the west is the best while undermining whatever comes from Africa³². To back this up, an interviewee said “Considering that European education is considered superior to the African system of education, it will be of advantage to hook up with them by associating with them. This will enable us to draw examples from them.” (MINESUP Official-H:2015). Although this quotation sounds like an impulse to internationalisation, it at the same time presents a lack of a sense of Africanism. Some authors consider this concern not in terms of superiority versus inferiority complex but in terms of mimicry. According to Sawant (2011, p.6), mimicry is the blind imitation of western cultural lifestyles, literature and ideology by natives without knowledge of how this leads to the natives’ cultural and identity destruction. Mouton (2008) added that most African nations have the propensity to uncritically and slavishly imitate innovative, technological and scientific policy paradigms and approaches from abroad. The above problem according to Hountondji (1997), is explained by European colonial enlargement through the establishment of the intellectual breakdown of knowledge among worldwide peripheries while serving as ‘data mines’ of knowledge/theory development within the global North - and South.

Some participants perceive that the negligence of regional harmonization structures in favour of global harmonization (macro-harmonization) is a problem depicting lack of a sense of “Africanism”. I quote “I ask myself why do we go for the BMP system that is a Eurocentric policy and not join CAMES which is an Afrocentric institution? We shun African institutions and we consume foreign stuffs” (University Official-A;UCAC:2015) – (For more on issues with CAMES see meso-harmonization section 5.3.6). Tsiwah (2014) explained that this is related to the policy of assimilation which was used during colonial days to control West Africa (Cameroon inclusive).

The quotations above depict that all the interviewees agree that the lack of the sense of “Africanism” is rooted in post-colonialism. However, they considered this from different angles. Private university officials on their part perceive that the lack of a sense of “Africanism” which is a post-colonial effect is caused by the inability for Cameroonian HE to associate more with African/CEMAC sub-regional structures like

³² See more on superiority versus inferiority complex in chapter 8.

CAMES but desire to consume Euro-centric policies; as well as the perceived desire for Africans (Cameroonians inclusive) to become like Europeans which I would say is a form of brainwash. On the other hand, MINESUP officials had a different perception by considering the lack of a sense of “Africanism” which is a post-colonial effect in terms of the superiority of European education over African (Cameroonian HE). Furthermore, from the analysis above, I would say that post-colonialism via superiority/inferiority complex, mimicry and rise of Euro-centric knowledge across the globe all sum up to illustrate problems of macro-harmonization. I now present the conclusion of the section.

5.2.6 Conclusion

The contemporary macro-harmonization of HE (or the integration of Cameroonian HE systems with those found internationally) can be traced to the Sorbonne Declaration of 1998 to prevent not only a “Europe of Bits and Pieces” as propounded by Majone (2014) but has had a transnational effect in what I would describe as the prevention of an international/global HE system of bits and pieces - using Cameroonian HE as an example for illustration. Macro-harmonization is described as ‘the starter of policy borrowing’ as based on the evidence provided, it is perceived to be what drives or starts policy borrowing. Analysis portrays that macro-harmonization is caused by three main variables viz the ‘internationalization effect’; the creation of an internationally harmonized HE space; and the adoption of an international policy framework for HE (Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform). Though the creation of an international space for HE is mostly a political concept (Sorbonne Declaration, 1998), I argue that without a common international space for HE, it would be hard to achieve macro-harmonization of HE systems thus limiting the onset of policy borrowing at a macro-level. Internationalization, also known as ‘Cross Border Higher Education – CBHE’ (Mohamedbhai, 2013) has been revealed to have three main insights into macro-harmonization (or the harmonization of Cameroonian HE internationally). One of such insights is that macro-harmonization via internationalization in the wake of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform serve as a tool for international HE development. Another insight, is that the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform is a novel policy for internationalization and macro-harmonization. Lastly, macro-harmonization through the lens of internationalization and the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform is rooted in post-colonialism. Analysis also revealed that the creation of an international space for HE (leading to macro-harmonization) by adding non-signatories to the European Convention (like CEMAC region/Cameroon) is what Zgaga (2006) described as the ‘external dimension’ of the Bologna Process. However, analysis also revealed two main macro-harmonization concerns viz internationalization issues; and the lack of a sense of “Africanism” which prevent and/or have potentials for preventing macro-harmonization initiatives. According to Albatch and Knight (2007, p.303) while internationalization has been plagued by several uncertainties including the cost of study, among other concerns (see section 2.3.1); the lack of a sense of ‘Africanism’ according to

Teichler in Muche (2005, p.116) and Zgaga (2006, p.14), is caused by too much attention paid to ‘intra-European’ affairs of the Bologna Process, while connections with the wider world like Africa/Cameroon remain as a single item among its lists which pose questions as to whether the Bologna Process is entirely Euro-centric or if students across the world make up the ‘forgotten half’ (see section 2.3.1). Deductively, I have argued that from a theoretical standpoint, there is a strong relationship among theories of dominance, modernization, decision-making; and particularly colonial/postcolonial theory in determining the ease and extent to which macro-harmonization (or harmonization of Cameroonian HE internationally) can take place. However, as seen in the introduction, the presentation of macro-harmonization ideas as positive perceptions and at same time problems depict confusion on what this means to Cameroonian HE stakeholders. I now divert my focus on meso-harmonization.

5.3 Analysing meso-harmonization via the lens of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform – ‘the accelerator’ of policy borrowing

As indicated in the main introduction above, meso-harmonization is harmonization of educational systems from a regional standpoint. Specifically, it analyses how harmonization integrates Cameroonian HE regionally particularly with the onset of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform, thereby reinforcing the spread of policy borrowing through this transnational effect. I call it ‘the accelerator’ of policy borrowing because, meso-harmonization is perceived to accelerate policy borrowing based on the subsequent evidence provided below - from international to regional/subregional contexts (where regional HE systems get involved in the harmonization process based on the impact of global/macro-harmonization processes). From a postcolonial theoretical perspective (section 3.6), according to Woldegiorgis (2017, p.189) historical ties between Europe and Africa has made the impact of European policy initiatives to become seemingly noticeable than those coming from elsewhere within the African context particularly in terms of education which means modern African HE is a product of intervention from Europe – thus aiding the development of meso-harmonization by tapping into macro-harmonization (Europe) – a transnational effect of policy borrowing.

It is also imperative to now introduce what interviewees’ think/perceive/conceptualize meso-harmonization to be geared at answering RQ1. My sample population comprising of MINESUP, Commonwealth, public and private university officials and state lecturers agree that harmonization integrates Cameroonian HE regionally (meso-harmonization) though they understand these differently, as discussed below. In brief, these interviewees perceived that meso-harmonization is: a tool for regional integration; an instrument to cement political relationships through regional HEIs; the creation of CEMAC regional space for HE; and the adoption of a regional policy framework for HE (Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform). Findings also

portray that there are some problems encountered which have potentials of inhibiting meso-harmonization including regional harmonization controversy – a reality versus myth; and incomplete loyalty to the CAMES regional structure. I have presented ‘these problems’ using continuous numbering below to group similar meso-harmonization ideas together. I now present the conceptualization based on the enhancement of regional integration.

5.3.1 Enhancement of regional integration

One of the ways meso-harmonization in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform provides evidence of policy borrowing according to interviewees is the enhancement of regional integration. This view has been perceived by some commonwealth and public university officials. According to an interviewee,

CEMAC basically is a regional group. So, there must be some similarities because most of the countries in CEMAC region are French-speaking, Cameroon inclusive. That’s why you find some students leaving here to study in Chad [and] Equatorial Guinea to have their degrees, because there are some similarities in the systems of education. Yes, they have commonalities. (Commonwealth Official-A:2015).

I would argue the above quotation underlines that meso-harmonization within the CEMAC region has been facilitated by a common colonial heritage (France) which has positively affected the common culture of the French language spoken by these ex-colonies (CEMAC signatories) – hence facilitating integration. France among other European nations are the main promoters of the LMD reform in French-speaking Africa (Croché & Charlier, 2012) of which CEMAC/Cameroon are part of hence facilitating regional integration (meso-harmonization) through the HE system. While WENR (2007) - see section 3.6 - noted that the acquisition of a common language (culture) from historical ties among nations facilitate integration; I would argue culture in accordance to common languages among nations is a fundamental ‘impulse’ for policy borrowing to occur though this has been ignored by Phillips and Ochs’ policy borrowing framework (2003 & 2004).

However, the view of meso-harmonization facilitated by regional integration in accordance to postcolonial effect has been contradicted by some public university officials as they perceive this in terms of the functional elements of meso-harmonization triggered by the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform in terms of professionalization, student/staff mobility and credit transferability. An official recounted that:

There is the CEMAC! These are countries which are member states of the Central African region. Most of the states here are French and the Bologna Process for example was first adopted I think

by this body. The Bologna Process laid emphasis on professionalization, mobility of teachers and students, transfer of credits and relevance of higher education. I think this is the most current or ‘big’ reform or supposed to be reform within the African higher education environment ...CEMAC is doing the BMP. They have taken up the Bologna Process. That’s some common thing. (University Official-A; UB:2015).

I would argue such commonalities in terms of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP action lines are what also enhance convergence within the CEMAC region³³.

From the quotations above, it can be deduced that while the interviewees agree on meso-harmonization as being triggered by the enhancement of regional integration, however, their perceptions are different. While Commonwealth official(s) perceive meso-harmonization in the domain of regional integration primarily in terms of a common historical tie among CEMAC signatories aided by the French language, public university official(s) on their part consider this entirely in terms of the functional elements (action lines) of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP which has aided sub-regional integration among CEMAC signatories. To harness criticality of the perception on regional integration aiding meso-harmonization, recall Knight’s view (2013) that the Bologna Process has stimulated other sub-regions and regions around the world to seriously look at the modality and significance of creating a closer alignment of their higher education systems – hence the onset of regional integration, meso-harmonization and policy borrowing. Also recall on Zgaga’s (2006) notion of the ‘external dimension’ of the Bologna Process and its impact on other world regions/subregions. From the evidence provided, I would argue that meso-harmonization is thus enhanced via regional integration and aids in accelerating policy borrowing. Having said these, the next aspect discusses - cementing regional political ties.

5.3.2 Cementing political ties through regional HEIs

Another way in which meso-harmonization in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform an evidence of policy borrowing according to interviewees is building political ties through regional HEIs. According to MINESUP officials, public and private university officials, the establishment of political ties through regional HEIs and the adoption of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP has been facilitated by a political decision jointly adopted by CEMAC heads of states. An official said:

...if the heads of states didn’t adopt it, we would not have implemented it. The African constitution is a function of what the state brings in. The policy of the nation is defined by him/her with

³³ See Appendix II, on what policy convergence is.

instructions that others have to follow...You know international treaties are higher than constitutions and when adopted at that level, that international treaty compel states for example CEMAC to implement. (MINESUP Official-A:2015).

I argue the quotation above contradicts the views of many who hold that the Bologna Process was entirely universally desired as it illustrates that the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in local contexts like Cameroonian HE has been imposed - by CEMAC heads of states. Another official added, "...presidents of the CEMAC countries met and decided to adopt the BMP system ... Since it started with the presidents I will look at it as a political idea!" (University Official & Lecturer-I:UBa:2015). In line with these quotations, Melo (2016, p.49) remarked that the Bologna Process as a means of governing the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) since 1999 has successfully become a central point of reference in academic and political discourses on issues regarding the governing of a converged and transformed HE within and beyond continental Europe. To Eta (2015, p.169), Eta, Kallo and Rinne (2018), it was a political decision by CEMAC heads of states to adopt the LMD reform which compelled member states to implement in their home HEIs thus explaining the onset of this reform from a regional basis. I would argue that limiting this perception to heads of states only is misleading. Considering the transnational effect of harmonization aided by the Joint Africa-EU Strategy (JAES; EC, 2007, p.2) and the role played by ADEA-WGHE (Eta, 2015, p.169); and the Arusha Convention which delegated some of the roles of the AAU/AUC to sub-regional structures like CEMAC-CAMES (Ngarsou, 2008), and the role played by international aid donors like UNESCO (Mohamedbhai, 2013) and the World Bank (Maiava, 2002, p.1) in the adoption and implementation of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reforms across national contexts, one can conclude that the political decision to cement political ties via CEMAC regional HEIs was jointly made by top level HE stakeholders at different intervals coming from international, African/continental and CEMAC regional contexts hence a top-bottom policy initiative in Cameroonian HE – and a form of imposition/coercion on Cameroonian HEIs (Eta, 2015). In line with this, when I asked interviewees which individuals or organizations do Cameroonian HE administrators engage with in adopting HE policies coming from abroad like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP, an interviewee responded by saying that many international organizations are involved with foreign policy adoption in Cameroonian HE which also influence political decisions in HE policy-making illustrating a top-bottom approach. Thus:

...For instance the Association of Francophone Universities under La Francophonie with Cameroon participating in its debates; Commonwealth - in principle all our universities are members of the commonwealth; the World Bank has lots of influence in designing education in Africa....; UNESCO mainly supports morally by trying to have global agendas of some issues and in putting higher education within political agendas;... (MINESUP Official-C:2015).

The quotations depict that both MINESUP official(s) and public university official(s)/lecturer(s) agree that meso-harmonization is enhanced through cementing political ties using regional HEIs. However, MINESUP official(s) who at same time also occupy political positions are quite knowledgeable on many political HE stakeholders in Cameroon involved in meso-harmonization process than public university official(s)/lecturer(s). From the evidence provided, I would argue that meso-harmonization is enhanced through cementing political ties – a decision by top level HE stakeholders. Having said these, the next conceptualization is the creation of a CEMAC regional space for HE.

5.3.3 Creation of a CEMAC regional space for HE

Just like some interviewees argued in section 5.2.2 that macro-harmonization is perceived to be aided via the creation of an international space for HE, the claim on the creation of a HE space has also been advanced by some MINESUP interviewees only in favour of meso-harmonization particularly as it aids not only student mobility but solve problems in the CEMAC economy. According to an official,

In 2007, heads of states in West Africa met and harmonized the system of education ...It's hard to build a common economic space without harmonization. How can we build CEMAC without harmonization?...Higher education is a social and economic sector like any other sector of the economy which is good to harmonize....We have just been inspired by Europe to do same in CEMAC...we have same problems like Europe who are interested to create a European space... These are cosmetic things! What inspired us is the process they used in harmonizing that is to converge! (MINESUP Official-C:2015).

As seen in the literature, while the Prague Communiqué (2001) identified that the eligibility of the Bologna Process was still limited to nations that were opened to the 'European Community programmes Socrates and Leonardo da Vinci or Tempus-Cards' with a realization that this definition was too narrow (in terms of what should constitute the borders of the higher education space); the Berlin Communiqué (2003) was empowered to include non EU nations in the Bologna Process; with Africa and CEMAC region taking part – hence the extension of HE space from macro to meso - and at the same time accelerating policy borrowing. Eta (2018) also noted that the LMD was inspired by the Bologna Process; which has also triggered the need for the creation of a CEMAC regional space to enable staff and student mobility among other benefits. In section 3.5, I provided evidence on how the political decision to adopt the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform in Europe (Voegtler, Knill & Dobbins, 2011) and Africa (Croché & Charlier, 2012) was geared at solving problems in these societies.

I would argue since knowledge on harmonization via the creation of space as seen in section 5.2.2 and this section is a perception raised by MINESUP officials (who are representatives of the Cameroonian state in HE) the concept of space in macro and meso-harmonization in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reforms is indeed a sole political concern. I would argue a HE space be it at the macro or meso level therefore adds to the political ‘impulses’ of policy borrowing (Phillips & Ochs, 2003 & 2004). However, the creation of a HE space in Africa is also problematic. According to Mohamedbhai (2013, p.6) contemporary ‘higher education and research area or space in Africa’ severely suffers from many challenges including the existence of disparate HE systems like Arabophones, Lusophones, Francophones and Anglophones each having specificities within their educational systems originating from colonial past; and which has prevented student and staff mobility among African nations (CEMAC inclusive). Next, I present interviewees’ perception on the adoption of a regional policy framework of HE.

5.3.4 Adoption of a regional policy framework for HE: Bologna Process/LMD/BMP

While MINESUP officials only define meso-harmonisation in terms of the creation of a CEMAC regional HE space (see section 5.3.3 above), on the other hand public university officials only (this section 5.3.4) define meso-harmonization in terms of the adoption of a regional policy framework. However, these interviewees among other interviewees have jointly defined meso-harmonisation in different ways such as enhancing regional integration (section 5.3.1) and cementing political ties via regional HEIs (section 5.3.2) as seen above. It is worthy to recall that as LMD/BMP is to CEMAC/Cameroon, so too is the Bologna Process in Europe. These means the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP is one instance of a broader regionalizing impulse across these contexts. An interviewee recounted that “When the BMP system started, the idea was to harmonize the policies and educational structures in the CEMAC region..... So, it was a CEMAC region kind of re-arrangement....” (University Official&Lecturer-L;UBa:2015). In line with this, Clark (2014) noted that the evolution of the Bologna Process is a massive indication that this European project is an indisputable illustration of a regional-level reform which has also stimulated other regions and sub-regions around the globe to seriously consider the importance and modality of creating closer alignment of their higher education systems.

An interviewee also mentioned that “...as a CEMAC country, we also wanted this issue of transferability of credits. That’s why we embarked purely on the LMD system so that credits can easily be transferred ... thereby making things easier for the students themselves.” (University Official&Lecturer-D;UBa:2015). This quotation reveals that credit transferability (and diploma supplement - Voegtle, Knill & Dobbins, 2011, p.82-84) is vital for the enhancement of student mobility across regions in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. (For more information on credit transferability, see section 2.5.4). While the Bologna

Process is perceived as a new Global Education Policy (GEP - Verger, Novelli & Altinyelken, 2012) from a macro-harmonization standpoint (see section 5.2.3), I would argue the reform also serve as a new Regional Educational Policy (REP) for HE. Analysis also portray that there are two main problems encountered which have potentials for serving as inhibiting factors to meso-harmonization including regional harmonization controversy – a reality versus myth; and incomplete loyalty to the CAMES regional structure.

5.3.5 Regional harmonization controversy – more of a myth than reality

Despite the perceptions of some interviewees above which reveal that meso-harmonization is an aspect of how harmonization integrates Cameroonian HE at the regional level for instance the adoption of a CEMAC regional policy for HE – Bologna Process/LMD/BMP, (see section 5.3.4) among other perceptions (a reality), there are some interviewees who doubt the functioning of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE from a regional standpoint (a myth). In this section, to avoid unnecessary repetition of ideas raised in section 5.3.4, I present arguments in favour of the myth only (see 5.3.4 and this section to understand the whole controversy).

The myth concern has been raised by some MINESUP officials and public university officials. An interviewee for instance said “I know of the sub regional treaty to harmonize the system in Libreville. But I’ve never seen how concretely it works.” (MINESUP Official-G:2015). I would argue this doubt may possibly stem from the lack of achievement in completely harmonizing the national Cameroonian HE system as though the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform was instituted to harmonize the HE system (Doh, 2008), there still exists disparities in the two subsystems. For instance the French subsystem has still retained degrees like DEUG and Masters I and Masters II (of the pre-BMP/LMD system; Eta & Vubo, 2016) – which raise questions of whether there is really harmonization – as the Bologna Process recognizes only Bachelors-Masters-and PhD degrees (Bologna Declaration, 1999)³⁴. According to Fullan (2001) this may be as a result of the lack of change/reform knowledge (among these set of interviewees) regarding the onset of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform.

Furthermore, another interviewee raised that “In recent years, they talked about an LMD system or BMP system...But I doubt whether there is much change from policy and the programmes that were drawn and the real realization on the spot.” (University Official/Lecturer-L:UBa:2015). This suggests that the operationalization of the LMD/BMP in CEMAC is also but an assertion or myth not a reality. In other words, I would say the LMD/BMP is perceived as a policy on paper or a ‘white elephant’ project which is

³⁴ See more information on degree structure in section 2.5.3.

yet to be fully implemented. According to the Growth and Employment Strategy Paper (GESP) or Cameroon's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) 2010/2020 (IMF, 2010, p.21) regional integration issues within CEMAC pose challenges for Cameroon as the number one challenge has been the consolidation of the CEMAC sub-region aimed at taking total advantage of the signed treaties. I would say that the controversy between myth and reality negatively affects how people perceive the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP policy; how they go about implementing it; and how they evaluate it, hence a problem to meso-harmonization. The next issue discussed is the perception of impartial loyalty to the CAMES regional structure.

5.3.6 Incomplete loyalty to the CAMES regional structure

According to some interviewees comprising of MINESUP and public/private university officials one of the problems plaguing meso-harmonization is that of incomplete loyalty by Cameroonian HEIs/staff to the CAMES regional structure. According to some interviewees,

How many Cameroonian universities belong to CAMES? That is a problem because if we belong to CAMES then our teachers can move; that is teacher mobility is guaranteed because CAMES tries to harmonize and homologate the content that are taught in our universities. But most of our universities are not registered in CAMES. They have their independence and this independence does not seem to integrate them...(University Official-A;UCAC:2015).

Cameroon's bicultural heritage makes it not to be a full member of CAMES. ...Cameroon does not recognize accreditations from CAMES. The only thing that Cameroon shares with CAMES is the competitive examination to the rank of professors in Medicine, Economics and Law ...Cameroon is not a full member of CAMES but all the other CEMAC countries are members... (MINESUP Official-C:2015).

I don't really know anything about CAMES. So, I cannot talk on that. I am a member of CCAU. That's the promotion board for colleagues who want to change grade. I have never seen any CAMES decision or certificates here. (University Official-A;UB:2015).

As seen in the quotations above, the incomplete membership of CAMES has limited free staff mobility which is encouraged by the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform (quotation one); and though it encourages staff accreditation, cultural differences hinder complete membership (quotation two). Furthermore, since CAMES is not a well-known degree accreditation agency by some Cameroonian university staff, this make them question degrees issued by CAMES (quotation three) (including staff accredited degrees as seen in

quotation two). According to Yoshimatsu (2006, p.115) the problem with regional integration is ‘coordination games’ wherein players experience difficulties in realizing an agreement – such as in coordinating regional structures like CAMES. I would suggest there is need to pay complete loyalty to CAMES by Cameroonian HE stakeholders in order to join other regional member states to unanimously implement the LMD reform (as required by the Arusha Convention, AUC and AUU - Mohamedbhai, 2013 & ADEA, 2015) thereby stamping out confusion and other issues raised by loyalty concerns.

5.3.7 Conclusion

Meso-harmonization (the integration of Cameroonian HE within the CEMAC region via harmonization) has been variously conceptualized by interviewees. The concept of enhancing regional integration which has been accelerated by a common historical origin and language by signatories of the CEMAC convention (WENR, 2007) was raised. Furthermore, cementing political ties in enhancing meso-harmonization was also raised and affirmed by Eta, Kallo and Rinne (2017) who argued it was a political decision by CEMAC heads of states to adopt the LMD reform which compelled member states to implement in their home HEIs. In addition to the above, meso-harmonization was also perceived to be the creation of a CEMAC regional space for HE propelled by the Prague Communiqué (2001) and followed up by the Berlin Communiqué (2003) to include other regions across the globe in the process. Again, the adoption of a common regional policy for HE was perceived to aid meso-harmonization and this was supported by Clark (2014). Besides these perceptions, two main problems which have potentials of blocking meso-harmonization exists. The idea of ‘regional harmonization controversy – a reality versus myth’ was raised and according to Fullan (2001) this is partly caused by lack of understanding of change/reform knowledge that is knowledge on the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. Another problem raised was incomplete loyalty to the CAMES regional structure caused by ‘coordination games’ (Yoshimatsu, 2006, p.115). As seen in the introduction, I argue that the presentation of meso-harmonization ideas as positive perceptions and at same time problems depict confusion on what this means to Cameroonian HE stakeholders. Having concluded this section, I now turn my attention to micro-harmonization.

5.4 Analysing micro-harmonization via the lens of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform – ‘the take-off’ of policy borrowing

As seen in the main introduction above, micro-harmonization is harmonization of educational systems from a national standpoint. Specifically, it analyses how harmonization integrates Cameroonian HE from a national dimension particularly with the onset of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform, thereby unveiling the roots of policy borrowing through this transnational effect. Recall in the literature I mentioned that national harmonization has been imperative to merge the dual nature of the Cameroonian HE system viz

the French-speaking and Anglo-Saxon or English-speaking subsystems (Doh, 2008) to give it a common national outlook. I call micro-harmonization ‘the take-off’ of policy borrowing because based on the subsequent evidence, micro-harmonization is perceived to be the actual take-off stage of policy borrowing (or learning) from an entirely national contextual setting as it seems difficult for non-scholars of comparative education (interviewees in this case) to say that policy borrowing takes place across a wider context of educational systems without starting by analyzing what is going on in their own national context. I would also argue that the process of harmonization be it macro, meso and micro is an inter-related phenomena as each tend to affect the other.

Having said this, it is imperative now to introduce what interviewees’ think/perceive/conceptualize micro-harmonization to be geared at answering RQ1. A majority of the sample population comprising MINESUP, public and private university officials and state lecturers, perceived that harmonization integrates Cameroonian HE nationally (micro-harmonization) though they articulate this differently. In brief, these interviewees perceived that micro-harmonization is caused by two main variables that is the development of a national policy framework for HE (Bologna Process/LMD/BMP); and the reinforcement of national HE programmes.

There are also two main problems encountered with micro-harmonization which have potentials for serving as inhibiting factors. These include: harmonization versus the post-colonial effect on culture and political influence on harmonization. I argued in sections 1.3 and 2.3 and above (section 5.1) that no research into harmonization in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform specifically from a Cameroonian national standpoint has been done which makes the subsequent analysis relevant. Next, I present analysis on the development of a national policy framework for HE perceived to be an aspect of micro-harmonization.

5.4.1 The development of a “national policy framework” for HE: Bologna Process/LMD/BMP

In this section, I argue that the creation of a national policy for HE like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform is vital for micro-harmonization to occur illustrated by the following evidence. Such a policy is what I describe as a National Education Policy (NEP) for HE. According to some MINESUP and public university officials, national harmonization (micro-harmonization) of Cameroonian universities is perceived as the need to have just one type of higher education system and not the two sub-systems that existed in the past hence cost-effective to manage. An interview said:

The Ministry of Higher education is in charge of university education in Cameroon; and we cannot have the same universities run by the same body; one is running one system and another is running

another system. I think probably this is another reason for this reform – the BMP. (University Lecturer UB&UBa:2015).

From the quotation above, I would argue that given the political difficulties between the Francophone and Anglophone parts of Cameroon, one could see the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP as a handy compromise. This is because there seem to be no way that either side would accept the imposition of the other's system on them, but the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP potentially offers a 'third way' acceptable to both. According to the Cameroon Ministry of Higher Education (2010), Cameroonian universities are centrally governed or managed by the state. Therefore, there has been need to have a single type of HE system with the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform aiding this goal. An interviewee also said "...The BMP system which is Bachelors-Masters-PhD is the policy in higher education system we have in Cameroon today. In French, we call it LMD which is Licence-Master-Doctorat. There is only one higher educational system in Cameroon not two!!!..." (MINESUP Official-E:2015).

Furthermore, according to some interviewees, the adoption of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform is geared at transforming the French-system of HE into the English-system because French-style doctorate was of much longer duration which was not the case with the English-style doctorates prior to the adoption of the LMD/BMP. Thus:

....the biggest project that the government has put in place about seven years ago is the LMD. This is practically the transformation of the French-system into an English-system. Most French universities had a very long process towards a doctorate degree but they are now trying to implement the English system. (University Official-B;UCAC:2015).

Interviewees added that, there has been the need to upgrade the credit system in both subsystems too³⁵. Harmonizing both subsystems has been fundamental for national integration. An interviewee recounted that:

harmonization means that before harmonization, there was something else or things were done differently. People had the power to do things the way they wanted to do them. We come from two colonial legacies; "Anglo-Franco". So harmonization may be interpreted to mean that we don't think of ourselves as having those two traditions but we think about ourselves as being

³⁵ For more information on degree structure and credits, among other Bologna Process/LMD/BMP action lines – which constitute part of the 'educational homologous series', see chapter two.

Cameroonians....with the BMP in place (University Official-A;UB:2015).

To Pillay (2011, p.1), governments have used the Bologna Process to push national reforms in HE as it is perceived that HE plays a fundamental social role of enhancing national identity. The next perception which I have presented is national programme harmonization.

5.4.2 The reinforcement of national HE programmes

In this section, I argue that the institution of national or harmonized HE programme(s) is essential for micro-harmonization illustrated by the following evidences. According to Delpouve and Breillat (2010, p.1) the national harmonization of university programmes in Cameroon has been aided by what is known as Tuning programme titled '*Assise des programmes de universitaires Cameroun*' which have been introduced by the LMD which originated from the CEMAC signatory agreement of the CEMAC heads of states; the Arusha Convention; and Europe (see chapter two on harmonization). It is interesting to know interviewees had their own perceptions of this. According to some interviewees comprising of public and private university officials, MINESUP and Commonwealth officials, there has been the institution of some national HE programmes which integrate both the French and English design of programme hence producing what I describe as a 'new breed of courses/programmes'. An interview said:

There is that attempt to make sure that we harmonize things. They have instituted that in Law as a discipline. They are adopting the Common Law system now whereas it was the Civil Law that was practiced all over in the French system. But now, they are adopting the Common Law approach in adjudication and judicial process. So, that's a plus. (University Official-C;SMU:2015).

However, I would argue that the harmonization of university programmes particularly Law has faced devastating consequences. Recall in chapter three (section 3.6) I cited the University World News (2017) which reported that one of the main reasons for the 2016 strike action in Cameroon from a university standpoint has been the lack of translation of official documents which appear only in French with (limited or) no English translation including international documents like 'the Organization for the Harmonization of Business Law in Africa'. This means programme harmonization may only be in theory and not in practice. Away from this criticism, some interviewees also mentioned other programmes that have been harmonized. Thus:

We then realized that the main problems our graduates had was that of language. So, we wanted to do a joint programme where we will have Language and Journalism put together; and that is why

we proposed a programme of English with Journalism and Public Relation. (University Lecturer;UBa&UB:2015).

...we have harmonized training programmes like that of the medical training programme of October 2015..... (MINESUP Official-I:2015).

From the three quotations above, it can be deduced that there are seemingly three main harmonized HE programmes in contemporary Cameroon according to interviewees' perceptions that is Law, Medicine and integrated English-Journalism-Public Relations. According to Sun, Creemers and de Jong (2007, p.97) the main national educational planning document of any nation is the 'national curriculum' as it comprises of national goals; and presentation and delivery guidelines of the content; thus necessitating the need for national HE programmes in Cameroon. In line with this Eta (2017) remarked that the re-design of HE programmes in Cameroon is geared at enhancing professionalization and graduate employability (which are national goals). I would add that the harmonization of these training programmes is more inward looking aimed at addressing national concerns though to an extent also confirms with some essentials of Bologna Process/LMD's Tuning programmes. Next, I have presented problems encountered with micro-harmonization using continuous numbering below to group similar ideas together, while signposting these problems to enhance criticality/clarity and avoid undue confusion.

5.4.3 Harmonization versus the post-colonial effect on culture

In this section, I argue that the post-colonial effect on culture affects the harmonization of Cameroonian HE illustrated by the following evidence. According to lecturers, public and private university officials, and MINESUP officials, harmonization in Cameroonian HE faces lots of difficulties and internal conflicts due to the existence of various linguistic cultures which were inherited from colonial powers. In other words I would say this means that only those who work for international agencies do not articulate some views on post-colonialism which is an interesting but not a surprising finding. In line with this some interviewees recounted that:

Cameroon has a background of English and French. This feeling of being "Anglo" or "Franco" tend to play on what we get from outside. Someone might not accept something as very good because it has an English or American background especially the Francophones and they will also want to just copy any nonsense that comes from France. So, it falls back to attitudes and the way you too will look at the systems that are operating. Francophones will tend to think that anything that comes from France will be good and what comes from the English-speaking world would be false which should be attacked and destroyed even before it takes root in Cameroon. So, there is

this lack of openness on the part of those at the top and with the country being Francophone tends to downplay certain values that the English people hold in very high esteem or cherish much....There is this conflict!...Colonialism has influenced our minds....So, I would say that this is a big hindrance. (University Official&Lecturer-E;CCU:2015).

They talk of harmonization which of course is facing a lot of difficulties because people in the various linguistic cultures take their ground and think their own system is better and want to pursue just that....(University Lecturer-C, UBa:2015).

...we have different cultures and you cannot dissociate these cultures from the way we run higher education. That's why they say we are Anglo-Saxon, and they are more of what obtains in France. They are different! Those legacies are still haunting the way we organize higher education in this country. (University Official-A;UB:2015).

Based on the quotations above provided by English-speaking interviewees, I would say that if I had included native French-speaking interviewees in the sample, the finding/evidence provided would not have differed significantly in terms of the Francophone-Anglophone crises in Cameroon but I think where concerns regarding Francophone dominance of Anglophones would have been raised, there would have been a tendency for the latter to defend French Cameroonians by saying that Cameroon is a bilingual country with both subsystems having an 'equal status' which is not entirely true. From a postcolonial theoretical perspective, Shizha (2006, p.26) recounted that postcolonial education is still principally based on the imposition of educational structures like those during colonialism as present educational systems still promote the colonial legacy which continuously defines school knowledge as western rational science; thus posing heterogeneity rather than homogeneity. According to Awasom (2005) this is the case with the French and English HE structures in Cameroon which are colonial legacies³⁶. Furthermore, I would add that Cameroonian French HE system is trying to establish what I would term 'second generation Francophone assimilation of the Anglophone subsystem' using force, coercion and disregard of the latter as having equal status. In other words there is a generational inheritance from imperialists whereby Francophone Cameroon is trying to dominate Anglophone Cameroon within same country (Cameroon) by disregarding the place of micro (national) harmonization through the adoption of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP using policy borrowing. The next issue concerns the perception on negative political influence on harmonization.

³⁶ I would like readers to recall the 2016 strike action in Cameroon which is still ongoing spanning from such cultural malaise – a postcolonial crisis (see section 3.6; and chapter 8 for more information on post-colonialism in Cameroonian HE).

5.4.4 Negative political influence on harmonization

In this section, I argue that politics in Cameroon negatively affects the harmonization of its HE system illustrated by the following evidence. This perception has been uniquely raised by some public university officials. In line with this, one interviewee said “I think the policy of harmonization is properly better known by the politicians who came out with harmonization.” (University Official-A;UB:2015). I would argue this could be a political agenda to further re-unite both Cameroon(s) that is French-speaking and English-speaking Cameroon using the medium of HE to facilitate national integration and respect for the party in power. However, I would argue since harmonization from this stance originates from a political rather than educational background, lecturers as implementers and students as consumers find it hard to understand what harmonization really means and what is expected from it thus posing problems for national (micro) HE harmonization. I would argue this is why the national harmonization of Cameroonian universities have raised skepticisms on harmonization being used as a means of the majority (French) to assimilate the minority (English). According to Eta and Vuban (2017), the Francophones are trying to ‘Frenchify’ the educational system which I would say is a national assimilation of the English into the French culture of HE.

An interviewee also raised that “When they want us to do things the same way, it’s sometimes depressing though it will be good for “them”. If they are talking about harmonization, I don’t know what they want to harmonize....The country is so diverse!” (University Official-A;UB:2015). I would argue this assertion means that harmonization is an uncritically thought-out political decision which does not also consider how the country’s rich diversity could enhance or limit the process, but is done to serve the interest of politicians and not Cameroonian HE or indigenes per se. Doh (2015) affirmed that many individuals have contested such position of state control in Cameroonian HE, which has negatively affected harmonization. Eta (2018, p.11) added that national policies are usually political decisions made without consulting universities and other HEIs which are meant to implement them – which explains why individuals are confused on what harmonization means. I would also add that the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP as a political decision aimed at harmonizing the French/English-HE systems in Cameroon to reflect what I describe as a ‘national HE system void of cultural biases and unwanted differences’ has instead caused revolution (and not evolution) illustrated by the ongoing 2016 strike action in Cameroon and its devastating consequences on the HE system.

5.4.5 Conclusion

Micro-harmonization (the national integration of Cameroonian HE subsystems - French/English) and the perceived ‘take-off’ of policy borrowing has been variously conceptualized by interviewees. The concept of the development of a “national policy framework” for HE which is the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP was raised. In line with this, Pillay (2011, p.1) remarked that governments have used the Bologna Process to push forward national reforms in HE as it is perceived HE plays a fundamental social role of enhancing national identity. Furthermore, the reinforcement of national HE programmes was also raised wherein Eta (2017) elaborated that the re-design of HE programmes in Cameroon is geared at enhancing professionalization and graduate employability (which are national goals). There were also problems raised which have potentials for inhibiting national harmonization. One of such problem was ‘harmonization versus post-colonial effect on culture’; wherein Awasom (2005) argued that the colonial effect on education in ex-colonies still influences the design of HE structures in Cameroon – making national harmonization difficult. Furthermore, the negative political influence on harmonization was also perceived as a problem. In line with Eta (2018, p.11) national policies are usually political decisions made without consulting universities and other HEIs which are meant to implement them – which explains why individuals are confused on what harmonization means. These perceptions relate to the argument I made in the introduction on how confusing the concept of harmonization is. I now present the general conclusion of the entire chapter.

5.6 General conclusion

I argued there is no substantial research on the harmonization of Cameroonian HE in an age of new reforms like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP from either a national, regional or global standpoint. In seeking to address this gap in knowledge, my findings suggest that harmonization is a prelude to policy borrowing which I have described across contexts thus: macro-harmonization - ‘the starter’ of policy borrowing; meso-harmonization - ‘the accelerator’ of policy borrowing; and micro-harmonization - ‘the take-off’ of policy borrowing based on claims raised. I also found out that harmonization be it at the macro, meso or micro level is not only attracted to more than one interpretation by educational stakeholders but is a matter of debate and confusion evidenced by the perceptions raised in favour of harmonization and problems encountered per context. In many cases interviewees could discuss the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP as well as international/regional/national differences on harmonization, but without much of an idea of why harmonization (across contexts) have been introduced or how this might help the Cameroonian HE system. In this regard, I argued harmonization is not only a ‘policy’ but a ‘process’.

I found that the use of a common policy across macro, meso, and micro harmonization contexts which is the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform described by Verger, Novelli & Altinyelken (2012) as a Global Education Policy (GEP); which I described as contemporary Regional Education Policy (REP) and National Education Policy (NEP) based on regional and national contexts respectively has been the easiest way to enhance a transnational effect of the harmonization process leading to wide scale policy borrowing. Furthermore, the creation of a common HE space is very important for harmonization to occur particularly at the macro and meso levels – which depicts policy borrowing from global to regional contexts. My findings suggest that colonialism/postcolonialism as well as politics are strong determinants of macro, meso and micro harmonization. I would argue that the state of Cameroonian HE and problems plaguing it is a chain of conglomerated unresolved issues that originated from colonial rule – which makes harmonization difficult. Based on my analysis of problems encountered/inhibiting factors impeding the harmonization of Cameroonian universities from a macro, meso and micro levels, despite “harmonization”, the Cameroonian HE system is still heterogeneous across these contexts – though there exist elements of policy borrowing. This means macro, meso and micro “harmonization” of Cameroonian HE seems to be more of an assertion rather than reality – but policy borrowing exists.

Harmonization is open to multiple interpretations. I would suggest that it is important that policymakers and implementers are clear about what they mean by harmonization across educational contexts to aid common implementation of agreed upon reforms/policies/programmes/practices to prevent misconceptions. In line with this suggestion, Woldegiorgis, *et al.* (2015, p.243) also advised individuals/nations/regions to note that ‘harmonization is not synonymous’ to standardization, uniformity or the realization of HE systems that are identical; but rather (Woldegiorgis, 2013) harmonization means coordinating educational programmes which have agreed ‘minimum academic standards’ which enhance comparability and equivalence of qualifications among nations. Majone (2014, p.10) also suggested that to deal with harmonization issues, the aims of the Bologna Process for instance cannot be attained in an “a la carte” manner wherein governments decide on what to implement – but consider harmonization from a holistic standpoint. (Also recall other contributions of the finding by re-visiting the conclusion part per section above).

The next chapter generally introduces the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ which is a novel model that has been designed based on findings in this study. The model illustrates a policy borrowing framework for Africa/Cameroon which pays detail attention to African/Cameroonian contextual realities which have either been ignored or paid less attention to by other models used in comparative education like that of Phillips and Ochs (2003 & 2004). The model generally examines policy borrowing with respect to some factors that facilitate and also serve as problems (inhibit) to this process in Cameroonian universities. These factors

include decision-making, development and human capital formation (which fall above the iceberg), change (which falls across the iceberg), and post-colonialism and dominance (which fall below the iceberg). Details of what these categories mean are found in the subsequent chapters. Due to the fact that these factors both facilitate and are problematic to (inhibit) policy borrowing, I describe policy borrowing as a paradox. For the sake of organization, chapter six will present ‘analysis above the surface’, chapter seven will present ‘analysis across the surface’ and chapter eight will present ‘analysis beneath the surface’.

Chapter Six

Factors that drive policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities according to key stakeholders' perspectives

6.1 Introduction

Introducing the 'policy borrowing iceberg'

As seen in chapter five, this chapter elaborates further the 'policy borrowing iceberg' model which stipulates that there are overt, overt-covert and covert forces at play. The chapter also presents stakeholders' perceptions of factors (forces) that facilitate and are problematic for (or inhibit) policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE which are lodged within the framework of the policy borrowing iceberg. I argue policy borrowing is a paradox. It is perceived that policy borrowing has led to the adoption of western/foreign policies like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP, with the aid of the process of harmonization cutting across macro, meso and micro contexts (see chapter five). This forms what I describe as the 'educational homologous series' which is a slogan that presents policy borrowing, harmonization and Bologna Process/LMD/BMP action lines as mutually inclusive entities³⁷. My focus is on the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP as a borrowed policy in Cameroonian HE where, unlike other borrowed policies (like distance learning, inclusive education, quality assurance, research, governance among others), there is substantial information about its introduction.

In section 3.1, I argued that while most studies into comparative education make use of the policy borrowing theoretical framework as propounded by Phillips and Ochs (2003 & 2004), noting the theory has attracted many criticisms. I criticised the model for being Euro-centric as it was developed by westerners following European/western realities - and therefore does not take into consideration other realities like that of Africa at large and Cameroon in particular. This means there is no existing Afro-centric theoretical framework which can be used to properly explain existing practices in comparative education or the study of foreign reforms, policies, practices and programmes which have been found occurring within the African context. In this case, I argue that testing Phillips and Ochs (2003 & 2004) policy borrowing model within the African context shows that it does not quite work there and therefore cannot be taken as a general model.

I argue that there are six vital indicators when it comes to the study of 'policy borrowing' in Africa at large and Cameroon in particular - including decision-making, development, change, post-colonialism,

³⁷ See definition of educational homologous series in chapter 5.

dominance, and human capital formation. These factors I argue have either been ignored or paid less attention to in studies into 'policy borrowing' specifically in Africa/Cameroon. In addressing these, I answer RQ2 which is 'what factors facilitate and inhibit (problems encountered) policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities?' I describe these through a framework which I label as the 'policy borrowing iceberg' which depicts that there are overt, overt-covert and covert factors that trigger and are problematic to policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities using the concepts of 'analysis above the surface', 'analysis across the surface' and 'analysis beneath the surface' respectively. In other words, the iceberg further presents what I describe as 'an allegory of policy borrowing' whereby what 'appears' (overt) to be the main drivers/factors of policy borrowing within an African context like Cameroon might not be the only drivers/factors as the complete 'reality' of drivers/factors are also found across (overt-covert) and underneath the iceberg (covert).

'Analysis above the surface' analyses those factors and their indicators that are overt and which can be readily identified by even a layperson to be the factors that trigger policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities. These include development, decision-making and human capital formation. 'Analysis across the surface' analyses those factor(s) that lie from one side to the opposite side of the iceberg's surface thereby intersecting it. The factor(s) can also be identified by both laypersons, policy critics and comparativists to be factors that trigger policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. Based on the explanations provided, these factor(s) are perceived to be overt-covert factors. According to the study 'change' is the sole factor that belong to the category 'analysis across the surface'. 'Analysis beneath the surface' on its part analyses those factors that are covert, needs high level critical judgements and can be determined by policy critics and comparativists. The factors belonging to 'analysis beneath the surface' I argue seem dangerous and hurtful; and include post-colonialism and dominance including their indicators. The figure below illustrates the policy borrowing iceberg.

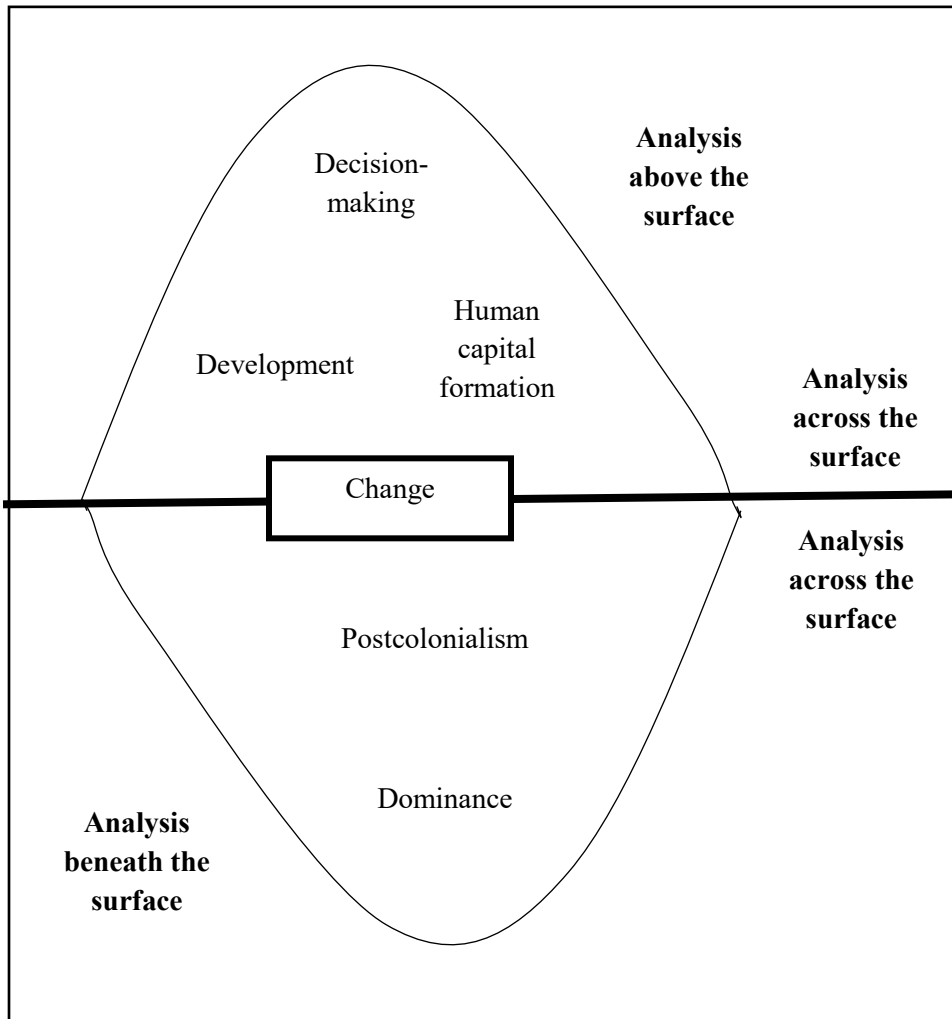


Figure 6.1: The ‘policy borrowing iceberg’

‘Analysis above the surface’

6.2. Decision-making as a facilitating and inhibiting (problematic) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE according to key stakeholders’ perspectives

In this section, I focus on the process of decision-making (which is an arm of governance) in Cameroonian HE in the advent of policy borrowing and the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. According to interviewees there are three main decision-making indicators worthy to explore including political influence, consultations/dialogue and problem-solving – which serve as facilitating/problematic factors to decision-making. The first of these is decision-making as a facilitating/inhibiting (problematic) factor of policy borrowing relative to political influence.

6.2.1 Decision-making and political influence

As seen above, decision-making does not only falls under the category of ‘analysis above the surface’ of the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ but is also a controversial factor as it serves as both a facilitating and inhibiting (problematic) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. Some interviewees, comprising of some private and public university officials and Commonwealth officials, argue that decision-making serves as a facilitating factor of the policy borrowing process through the lens of politics. According to these interviewees, a very common way of governments controlling universities is through the laws they make and implement; some of these laws could be international/regional initiatives (like the Bologna Process/LMD). The interviewees added that policy borrowing has been triggered by the adoption of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP, which is a political decision initiated by CEMAC heads of states. In line with this, an interviewee said:

... it is the will or desire of the head of state to allow university policy makers to adopt standards that come from abroad because if the head of state didn't want it, nobody will be able to do it. So, with the available political will Cameroonians are able to do it...remember that we have a very interesting political environment that you cannot easily dissociate from the academic field. I think the political environment plays a very strong role in determining what policies we have and how these policies are applied. (Commonwealth Official-B:2015).

The above evidence/quotation tie with section 3.5 of the decision-making theory, where it was highlighted that it was a political decision by CEMAC heads of states (of which Cameroon is a signatory to the CEMAC declaration) to adopt the LMD system which has had political implications in its adoption in Cameroonian HE (Eta, 2015). One of the political reasons for adopting the LMD within CEMAC has been the desire to create a sub-regional Higher Education, Research and Professional area using the LMD as an operational instrument in the sub-regional area (MINESUP, 2010b) amongst other action lines such as enhancing academic mobility, credit transferability, modernization of the CEMAC HE system among others. Voegtle, Knill and Dobbins (2011, p.77 &78) also affirmed that HE policies in contemporary decades have become indeed a sensitive political issue. From the evidence provided, I would argue the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP is a new tool for policy-making decisions in global HE at large and Cameroonian HE in particular thus setting the pace for policy borrowing. This evidence suggests that decision-making through political influence serves as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE.

As mentioned above, there were some interviewees who argued that decision-making from a political standpoint serves as an inhibiting (problematic) factor for policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. This group

of stakeholders comprised of some public and private university officials. According to these interviewees, politics in Cameroon most often interferes with HE policies leading to negative consequences, such as bottlenecks, biases and selfish interests. In line with this, an interviewee said:

They will not take policies that will inconvenience the government or disturb it from winning the next elections [Shook head in regret]. Even if it is good for Cameroonians, they will not! It can be coincidental that the policy is good for Cameroonians but the primary thing is that it must have sustainability effects for the government...Here, it is a matter of what favours “me” and the “government” in place! If what will be brought in as policy will be good for the country but topples the government, they will not bring it in. It is all about government and individual self-interest. (University Official&Lecturer-C;BUST:2015).

I would argue politics is a problem here because instead of the Cameroonian government practicing ‘politics of education’ geared at fairly distributing educational resources and services across HE systems, it practices partisan politics in HE geared at promoting the interest of the ruling party without necessarily addressing problems plaguing its universities. Recall in section 5.3.2, I mentioned that one of the ways meso-harmonization (‘the accelerator’ of policy borrowing) has been unveiled is through cementing political ties in CEMAC using regional HEIs – which explains why Eta, Kallo and Rinne (2017, p.12 & 2018) remarked that this has brought about a controversy of whether the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP (as a CEMAC political decision) is an imposed or voluntary adoption in Cameroonian universities. In section 3.5, I mentioned that one of the problems regarding decision-making is that academics like vice chancellors are not taking up the challenge to domesticate and harness the spaces (in terms of decision-making and governance in policy making) they are given; and secondly there has been too much focus on external university governance while internal governance relative to the evaluation and accountability roles of university councils has been ignored (University World News, 2018). This evidence therefore illustrates why decision-making has been politicized and problematized in Cameroonian HE thus serving as a problematic factor to policy borrowing. Having provided evidence to the claim that decision-making through political influence serves as a facilitating and inhibiting (problematic) factor of policy borrowing, I now present the next indicator of decision-making – consultations/dialogue.

6.2.2 Decision-making and consultations/dialogue

According to some interviewees comprising of public and private university officials, state lecturers, MINESUP and Commonwealth officials decision-making through consultations/dialogue serve as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities. These interviewees claimed that, Cameroonian HE can never do everything alone as it is perceived that collaborating with other universities

abroad yields better results - thus triggering policy borrowing. The interviewees added that there has been a lot of communication going on through conferences, published articles, media, discussions among universities, belonging to organizations such as the Commonwealth of Universities (among others) which propagate university ideas and share experiences (like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP) thus promoting policy borrowing. In line with these arguments, an interviewee said:

When there are international conferences or international meetings for example the meetings of heads of states of Central Africa amongst their discussions have always been issues of university reform. There are also meetings of ministers of education in Africa and during such meetings, there are equally experts from UNESCO, from the World Bank and when they come, they try to discuss how education should be improved because you cannot separate education from economic development. (University Official&Lecturer-D;UBa:2015).

The UK HE Europe Unit (2005, p.11) admitted that decision-making has been an integral part of the Bologna Process with assorted stakeholders involved performing different/similar roles which is an evidence of consultations/dialogue in the process thus fostering policy borrowing³⁸.

On the other hand, there are some interviewees consisting of some Commonwealth and private university officials who perceived that decision-making via the lack of consultation/dialogue (in other words centralization) has posed problems for policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. According to these interviewees, although there has been some dialogue, this has been highly political and limited to top level interactions with multinationals and heads of states. This means there is still excessive centralization and lack of consultation at the national university-based level, which has presented decision-making as a problematic/inhibiting factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities. Interviewees added that one of the main challenges has been that of bringing all HE stakeholders on board including stakeholders from other Cameroonian ministries like the Ministry for Economy and Planning, Ministry for Public Health among others to decide the fate of Cameroonian HE through decisions and policy-making. I would argue this has been one of the reasons for 'poor quality' and lack of pragmatic decisions that address the felt interests and needs of other HE stakeholders in particular and Cameroonians at large. An interviewee said:

Our educational policies are top-to-bottom. Decisions are taken from above. We have never had a broad based curriculum development scenario that we can take decisions with suggestions coming from people of various walks of life that can actually prepare a good educational system for us.

³⁸ See section 3.5 for stakeholders involved in the Bologna Process in Europe.

Everything is top-to-bottom. All the decisions are taken from above. We are only absorbing. Top-to-bottom! It is highly legalistic. (University D-BUST;2015).

Some interviewees also regretted the abandonment of the national council for HE in Cameroon (a consultative body which brought together all HE stakeholders in Cameroon) as well as the abandonment of the BMP management structure at the University of Buea. I would argue the top-down approach or excessive centralization to decision-making, policy borrowing and adoption of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP is problematic because it not only fails to address the felt needs of those it will affect, but poses problems of understanding, interpretation and probable resistance³⁹. Recall in section 3.5, I mentioned that when the LMD in Cameroon was introduced in its HE system via its Ministry of Higher Education, there were some perceptions on whether it was some kind of imposition/coercion as consultations were not made with other university stakeholders (Eta, 2015). According to Hudson and Lowe (2009), this is a typical example of a top-down approach to decision-making.

To understand the shortcomings of decision-making in Cameroonian HE through consultations/dialogue which is problematic to policy borrowing, I have briefly presented below the ‘process’ of decision-making in Europe and Africa based on the adoption of the Bologna Process/LMD respectively which in comparison to Cameroonian HE as seen above presents a divergent, fork-like and anti-parallel approach – hence a problem.

In section 3.5, I mentioned that the Bologna Process in Europe was a consultative and bottom-up approach characterized by many and assorted kinds of stakeholders including students via the European Students’ Union - ESU (Cippitani & Gatt, 2009; Crosier & Parveva, 2013, p.28). Viega and Amaral (2006) affirmed that in terms of governance, the Bologna Process has been an open method of coordination (OMC) system of intergovernmental policy cooperation and neither confined to the EU member states (but a broader European region) and highly decentralized to enhance mutual learning processes and communities of practice via involvement of assorted stakeholders. I also mentioned that at the African continental level, the LMD had assorted high level HE stakeholders including university rectors (Eta, 2015, p.169), UNESCO (Mohamedbhai, 2013) among others (see section 3.5). Bottom-up initiatives are important as they address the human side of organizations (like universities) and increase interactions (Hudson & Lowe, 2009, p.249); with more expertise/knowledge made available for problem-solving and many alternatives available for decision-making (Lunenborg, 2011, p.1&2); as well as increased commitment of group members (Schermerhorn, Hunt & Osborn, 2011) or internal members of Cameroonian universities. Therefore, I

³⁹ See chapter 7 on ‘change and psychological concerns’ dealing with resistance which affects implementation.

would argue Cameroonian HE through MINESUP adopted the Bologna Process/LMD ‘policy’ originating from Europe/Africa respectively but failed to learn about the ‘process’ of adoption in these contexts, which took into consideration many assorted stakeholders depicting bottom-up and consultative decision-making approach - which it would have benefited from the many advantages associated to such an approach to decision-making as seen above. Having discussed decision-making via consultations/dialogue and how this has served as a facilitating/inhibiting (problematic) factor to policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE, I now present the next indicator – problem-solving.

6.2.3 Decision-making and problem-solving

Decision-making as an ‘analysis above the surface’ has been raised as both a facilitating and inhibiting (problematic) factor of policy borrowing. According to some interviewees comprising of state lecturers, public and private university officials, Commonwealth and MINESUP officials, decision-making relative to problem-solving serves as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. According to these interviewees borrowed policies like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP are good because they are result-oriented (solve problems – see below) and it is what ‘everybody’ is doing. In other words, solutions are provided to the many problems (see below) plaguing Cameroonian HE. Interviewees perceive that since borrowed policies like the Bologna Process have succeeded abroad, it is perceived that borrowing and implementing the policy in Cameroonian HE to benefit from such an experience would also aid the nation/its institutions to succeed. An interviewee said:

Honestly, I think we don’t invent a new wheel in these things....These are policies that have been implemented elsewhere and are being implemented here as well. The LMD structure is the Bologna agreement. So, we don’t invent the wheel! ... it shortens the process of making a new system....it is easier to take something that has already been planned or organized and just implement it. It’s like a mobile phone. Once you get a mobile phone abroad you just use it here. You don’t need to do any other thing....With all these challenges, it is easier to just take policies which have been defined in another country and just implement. (University Official-B;UCAC:2015).

In line with the evidence and quotation above, several authors have described such an easy remedy and solution to problem-solving as ‘quick fixes’ which are important in decision-making (Sun, Creemers & de Jong, 2007, p.117). According to Phillips and Ochs (2003 & 2004), quick fixes are one of the impulses for policy borrowing - for instance borrowing the Bologna Process from Europe to CEMAC/Cameroon (Eta, 2018). Recall in section 3.5, I also mentioned that the Bologna Process as a global reform has been spread to Africa under the ‘Licence-Master-Doctorat (LMD) system’ as one of the means of solving problems in HE (Croché & Charlier, 2012, p.457); and Cameroon has been inspired through the Bologna Process/LMD

(Eta, 2018) to solve problems plaguing its HE system. Such problems which the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP address in Cameroonian HE include: graduate unemployment (Mbah, 2014 & Eta, 2017); the plurality of degrees in French HE system (Eta & Vubo, 2016); concerns with credit values (Eta & Vuban, 2017); student mobility concerns (Eta, 2015); and much more.

On the other hand, some interviewees comprising of public and private university officials argued that decision-making through problem-solving serves as an inhibiting (problematic) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. According to these interviewees, educational policy is quite a complex issue because while addressing a given problem, other problems might be generated anew. This explains why the interviewees reiterated that in providing solutions to universities by the Cameroonian state through its decisions, the state has indirectly created another problem by undermining the role of universities as state/societal think-tanks necessary for research, development and for providing solutions to societal problems. In line with this an interview said:

A university in Cameroon mostly is just to inculcate republican ideas but is that enough? a university is supposed to be a think-tank. A place where people create ideas, where new ideas originate, and in which we must also think about the application policy. The university is supposed to be a laboratory of the state But my own experience is that Cameroonian universities are more of consumers of state policies than policy thinkers.... (University Official-A;UCAC:2015).

According to some interviewees, one of the problems that still plague Cameroonian HE despite the onset of the Bologna Process is the lack of a thriving economy because Cameroonian universities today are just like state agents which popularize or publicize state ideas rather than propose to the state what it should be doing. In this way, I would argue state decisions for universities that are obtained even from policy borrowing do not completely aid universities to realize their goals and do not completely aid in problem-solving. According to Croché and Charlier (2012, p.468) though African (Cameroon inclusive) HE administrators are knowledgeable that ‘the Bologna model does not represent a solution to their most acute and urgent problems’; nonetheless, without alternatives, they have been forced to accept the Bologna Process as a point of reference (see section 3.5). I would argue this presents decision-making relative to problem-solving as an inhibiting/problematic factor to policy borrowing. Having discussed decision-making as a facilitating and inhibiting (problematic) factor to policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE using the above indicators, I now conclude the entire section.

6.2.4 Conclusion

The section examined decision-making which falls under the category of ‘analysis above the surface’ of the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ as it can easily be determined by a lay person to be one of the factors that drive policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. As mentioned in section 3.1, I argued that decision-making, like the other factors, has either been paid less attention to or ignored in studies into policy borrowing in African HE at large and Cameroonian HE in particular. Eta (2015, p.169) for instance limited her analysis to the political decision of CEMAC heads of states adopting the LMD in the CEMAC region - with no details on how the process of decision-making affects the adoption/implementation of this reform as well as the challenges involved. I also mentioned that in Eta, Kallo and Rinne (2017, p.13 & 2018), information about decision-making was limited to whether the adoption of the LMD reform was coercive/imposed or voluntary – which I argued is not sufficient to unpick the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP’s decision-making process. This section fills in the decision-making gap from an interviewee perspective using the decision-making theoretical framework in section 3.5.

Analysis revealed that three main indicators including political influence; consultations/dialogue; and problem-solving from a controversial standpoint have aided decision-making to play this role of being a facilitating/inhibiting (problematic) factor to policy borrowing. I argued that Cameroonian HE administrators copied the Bologna Process/LMD as a ‘policy’ but did not copy the ‘process’ of decision-making thus serving as one of the main problems of policy borrowing relative to decision-making. Furthermore, I also argued that the practice of ‘politics in education’ (partisan politics) rather than politics of education is another major problem of decision-making. To ameliorate some of the crises of decision-making in Cameroonian HE like the top-down political approach, Tuck (2007, p.48 & 49) suggested that stakeholders required for participatory decision-making need to include: learners/students; governments and their agencies; educational and training providers; academic researchers; career guidance professionals; accreditation and quality assurance agencies; teachers/lecturers unions; employers and professional bodies; and community members – which the Cameroonian government has to reconsider in future decision-making agendas. Furthermore, Cameroonian HE authorities should learn from the Bologna Process which is a transparent process (Sweeney, 2017), and promote good governance needed to ensure not only educational quality (Task Force, 2000) but academic freedom (Tereffa & Altbach, 2004, p.40). Having concluded on decision-making, I now present the next factor of borrowing perceived to be that of development.

6.3 Development as a facilitating and inhibiting (problematic) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE according to key stakeholders' perspectives

'Development' falls under the category of 'analysis above the surface' of the 'policy borrowing. Development like the other factors has either been paid less attention to or ignored in studies into policy borrowing in African HE at large and Cameroonian HE in particular.

In section 6.1, I argued that policy borrowing is a paradox which this analysis illustrates. According to interviewees there are three main development indicators which have enabled development to be labeled as a facilitating/inhibiting (problematic) factor within an Afro-centric context (Cameroonian HE) including 'good and best practice' phenomenon; 'Vision 2035 - an emergent economy'; and globalization. These indicators portray that the concept of development in Cameroonian HE has evolved from analyzing 'poverty' to analyzing 'other indicators' that have potential for impeding/accelerating development in Cameroonian HE. In other words, there has been a shift in paradigm relative to development in the wake of policy borrowing. Before delving into the analysis, I would like readers to understand some basic underpinnings of development which furnish criticality in this section.

As seen in chapter two, the LMD system in CEMAC had as one of its objectives to modernise and improve on the system of pedagogy (CEMAC Council of Ministers, 2006); while in Cameroon, the introduction of the LMD was geared at enhancing social, cultural and human development via the training of senior staff endowed with a strong sense of training in citizenship, able to respond to the challenges of the millennium from both Central African sub-regional and national levels; and ensuring national economic development and graduate employability amongst other action lines (Ministry of Higher Education, 2007, p.2-3; & 2010b, p.16). In this sense Cameroon, by adopting the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP to ensure the modernisation of its HE system, has overcome the perception of being a 'backward' society as described by Croché and Charlier (2012, p.469). These claims derived from the theoretical framework thus justify why development is a relevant factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE.

6.3.1 Development and the 'good and best practice' phenomenon

While the majority of the interviewees comprising of students, state lecturers, public and private university officials, MINESUP, AUF and Commonwealth officials generally perceived development as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities, public/private university officials and Commonwealth officials in particular perceived that development serves as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing through the lens of the 'good and best practice' phenomenon. According to these officials, the lack of good models in developing nations like Cameroon has propelled it to borrow good models from

America, Britain and other developed nation to build its HE curriculum. The interviewees added that when it comes to education, Cameroon is not a leader but a follower and in this case to become developed, it adopts best practices (like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP) from the developed world – thus leading to policy borrowing. In line with this an interviewee said:

We believe that what comes from abroad is the best. Of course, since they are called developed countries and we are called developing countries the difference now is what is there is the best and we are trying to see whether one day we can also be developed and by so doing we take their policies and try to implement in our own system. (University Official&Lecturer-D;UBa:2015).

In terms of the Bologna Process/LMD perceived to be the most influential borrowed policy across the globe and in Cameroonian HE (see chapters two and three), I would argue that the positive impacts it has had on the Cameroonian HE system such as employability, credit system, mobility and degree structure/recognition indicate that the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP is indeed a ‘good and best practice’ used in modernizing/developing present-day HE systems. Furthermore, Woldegiorgis, Jonck and Goujon (2015, p.251) added that the AUC has adopted as one of its strategies to benchmark assorted processes geared at establishing standards to be respected by sub-regional organizations (such as CAMES of which Cameroon and its HE are part of) in order to capitalize on best practices such as the adoption of LMD in CEMAC/Cameroon and HE harmonization. This means development is indeed a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE.

On the other hand, some interviewees (lecturers, public and private university officials) argued that development through the ‘good and best practice phenomenon’ serves as an inhibiting factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. These interviewees complained that sometimes though policy makers in Cameroon are even unsure of what they are expecting from borrowed policies, they simply copy these policies and hand them down to universities regardless of whether these are best practices needed by Cameroonian universities to develop. Furthermore, these interviewees argued that the psychological conception of the ‘West being the best’ and Africa (in general and Cameroon in particular) as deficient is not entirely true and this has posed developmental problems for African/Cameroonian society and HE system. Interviewees added that this problem arises from the fact that Africans (Cameroonians inclusive) do not believe in themselves, which is why they borrow concepts from Europe in the name of ‘good and best practice’ as if they do not have Afro-centric concepts within their own set up which would have enhanced their own development. In line with these arguments, an interviewee said:

There is some grammar people from the west have come up with. Grammar!!! Best practices! I don't think there is something like best practices that you can say that best practice means that a best practice in one context can be transported to another context. Best practice is context specific. You can't talk about a best practice in the West and you think that, that best practice will be a best practice here. For instance, I have been working on projects with colleagues in the UK and when I go there, they are not even at the airport to receive me. They send a taxi and the guy holds my name. Here, we go to the airport and immediately start creating rapport there. But they will tell you with best practice you save time by not going to the airport to pick up someone,...that higher education institutions do face the same kinds of problems could be 'yes'. How these problems place themselves in the different contexts is different....' (University Official-A;UB:2015).

The quotation above illustrates that best practices like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP mobility agenda is not a glorified term used in determining development due to contextual and cultural circumstances. It also depicts that though HE systems across the globe may be facing same problems, these problems place themselves differently across contexts such as developing and developed nations. Based on these arguments and interpretation, I would say that development through the 'good and best practice phenomenon' serves as a problematic (inhibiting) factor to policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. I would add this is because, the idea of best practices resulting from policy borrowing has undermined African contributions to its development and global development. Furthermore, I would add that policy borrowing and the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP have led to social exclusion as nations which do not part-take in the Bologna Process considered as 'best practice' are known to be 'backward'. In line with this, Croché and Charlier (2012, p.469) noted that those who resisted the Bologna Process (in Europe) were considered 'backward', and not capable of understanding the course of history – indicating lack of modernity/development which is not true. According to Rostow (1960) development is staged and individual nations are at different phases of development. This means for some nations to be more advanced (in terms of implementing 'best practices') than others does not mean the others are not developing. Therefore, to solve the crises of 'good and best practices' in relation to development, Raffe (2011, p.3&4) suggested that best practices should be context-specific, time-bound and judgmental.

6.3.2 Development and 'Vision 2035 - an emergent economy'

According to some interviewees comprising of students, private university officials and Commonwealth officials on one hand, development through the lens of 'Vision 2035 – an emergent economy' serves as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. In other words, though Vision 2035 is a target initially set by the Cameroonian government, some stakeholders still perceive that the stimulus for this

agenda has been foreign-driven. According to the interviewees, Cameroon is struggling to become an emergent nation by 2035 and for the nation to realize this dream, there has been the need to copy policies and practices from either countries which have emerged, or simply from developed countries. The interviewees added that since Cameroon falls under the category of developing countries while other countries (in continental Europe) are developed countries the tendency has been to look at and adopt some the latter's policies and reforms (like the Bologna Process) in Cameroonian HE so as to be able to grow and one day become like developed nations – thus facilitating policy borrowing. An interviewee said:

I think these reforms have been adopted to meet up with challenges of our university system. The government has realized that higher education students are not competitive enough at the national level. So, there is need for reforms to be put in place. More so, we have our Vision 2035 that calls for reforms in the educational system just like in the economic sector or the sector of youth development. So, it is an accompanying reform. Everything is geared towards Vision 2035. So, the educational system cannot be left behind. Most importantly is the fact that our university educational system has to meet up with international standards....I think these are the motivations. (Commonwealth Official- :2035).

In line with the above quotation, one of the problems plaguing Cameroonian HE has been that of graduate unemployment (see 2.5.1 on the state of employability in Cameroonian HE). Graduate unemployment which has potentials for enhancing the realization of 'Vision 2035 – an emergent economy' in Cameroon is perceived as one of the reasons for policy borrowing in this context in line with development as a facilitating factor. An interviewee said:

...graduate unemployment is a real problem here in Cameroon. The government believes that part of the solution to this problem is to align university training to the world of work. The Europeans seem to have done this with the Bologna Process and it was believed that adopting this system would help Cameroon address the problem of graduate unemployment. (University Official-C;CCU:2015).

From the quotation, it can be deduced that graduate employability is not only an aspect of the Bologna Process but a dire need to attend Vision 2035. On the other hand, some interviewees comprising of lecturers, private university officials and AUF officials argued that policy borrowing through development ('Vision 2035 – an emergent economy') serves as a problematic (inhibiting) factor in Cameroonian HE. An interviewee said "Presently, we are about 20 million people, with Cameroon craving for emergence by 2035 though there is no plan for this emergence." (University Official-G;BUST:2015). I would argue that the lack of a concrete developmental plan for emergence in Cameroon poses problems relative to decision-

making particularly on what should be prioritized as this becomes bleak without a proper plan to serve as guidance. This explains why an interviewee, remarked that “So, we are always navigating like this without knowing where we are going. To me, this is a major inhibiting factor.” (Lecturer-B;UBa:2015). In other words, I would argue policy borrowing, despite its developmental advantage is problematic in terms of implementation in the absence of a proper developmental plan in Cameroon. An interviewee also said the problem is due to the lack of a national council of HE in Cameroon which makes development via policy making unclear. Thus:

You know The National Council of Higher Education, since 30years has not been held. How can you then talk about policy when the structure according to higher education is not operational or functional? So, we cannot talk about policy! We cannot! (AUF Official-2015).

I would argue that the above claims raised in terms of development as a facilitating and inhibiting (problematic) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE do not tie with the African renaissance theory (in which ‘Vision 2035 – an emergent economy’ is rooted – see section 3.3). This is because the African renaissance theory is rooted in African norms and values which reflects the African way of life (Matunhu, 2011, p.71 & Schwabe, 2001) – which the above analysis does not mention. According to Mandiefe (2015) African nations are establishing better economic and monetary reforms aimed at gaining the status of an emergent nation within a certain time period – which the above analysis ignores. Labang (2006) noted that there has been need for universities in an emerging economy like Cameroon to make some fundamental changes – thus being part of the developmental scheme – which has also been ignored above. To Ngwane (2009), Cameroon’s Vision 2035 has been fashioned to reflect the developmental Vision of other African nations which means in contemporary Africa, development has been patterned to reflect Afro-centric developmental pathways rather than Euro-centric pathways – which is ignored by the above analysis. Therefore, I would recommend that to deal with policy borrowing through the lens of development as a factor (and in line with ‘Vision 2035 – an emergent economy’), there is need for Cameroonian HE stakeholders to consider development from an African renaissance pathway so as to properly examine ‘Vision 2035 – an emergent economy’ in its developmental plans..

6.3.3 Development and globalization

The majority of the interviewees comprising of state lecturers, public and private university officials, MINESUP, ADB and Commonwealth officials opined that development via ‘globalization’ serves as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. According to these interviewees, since Cameroon resides within a world that is

characterized as a global village, it has been possible to borrow policies like the Bologna Process from abroad due to the ease with which individuals travel out (staff and student mobility), watch television and learn from the internet what others are doing. According to interviewees, in training citizens within the era of globalization, there is a perception that people cannot be held down just because they are Africans or Europeans but should be able to move from one country to the other, perform any kind of activity and be able to put their education and competences into use – thus promoting policy borrowing. In other words, policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE through development (globalization) is a facilitating factor as it aids in training Cameroonians as ‘global citizens’. Interviewees added that since the ‘market’ is now global, development via globalization as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing aids in enhancing the competitiveness of the manpower in Cameroon. An interviewee said:

We also know of the BMP reform which came into play in 2007, and this stems from the Bologna agreement which tries to make sure that what we do in Cameroon today ties to a larger extent with what is obtainable worldwide. We are trying to make sure that we can get student transferability or movement from one university to another without any problem. ... The ministry of higher education has been trying to see that our programmes are comparable with what obtains elsewhere in the world... The BMP reform is a significant step also in the development of higher education in this country. (University Official & Lecturer-D; UB:2015).

To buttress the claim on development through globalization being a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE, an interviewee specifically used an analogy of the APA style of referencing which I would argue denote that within a globalized world, policies like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP tend to move closer towards each other to foster cross-fertilization of ideas. Thus,

...in a scientific space, certain things need to be identical for there to be exchange of ideas. Take for example, in using the APA system for citations, somebody who really doesn't use the APA very well turns out to be annoying. I believe that in this sense, policies tend to move closer towards each other basically because it is easier for exchanges between universities to happen. (University Official-B; UCAC:2015).

The APA analogy indicates that if everyone (global/regional/national HE systems) is adopting the Bologna Process/LMD and/or involved with policy borrowing and Cameroonian HE is exempted, then it will be difficult for it to succeed within the global village. This ‘global village’ I would argue has been harnessed by the creation of an internationally and regionally harmonized HEspace to permit mobility, credit

transferability, employability and degree recognition among other Bologna Process derivatives⁴⁰. According to Knight and Woldegiorgis (2017, p.1) it is an unquestionable reality that globalization as a multi-faceted process has aided the transformation of HE in the last 30 years; and the increasing interconnected and globalized world has accelerated individuals, HEIs, national governments and organizations to pay closer attention to academic opportunities and relations with both close by and far away partners. There are many ways in which globalization affects or impacts on educational policy. One of such ways is the part played by International Organizations (IOs) like UNESCO as key players of promoting Global Educational Policies – GEPs (Verger *et al.*, 2012) through the sharing of best practices. Another way is the use of Information and Communication Technologies – ICT (Peck *et al.*, 2010). Furthermore neoliberalism (Ball, 2007); and increased staff and student mobility which present novel and exciting opportunities for cultural exchanges and global academic collaboration and; more flexibility in the establishment of joint study programmes (WENR, 2007). These examples thus create a pathway for development and policy borrowing. According to World Society theorists, there exist a single global model (for instance the Bologna Process model) for schooling which has spread throughout the world as a diffusion of a more generally and culturally embedded model of the modern nation-state (Anderson-Levitt, 2003). Drezner (2001) added that the need for nation-states to conform to a global ideal of the rationalized bureaucratic state has led to a process of institutional isomorphism and convergence. Therefore, from the evidence/quotations provided above, the claim on development via the lens of globalization considered as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE on one hand seems plausible.

On the other hand, some interviewees comprising of private and public university officials and MINESUP officials argued that development through globalization is an inhibiting (problematic) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. According to the interviewees, the problem of technology including the lack of internet connectivity, the lack of instructional materials and new techniques of teaching using gadgets, projectors among others pose problems for policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE through development (globalization). Interviewees added that one of the issues with the internet is that some Cameroonian students and staff are naïve to use it as they think that the internet is something which they cannot master which tends to drag Cameroonian HE some steps behind to a level where it does not want to be at a time where development/globalization prevail. To add unto these, an interviewee said:

If you were to do a survey of the top ranking educational stakeholders in Cameroon, you will discover that almost 80% of them have studied out of Cameroon...according to them, they want

⁴⁰ See subsections 5.2.2 on the creation of an internationally harmonized HE space to enhance macro-harmonization thus serving as ‘the starter’ of policy borrowing; 5.3.3 on the creation of a CEMAC regional space for HE thus serving as ‘the accelerator’ of policy borrowing.

to implement what is out there and they even tend to underrate people who have studied and have their degrees in Africa even when they are teaching same students. I heard a stupid appellation from a reputable lecturer who had an argument with another lecturer who had a degree from West Africa and he said that “I had my degree abroad, out of Africa and you want to sit, talk and compare with me?” But at the same time that lecturer is teaching in Africa, and abusing Africa. Some lecturers who studied abroad even call PhDs gotten in Africa as “Sub-Saharan PhDs”! (University Official-A;SMU:2015).

From the quotation above it shows that there is an international higher education hierarchy which is a problem to present-day Cameroonian HE. One can also deduce from the quotation that the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP has had negative implications for staff mobility (study abroad) in terms of degree recognition as degrees earned in Africa/Cameroon are being devalued by some staff who have had the privilege to study and earn degrees abroad (probably through Bologna Process mobility schemes). I would also say the issue raised in the quotation above serves as one of the problems facing staff working conditions in Cameroonian HE in terms of collegiality - extrinsic motivation.

Another interviewee said “We get lost in the wider system because we are not as fast with those outside... We copy from others but there is strict competitiveness that exists! ... we’ve rather endangered our system.” (MINESUP Official-I:2015). In line with the quotation, Dale (2005) stressed that a challenge to globalization is to successfully deal with the ‘global-local binary’ and the understanding of the relationship between the global and the national as a ‘zero-sum’. I would say that the urge is to borrow the ‘standard’ model so that Cameroon is not the ‘odd one out’ but at the same time, such a model does not necessarily fit to what Cameroon needs coupled with power/status differences that persist. Klemenčič (2009, p.6) also stressed that in 2000, European governments acknowledged the challenges plaguing globalization as well as the knowledge economy in the Lisbon Agenda of the Bologna Process – thus making globalization a priority within the process. To WENR (2007), the challenges relating to - the Bologna Process - as a new form of global cooperation in HE include academic recognition concerns; concerns related to QA standards; and compatibility of qualification framework concerns. From the evidence provided above, it shows that development through globalization also serves as an inhibiting (problematic) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE.

6.3.4 Conclusion

‘Development’ as seen above falls under the category ‘analysis above the surface’ of the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ as it is a factor that can easily be determined by a layperson to be one of the factors that drive policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. One major finding is that ‘development’ is a controversial factor

which is capable of facilitating and inhibiting/(being problematic to) policy borrowing. As mentioned in section 6.3, the concept of development in Cameroonian HE has evolved from ‘poverty’ to ‘other indicators’ such as ‘good and best practice’ phenomenon; ‘Vision 2035 - an emergent economy’; and globalization - which have potentials for impeding/accelerating development in the Cameroonian HE system through the lens of policy borrowing. These indicators I would argue present the new pathways with which developing countries like Cameroon transition into becoming developed and modernized countries. Recall in sections 3.3.1 and 6.3, Crosier and Parveva (2013, p.72) mentioned how many countries across the globe with the onset of the Bologna Process have perceived the ‘need for modernized education systems’ which have potentials of assisting them attain a fast development among other benefits. In line with this, the state of Cameroon has adopted the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP a perceived borrowed policy to transition from a stage of ‘primitive society’ characterized by subsistence agriculture (UNESCO - GEMR, 2016) to a ‘take-off’ stage characterized by industrialization. On one hand, Cameroon and its HE will not be considered as a ‘backward’ society in a world that is increasingly being modernized given the onset of the Bologna Process in HE (Croché & Charlier, 2012, p.469). On the other hand, given the perception that the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP has failed to appropriately institute national harmonization of the dual HE systems (French and English) in Cameroon explained by the ongoing 2016 national social unrest originating from Anglophone courts of Law and universities (Okie, 2016; University World News, 2017 & Akana, 2018); the claim on Europe’s Bologna Process acting as a drive for the modernization of HE systems and/or prevention of HE systems from being ‘backward’ (Croché & Charlier, 2012, p.469) is questionable in contemporary Cameroon⁴¹. This also strengthens the claim that policy borrowing is indeed a paradox. Having analysed ‘development’ as a facilitating and inhibiting (problematic) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE, I now present the next category of ‘analysis above the surface’ – human capital formation.

6.4 Human capital formation as a facilitating and inhibiting (problematic) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE according to key stakeholders’ perspectives

As seen above, human capital formation is a factor of policy borrowing which falls under the category of ‘analysis above the surface’ as it can easily be determined by a layperson to be one of the factors that trigger policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. Recall in section 3.1, I argued that human capital like other factors have either been paid less attention to or ignored in studies into policy borrowing in African HE at large

⁴¹ Recall that to understand national harmonization of HE systems, there is need to consider both the French/English-speaking HE system together.

and Cameroonian HE in particular. I have filled in this gap by analyzing interviewees' perspectives while drawing references from the theory of human capital in section 3.4 among other conceptualizations.

Human capital formation as a factor of policy borrowing is addressed from three main angles including human resource development and capacity building; competency-based approach to learning (CBA)/student-centered learning; and the quest for expertise. While 'human resource development and capacity building' relates to 'both staff and student' in the formation of human capital in Cameroonian HE in the onset of policy borrowing and the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP; 'gaining expertise' relates to 'staff only' in the formation of human capital in Cameroonian HE with the onset of policy borrowing and the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. The competency-based approach to learning (CBA)/student-centered learning on its part relates to 'students only' in the formation of human capital in Cameroonian HE with the onset of policy borrowing and the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. Having introduced the section, I now present human resource development/capacity building as one of the indicators that have aided human capital formation to be perceived as a factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE according to interviewees' perspectives.

6.4.1 Human capital formation - human resource development/capacity building

Recall in section 6.4 above, I argued that 'human resource development and capacity building' relates to both staff and students in the formation of human capital in Cameroonian HE with the onset of policy borrowing and the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. The majority of the interviewees comprising of public and private university officials, Commonwealth and MINESUP officials argued that human capital formation (through the lens of manpower development/capacity building) serves as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. According to these interviewees, the human factor which is perceived to have been harnessed by policy borrowing is very timely as it reflects the backbone of Cameroon's Vision 2035 – to produce human resources needed for the economy to drive emergence. Some interviewees perceived that policy borrowing driven by the human factor (training of both staff and students) has been the brains of international organizations like UNESCO. In line with this an interviewee said:

UNESCO was created to ensure that there is human capacity development in various aspects be it educational, scientific and cultural aspects of life. Without education, there is no way humanity can move forward...We work under UNESCO guidelines and UNESCO has defined policies for development of education from basic to tertiary level. (University Official&Lecturer-D;UB:2015).

The quotation above means that policy borrowing via human capital formation as a factor has been aided by UNESCO in Cameroonian HE. Recall in section 3.5 under decision-making theory, I mentioned that

UNESCO among other external HE stakeholders has been at the forefront in the adoption/implementation of the LMD in Africa (Mohamedbhai, 2013) - Cameroon inclusive – with the aim of providing staff with expertise on what the LMD is about and how to implement it which have potentials of impacting on students in the classroom during instructional delivery. I would also argue that the idea of the human factor serves as a new condition for enhancing the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP employability agenda set out by UNESCO as nations are compelled to respect multinational norms and by so doing policy borrowing sets in⁴². Interviewees added that in the quest of benefiting from financial assistance policy borrowing via the lens of human capacity building has been made possible.

To specifically address how the staff of Cameroon have been influenced, some interviewees raised that the cross-pollination of academic ideas among staff brought about by policy borrowing is a means to ensure that knowledge is continuously being developed to aid human capital formation. Furthermore, interviewees added that borrowed policies like the Bologna Process/LMD are usually accompanied with skilled human resource from abroad needed to train staff at the local national context which is important for capacity building in Cameroonian HE. In line with this an interviewee said “...We cannot help but be influenced and work with our colleagues overseas. It is capacity building through institutional strengthening.” (University Official-C; SMU, 2015). I would argue capacity building through networking with colleagues overseas aided by staff mobility schemes/exchange programme is an ultimate route to acquiring a pool of technical experts needed for staff development and manpower training in Cameroonian HE. Another official said “... the fact that these policies come from countries that accompany them with money and manpower which are very important also for our capacity building and we think that they are good.” (University Official-C;UB:2015). From this quotation, I would say that the use of foreign experts during seminars/workshops to teach university staff on new reforms like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP is a great way of enhancing human resource development/capacity building among university staff. Some interviewees raised that most policies in Cameroonian HE have been influenced by foreign ideas since most top-ranking officials studied abroad and have therefore brought in foreign ideas.

Having presented evidence on how the human factor (from staff perspective) has served as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE, I now present evidence in relation to students. An interviewee said:

...to build human resources, to help the country develop, to help students have good formation in other to have jobs....Because they are good practices that permit students to have good training,

⁴² For more on conditionality, see sections 3.7 on the theory of dominance – conditionality; and chapter 8.

jobs, innovations and so on. That is they produce better human resources. Also, the international context says it is not good to do things for yourself alone. It is good to know what others are doing. Our system is not closed. It is important to be in the match of the world not the other way round. (MINESUP Official-D:2015).

I would argue manpower development (in terms of student formation) at higher levels of education aid in rigorous development as students as human resources can think better, reason better, plan better and decide better about any national developmental sector. In line with this, I would add that the quest for human resources in Cameroon has called for reforms such as professionalization which has been enhanced by the Bologna Process/LMD/BMD's employability agenda. Another official said "... the BMP reform which is comparable to what obtains elsewhere makes it easier for graduates from our universities and graduates from elsewhere to be able to move. Cross pollination of academic ideas which ensures that knowledge is continuously being developed ... Movement on its own just like globalization, comes with a lot of new ideas which we gain." (University Official&Lecturer-D;UB:2015). This quotation indicates that human resource development/capacity building from a student standpoint has been enhanced by Bologna Process/LMD/BMP mobility agenda through cross pollination of knowledge. In line with the above evidence, Klemenčič (2009) confirmed that the expansion of member states of the European Union to enhance participation of the Bologna Process (or the 'external dimension' of the Bologna Process, Zgaga, 2006; – which has made Cameroonian HE to be part of it) has triggered HE reforms in the domain of 'capacity-building'. According to the World Bank (2008) to obtain a sustained and higher growth rate in Sub-Saharan Africa, there is need to significantly increase the human and physical capital for a long time by developing capabilities that would generate novel industries, create more jobs, increase more linkages and diversify exports; and these can only be attained through human, institutional and infrastructural capital investments.

On the other hand, some interviewees comprising of public and private university officials argue that human capital formation (through human resource development/capacity building) serve as an inhibiting (problematic) factor to policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. According to these interviewees, relative to staff concerns as a human factor, the problem is due to the lack of know-how in terms of policy-making among Cameroonian university stakeholders. In line with this, an interviewee said "I don't see how we can develop from scratch new policies. We don't have the capacity." (University Official-B;UCAC:2015). I would argue while this quotation presents policy borrowing as very important in providing foreign capacity/human resource needed for policy development in Cameroonian HE on one hand, on the other hand, this poses problems as there is the tendency of appraising policy borrowing using foreign expertise

in local context in terms of superiority versus inferiority complex (Shizha, 2006), conditionality concerns (Mead, 2012) among other concerns as seen in the thesis.

Interviewees also underscored that human capacity formation (through manpower and capacity building) has been a problematic factor to policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE a claim which they perceive to have originated both from staff/student concerns in terms of brain drain. In line with this an interviewee said:

But what we find at times is the aspect where although people develop capacity, we don't know how these policies could be streamlined in another way to affect people such that when they are trained they should be able to return to their countries and continue doing manpower development. These are some of the challenges we also face. People on some of these mobility programmes when they go overseas, they don't want to come back to Africa. They just go and refuse to return to Africa. Africa will hardly develop if we don't have capacity at that top level....If you know what happened in Cameroon before the university reforms that created all these universities came about, and how much money the Cameroonian government was spending training students overseas, you will not imagine! You will not imagine how much money has gone because I am not sure up to 10% of those individuals returned to this country. They are all, all over the world.... (University Official&Lecturer-D:UB:2015).

According to the interviewees, the Cameroonian government in particular was spending billions of CFA each year training people abroad so that they could come back and develop the nation. Instead, these individuals are working elsewhere in the world though they signed contracts with the Cameroon government before getting scholarships that they will return to the country but implementation and follow up have been where the Cameroonian government has failed. This means brain drain is an impediment to human capital formation in Cameroonian HE which has potential for influencing policy borrowing. I would argue while brain drain causes shortage of staff (human capacity) in Cameroonian HE and increases workload for the few available staff amidst other problems; on the part of students, brain drain removes the few educated HE scholars who would have impacted on the economy of Cameroon upon employment – hence a problem to human capacity formation and policy borrowing – through Bologna Process/LMD/BMP's mobility scheme.

Interviewees' mentioned that relative to student concerns as a human factor, policy borrowing is a problem in Cameroonian HE in accordance with the lack of educational resources needed to train students. The interviewees remarked that capacity building is still a very serious problem in Cameroonian HE due to the

lack of internet (among other resources) which explains why Cameroonian HE and its students cannot be visible in the world. In line with this, an interviewee said:

But we don't have the capacity to take all these children because we don't have infrastructure. We can only take as much as we can cater for. So, these are some of the things that are a bit difficult to manage. The day-to-day running of the university in terms of: student in-take, infrastructure, financial management, and dealing with human beings from diverse backgrounds and diverse ideas is difficult. So, all these things at times will make situations very volatile when it comes to managing them. So, it is a difficult network to handle when it comes to these things. It's quite challenging! It's a challenging experience you have every other day. I get up and plan on what I have to do but at the end of the day when I try to do a checklist I realize that I have not achieved what I planned to do. Why? Because of funding. The key thing is funding! (University Official&Lecturer-D:UB:2015).

From the quotation above, it can be deduced that human capital formation particularly the training of students is affected by a whole lot of concerns. One such concern is dealing with the massification of HE, which is compromised by lack of resources. Another is the lack of resources be it infrastructure and finance which makes it hard to cater for those already admitted. Furthermore, there are also concerns of how to deal with students in terms of diversified backgrounds and ideas. From the evidence provided, these problems culminate to serve as problematic factors for human capital formation which have negative effects for policy borrowing. In line with the arguments raised in terms of human capital formation (manpower development and capacity building) serving as a problematic (inhibiting) factor to policy borrowing, Mohamedbhai (2013) affirmed that the main hindrances to developments in human capital formation within the higher education sector in Sub-Saharan Africa stem from: lack of access to universities; mismatch between demands of the labour market and university programmes; inadequate funding opportunities; inadequate infrastructural facilities; cost of HE, poor student preparation for university education, mismanagement, and over-crowded halls of residence, brain drain, poor links with industry, improper use of available resources, high graduate unemployment, curricula stresses theory than skill competences, lack of adequate funding for research teaching and training. Furthermore, Bloom, Canning and Chan (2006, p.5) added that the main hindrances to developments in human capital formation within the higher education sector in Sub-Saharan Africa include gender inequality and reduced university autonomy as a result of centralized policymaking. Having illustrated the above claim, I now present the competency-based approach to learning/student-centered learning perceived to be an indicator of the human capital factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE.

6.4.2 Human capital formation and the competency-based approach (CBA) to learning/student-centered learning

I argued above that ‘competency-based approach to learning/student-centered learning relates to students only in the formation of human capital in Cameroonian HE within the onset of policy borrowing and the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. The London Communique (2007) of the Bologna Process particularly stressed on the need to transition from teacher-centered to student-centered learning in HE. Again, the LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE has as objectives to develop innovative methods of teaching which would make use of ICTs, electronic learning (e-learning), alternating training and distance learning (MINESUP, 2007 & 2010b) which I argue address student-centered pedagogy.

According to some interviewees comprising of public and private university officials, human capital formation serves as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in the onset of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. According to these interviewees, in the past (pre-Bologna Process/LMD/BMP) students graduated knowing only theory and were not being professional and found it difficult to fit in the job market. At that time teaching in the classroom was mostly teacher-centered. But with the onset of the Bologna Process/BMP/LMD and the crave to institute professionalism among students/potential graduates, students have been brought to the centre of learning, otherwise known as student-centered learning which deals with the teaching/learning of competences. Student-centered learning aims to impart many professional skills to students in almost all domains and disciplines prior to their graduation so that they can function and fit in the job market in various fields. In line with the above, an interviewee said:

...If you look at our methods of teaching in the university; at first, it was more of lectures. Lecturers thought they could just go to the classroom, talk, and students go and do research on their own. Presently, they are emphasizing on what the learners can do. This is the competency-based approach and this has helped a lot because most lecturers now are aspiring students to carry out research on their own...and present or discuss with other learners. (University Lecturer-C;UBa:2015).

From the quotation above, it can be deduced that the quest for human capital formation (learners) which triggered the adoption of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP aided by policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE has led to a shift in paradigm from teacher-centered to student-centered learning – thus an innovation in pedagogic practice. Another official said:

...teaching in the classroom was mostly teacher-centered. But not long ago, they introduced what they call LMD which is a French acronym and in English BMP which means Bachelors-Masters-

PhD Programme; and what does this actually mean? This actually is calling for more professionalization that is students are called upon to undertake studies in a way that when they graduate they should either be employed by the government or they should be self-employed. And how do we get to that? The programme emphasizes that students should do more work and have their teachers just as facilitators; and as opposed to what was at first that is when teachers did almost everything for the students and the students just listened and got everything that the teachers told them. So, studies are now more student-centered than teacher-centered. (University Official-E;UB-2015).

I would argue the CBA has enabled human capacity development and competences among students as they no longer come and sit to listen to lectures but contribute as active learners and co-constructors of knowledge in the learning process necessary for professionalism and employability as they develop skills of problem-solving, criticality, research, brainstorming, innovation and creativity by interacting with content. It is important to note that the Leuven Communiqué of the Bologna Process (Leuven Communiqué, 2009, p.3) stresses the need for HE to nurture students with competences, skills and knowledge to enhance their professionalism. According to Beneitone and El-Gohary (2017, p.151) an example of a strategy that has been employed to aid the curriculum and student competences across Africa (CEMAC and Cameroon) has been the ‘Tuning Approach’ which was born in Europe and has been adopted and adapted within the context of African HE. According to The Competency Group (2018), the competency-based approach or student-centered learning is perceived to have many benefits to employees (university graduates) such as to enable employees to be more proactive above their individual roles by learning additional competences valued by their organizations; by providing a clear direction for learning novel job skills; and by providing a mechanism for recognizing employees’ abilities. From the evidence provided, it shows that human capital formation (competency-based approach to learning/student-centered learning) is a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. As seen in the introduction above (6.4.2), I would say the Bologna Process in Europe (Klemenčič, 2015), LMD in CEMAC (CEMAC Council of Ministers, 2006), and LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE (MINESUP, 2007 & 2010b) presents contemporary teaching and learning in HE (competency-based approach (CBA) to learning/student-centered learning) as a pedagogic shift which is a matter of a centrally-directed, conscious government policy and at the same time a new wave of educational fashion.

On the other hand, some interviewees comprising of private university officials argue that human capital formation (competency-based approach to learning/student-centered learning) is a problematic (inhibiting) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. According to these interviewees, the high teacher-student ratio does not work especially with the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP system in Cameroonian HE as one

teacher may be teaching a course comprising of thousands of students which makes it difficult to implement the learner-centered approach to instructional delivery. Furthermore, problems facing the Cameroonian HE system in terms of poor technology, lack of instructional materials and the use of new techniques of teaching like gadgets and projectors, problems with internet services and electricity connectivity pose problems for the learner-centered approach. Besides, students lack their own personal computers and also face problems gaining access to the internet which makes individual student research and personalized learning difficult. Interviewees also noted that the problems with developing competences in Cameroonian HE posing problems for policy borrowing tie with the post-colonial influence on the devaluation of Africa education and competences. In line with this, an interviewee said:

Reforms in higher education in particular come to us as if we have never had a system of education of our own. This concept of consistent borrowing from the west is as if we don't have our own African educational values. Coming back to the BMP, it looks like something which has been borrowed because of its appellation. Development of competences and student-centered oriented learning look foreign but, African educational values have always been the development of competences,...learner-centered, ...action... These are African values because the African child has always learnt through co-participation. If a mother wanted to teach a child how to cook, the mother will not have to take the child to the sitting room and begin to give a lecture. She just takes the child to the kitchen and through co-participation the child learns. These are things that now in the formal educational set up they are being brought back to us as if they were/are not part of us ... (University Lecture-A;SMU:2015).

The quotation above means that reforms like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP brought in by policy borrowing is derogatory and it has undermined long existing educational practices in Africa/Cameroon which is a problem. Recall in section 3.6, under colonial/post-colonial theory I mentioned that the devaluation of African knowledge and competences is what Shizha (2006, p.24) described as a *de facto* legitimization of Western views. In line with this, some authors like Barth, Godemann, Rieckmann and Stoltenberg (2007) argue that less attention has been paid to the circumstances involved with the processes of developing chief competences needed for sustainable development till today. Therefore, the argument that human capital formation (competency-based approach to learning/student-centered approach to learning) also serves as a problematic (inhibiting) factor to policy borrowing holds true. Having illustrated the above claim, I now present the next indicator of human capital formation (expertise) as a factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE.

6.4.3 Human capital formation and expertise

Recall in section 6.4, I argued that human capacity formation as a factor (through the lens of ‘expertise’) relates to staff only in the formation of human capital in Cameroonian HE with the onset of policy borrowing and the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. On one hand, according to some interviewees comprising of students, public and private university officials and Commonwealth officials human capital formation (through expertise) serve as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. Some interviewees said:

We lack expertise. Some people might have been trained, others have gone for many types of refresher courses but because they were not well nurtured, they end up not being experts. We intend to have a pool of technical experts (University Official-C;SMU:2015).

I think it is because we don’t have experts that can come up with reforms or policies that would probably suit the African context that is why we probably go out to seek for policies ... (Student-B;UBa:2015).

I would argue the first quotation portrays that there is shortage of staff with expertise needed to make policies which have driven the need to be involved in policy borrowing. The second quotation represents a situation where there are lack of (African/Cameroonian) experts to design policies that would reflect the local African/Cameroonian local realities which has necessitated policy borrowing. Though these quotations seem to present problems rather than facilitating factors, I would argue they depict a situation of lack of expertise which has stimulated policy borrowing by using foreign expertise. Such expertise according to the interviewees has been provided by bilateral and multinational organizations like UNESCO in Cameroonian HE thus linking Cameroonian HE to the globalized world and setting the pace for policy borrowing. Maiava (2002, p.1) specifically mentioned that it is difficult to talk of development without thinking of interventions in terms of; World Bank policies, participatory workshops, projects and programmes, use of experts and feasibility studies.

Despite arguments raised in favour of human capital formation (through expertise) as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing, there are also counter arguments which claim that this factor is a problematic (inhibiting) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. This view has been perceived by some interviewees made up of MINESUP officials, public and private university officials. According to these officials, Cameroonians like talking too much at length through seminars but act less and usually these talks are without any fruits which pose indeed a difficulty. An interviewee added that:

Bias effect! The bicultural nature of our country! They always send the wrong people to do the right things and when they go out and return they are not able to handle anything. The issue of Anglophone and Francophone! They don't send the right people to do the right thing. If you are up there with me and I know that you are "my sister", I will be sending you abroad just to earn out-station allowance and not because you are going there to do something for the interest of the nation⁴³. You can link this to football. At one moment when they had to send players abroad and since there is much money in football, some players were selected not because they can play better but because they have people who are backing them up. This is the case of Cameroon! (University Official-D:BUST:2015).

The quotation above portrays a problem when it comes to having local experts in Cameroon suggesting the system is plagued with cultural biases and corruption which has propelled the wrong people to be appointed to manage its HE and this is also evident in the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP mobility schemes through study abroad/scholarships/fellowships (which affect human capital formation and the quest for expertise) since those who are not qualified are sent abroad based on cultural affiliation or identification with those in power. Uzochukwu (2017) mentioned that 'sentimentalism' is a core problem in African education (Cameroon inclusive) wherein senior managers appoint inappropriate people to staff learning departments simply because these individuals are related to top officials, resulting in the recruitment/use of lecturers to teach courses in which they have no background knowledge. This evidence portrays that human capital formation (through expertise) indeed also serves as a problematic (inhibiting) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. Having illustrated how human capital formation using various indicators serve as both facilitating and problematic (inhibiting) factor of policy borrowing, I now conclude the section.

6.4.4 Conclusion

I have argued that human capital like other factors has either been paid less attention to or ignored in studies into policy borrowing in African HE at large and Cameroonian HE in particular. The human capacity formation factor was revealed to be both a facilitating and inhibiting (problematic) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE – thus depicting policy borrowing in this domain as being controversial. The controversiality of policy borrowing relative to the human factor was examined using three indicators namely human resource development and capacity building; competency-based approach to learning (CBA)/student-centered learning; and the quest for expertise. I argued that 'human resource development

⁴³ Out-station allowance in Cameroon is an amount of money which institutions pay their staff for doing some work lasting more than a day outside the normal working environment of the institutions.

and capacity building' related to 'both staff and student'; 'gaining expertise' related to 'staff only'; and the competency-based approach to learning (CBA)/student-centered learning related to 'students only' in the formation of human capital in Cameroonian HE within the onset of policy borrowing and the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. According to the OECD (2011), human capital is also known as human resource (Tanzharikova, 2012), human capacity (Chard, 2005), capability (World Bank, 2004) or skilled workforce (Mohamedbhai, 2013) which has been at the forefront of most reforms today in the world - such as the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. Human capital formation within the Bologna Process is important as it aids in solving some of the problems plaguing societies such as brain drain and workforce concerns (MacGregor, 2015), global competitiveness (Mohamedbhai, 2013) among others. The OECD (2011, p.3) affirmed that 'universities and other tertiary education institutions play a key role in human capital development and innovation systems in their cities and regions', which I argue has been augmented by policy borrowing and the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. However, care needs to be exercised in handling the problems encountered in the development of human capital formation in Cameroonian HE which are problematic to policy borrowing. Some of the areas where attention is needed include: limiting brain drain by re-assessing mobility schemes for staff and students; providing educational resources to aid student-centered learning (the teaching of competences necessary for employment); appreciating and empowering local technical expertise in education; and combating cultural biases when it comes to dealing with human resources/expertise. Next, I present a comprehensive conclusion of the chapter.

6.5 General conclusion

This chapter partly provides answers to RQ2 which is 'what factors facilitate and inhibit (problems encountered) policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities?' Generally, I earlier argued that the original framework of the policy borrowing model as established by Phillips and Ochs (2003 & 2004) has attracted many criticisms e.g it is Euro-centric being produced by westerners following European/western realities and does not adequately address African/Cameroonian local realities. To bridge the gap, this section generally introduces the 'policy borrowing iceberg' which is an Afro-centric model used in examining policy borrowing discourses within Africa/Cameroon. The policy borrowing iceberg comprises of three categories of factors including 'analysis above the surface' which analyses overt factors such as decision-making, development and human capital formation; 'analysis across the surface' which analyses overt-covert factor(s) such as change; and 'analysis beneath the surface' which analyses covert factors such as postcolonialism and dominance.

Specifically, the chapter examined the category 'analysis above the surface' of the policy borrowing iceberg. 'Analysis above the surface' analyses those factors and their indicators that are overt and which

can be readily identified by even a layperson such as development, decision-making and human capital formation to be the factors that trigger policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities. These factors I argued have either been ignored or paid less attention to in studies into ‘policy borrowing’ specifically in Africa/Cameroon.

Decision-making which is a form of governance as a factor of the iceberg (and its corresponding theory in chapter three – decision-making theory) is important to the study of policy borrowing in Africa/Cameroon as it examines the decision-making actors particularly external actors like UNESCO and IMF/World Bank which have the power to influence and control decisions regarding HE policies and reforms like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP, other programmes and practices across the globe and in Africa/Cameroon (Mohamedbhai, 2013) through the use of their expertise (Maiava, 2002; & Verger, Novelli & Altinyelken, 2012) and eligibility condition schemes required for benefiting from foreign HE finance (Ravinet, 2008 & Trohler, 2009).

Development as a factor of the iceberg (and its corresponding theories in chapter three – modernization theory and African Renaissance theory) is very important as this is something which continues to guide, consciously or unconsciously, important policy actors such as NGOs, national governments and ministries on what ‘development’ is.

Human capital formation as a factor of the iceberg (and its corresponding theory in chapter three – theory of human capacity development) relative to policy borrowing is important as it would be of no use and wastage of resources if systems of education invest in policies particularly costly GEPs like the Bologna Process/LMD without the central aim of developing human capital through student-based approaches that tie with competency development (Klemenčič, 2009) needed to serve as workforce for home/global use. The next chapter further examines the policy borrowing iceberg by unveiling the category ‘analysis across the surface’. ‘Analysis across the surface’ presents factor(s) that lie on opposite sides of the policy borrowing iceberg and can be determined by both lay persons and policy critics.

Chapter Seven

Factors that drive policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities according to key stakeholders' perspectives – 'Analysis across the surface'

7.1 Introduction

This chapter extends analysis of the policy borrowing iceberg by examining 'analysis across the surface'. As seen in section 6.1, 'analysis across the surface' analyses those factor(s) that lie from one side to the opposite side of the iceberg's surface hence intersecting it. The factor(s) can also be identified by both laypersons, policy critics and comparativists to be factors that trigger policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. Based on the explanations provided, these factor(s) are perceived to be overt-covert factors. According to the study 'change' is the sole factor that belongs to this category. In addressing 'analysis across the surface', I also answer RQ2 which is 'what factors facilitate and inhibit (problems encountered) policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities?' Also recall that policy borrowing in the Cameroonian context of HE is a controversial phenomenon as same factors/indicators that promote it also serve as problematic (inhibiting) factors, thus calling for criticality when applying this model in policy making. Having introduced the chapter, I now delve into the analysis.

7.2. Change as a facilitating and inhibiting (problematic) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE according to key stakeholders' perspectives

By 'change', I mean 'educational reform'. I prefer using the word 'change' rather than 'educational reform' across the thesis to be in line with Michael Fullan's theory of change (Fullan, 2001) whose framework I have intensively made use of in this thesis⁴⁴. My argument has been based on the works of Fullan (2001) who stipulated that in studying change/reform, there are four stages involved including, adoption, implementation, continuation and outcome. I would say the first three stages underscore both 'processes' and 'outcomes' though the latter is perceived by Fullan as the 'last stage'. In this section, I examine the first three stages from a 'process' perspective. I start by examining the adoption phase of change.

7.2.1 Change and the adoption phase

Recall in section 3.8.1, I mentioned that there are many reasons for engaging in educational change. Eta (2015, p.169-174) mentioned that there are several justifications for adopting the LMD reform (which originated from the Bologna Process) from an international, regional and national standpoint. From an

⁴⁴ See section 3.8 for other 'change' synonyms other than 'reform'.

international standpoint, the justifications for adopting the LMD reform have been: the need to adhere to international standards; and the need for the international recognition of certificates and graduates (Eta, 2015, p.173 & 174). From a CEMAC regional standpoint (Eta, 2015, p.169-170), the justification of adopting the LMD reform has been – a political decision to address the CEMAC sub-regional Higher Education, Research and Professional Area (space) geared at tackling staff/student/researcher mobility; harnessing convergence in degree structures/degree recognition; and adoption of the credit system to take care of students' mobility needs. From a national standpoint, the justification for the adoption of the LMD (Eta, 2015, p.170-173) includes: the quest to harmonize degree structures; adoption of a common credit system; to renew the curriculum with focus on student-centered and outcome-based curriculum; ensure mobility; and enhance graduate employability. However, this is what I criticized in sections 3.1, 3.8.1 and 6.1 as being limited to what I describe as the 'adoption-outcome' as the 'adoption-process' is lacking which I have examined in this section. I now present change relative to globalization as one of the processes of the adoption phase.

7.2.1.1 Change and globalization

According to some interviewees comprising of some lecturers, public and private university officials, and commonwealth officials, change through globalization serves as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. According to these interviewees, the change in the global economy has propelled everyone to want to bridge the gap as everyone desires to move forward. This means Cameroon cannot stand still but join the bandwagon. The interviewees added that change relative to globalization in facilitating policy borrowing has been enhanced by the ICT revolution thereby pushing universities to become 'universal'. According to the interviewees, this is important in making cosmetic changes in reviewing academic programmes to enhance graduate employability. In line with this, some interviewees said:

I think we have increasingly been talking about globalization which in my thinking supposes that no country and no sector of national life can remain immune to international change. (Commonwealth Official-B:2015).

when it comes to the BMP system, if we see that the whole world is changing, I think we also need to change. We can see that every change that they are making in adopting the BMP system are all aimed at better training people and giving them skills for development. (University Official-B;CCU:2015).

The quotations above illustrate that change as a factor of policy borrowing is indeed enhanced by

globalization as illustrated by the ‘immunity analogy’ wherein no nation (Cameroon) inclusive can be immune to international change (quotation one), particularly in the onset of the BMP (quotation two). To reinforce the evidence above, recall in section 3.8.1 under the theory of change, I mentioned that there is a rapid increase in the globalization of HE with more stress on setting international standards (Room, 2000, p.105); quality assurance mechanisms (Huisman & Van der Wende, 2004, p.133); transnational exchanges and global competitiveness (Davies & Guppy, 1997, p.435) – calling for change and policy borrowing within HE systems. Klemenčič (2009, p.2) mentioned that most often, globalization is known to be the lifting of national boundaries using information and communication technologies and transportation to aid competitiveness – thus leading to change and potential policy borrowing. According to Altbach and Knight (2007, p.291), within the global era, the use of English as the lingua franca for scientific communication – has aided adoption of reforms (like the Bologna Process) – leading to change and policy borrowing. I would argue on one hand the evidence provided thus portrays that change through globalization, serve as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE.

To contradict the argument of change relative to globalization as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE (in other words change through globalization serves as an inhibiting factor of policy borrowing) I have summarized some of these counter claims. In line with this, interviewees mentioned that concerns related to change through globalization which serves as a problematic factor for policy borrowing include ICT concerns, mobility concerns, expertise concerns, unnecessary westernization of policies, conditionality concerns and much more. In line with the westernization of policies and conditionality concerns for instance, Chabbott (2003) criticized globalization for being a transmission of western ideas than a global agreement among equal partners. In other words, these are ideas that have been successful just because they have been promoted by money supplied by non-governmental, governmental and novel international educational bureaucracies like UNESCO (see subsection 3.8.1). Dale and Robertson (2002, p.10) also criticized “globalization” as a term which is too broad and too ambiguous, to be utilized unproblematically in the determination of its effects on national educational systems in terms of its structures, processes, institutions and practices. From these evidence on the other hand, it shows that change through globalization also serves as a problematic/inhibiting factor to policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. Having said this, I now present the next indicator of change (context) which has propelled change to be a factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE.

7.2.1.2 Change and context

According to some interviewees comprising of students, public and private university officials and state lecturers change (through context) serve as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE.

According to these officials, borrowed policies and reforms coming from the western world have been adapted in Cameroonian HE to cater for local contextual realities. An interviewee added:

In a multicultural context you can expect dialogue among cultures...NGOs are also present. These are institutions that influence countries to adopt foreign policies. Most often they know how to sell the ideas not always because they are really efficient as indicated by the context but simply because there is that drive for globalization. (University Lecturer-A;UBa:2015).

The quotation above reveals that change relative to context as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing is better apprehended by analyzing the part played by multinationals in sharing best practices as well as the process of globalization in disseminating policies across national contexts. In line with this, in subsection 3.8.1 under the theory of change, Takamaya *et al.* (2017, p.2) stressed that it is imperative for comparativists to provide complete contextual information of the educational practices of other nations because external narratives of these are important in justifying home-based policies. Peck *et al.* (2010, cf) added that there is need for globalization to be understood as a novel terrain known as the novel 'context of contexts' – which justifies the presence of global educational policies or GEPs (Verger, Novelli & Altinyelken, 2012, p.17) cutting across national contexts - such as the Bologna Process (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012). I would argue this evidence on one hand reveals that change (through context) is a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE.

7.2.1.3 Change and adoption concerns

According to some interviewees, there are other change/adoption concerns which serve as problems for policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE other than the indicators raised above. These includes administrative bottlenecks/political issues; policy management concerns and lack of need analysis/clarity.

Lecturer interviewees argued that change (through adoption) is problematic to policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in terms of administrative bottlenecks/political issues⁴⁵. In line with this some interviewees said:

The political will also sometimes do not favour policies...In some cases, new people will just lock up themselves in their offices and propose new policies. So, we are always navigating like this without knowing where we are going. To me, this is a major inhibiting factor. (Lecturer-C;UBa:2015).

⁴⁵ See more of administrative bottlenecks and political issues under decision-making above.

The government is also sometimes really unstable. There is also the fact that here we have a very bad ideology - Money! This is the most important! Administrators don't really care about the content, quality control of education and mastery of policies. The most important thing is how far they can make their pockets full! (University Lecturer-C;UBa:2015).

While quotation one reveals the inefficiency of change-adoption relative to policy-making caused by 'politics in education', quotation two reveals how corruption through embezzlement/misappropriation of state funds allocated to universities has plagued the Cameroonian university system. To buttress the evidence and how problematic this has been, some interviewees added that in merging courses geared at enhancing professionalization, some staff complained that when courses are merged, they will not have money - which affects quality control. Therefore the evidence reveals that change through adoption is problematic to policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in the domain of administrative bottlenecking and political issues. In section 3.7 under the theory of dominance, Uzochukwu (2017) added that political crises in Africa (and Cameroon in particular) has hugely distorted the educational systems and standards in Africa which have prevented the smooth running of the academic year, prevented students from studying and massive destruction of educational facilities and equipment (see section 3.6 colonial/postcolonial theory and the 2016 strike action in Cameroon).

Apart from administrative bottlenecking/political issues, some private university officials argued that change (through adoption) is problematic to policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in terms of policy management concerns despite the onset of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. In line with this an official said "... the ministry of education has no national policy which is in any document. I went to Yaounde and there was no document!" (University Official-D,BUST:2015). Another official went further to explain why there has been no national policy document for HE in Cameroon by mentioning the abandonment of the National Council for Higher Education and Scientific Research. Thus:

.... we used to have The National Council for Higher Education and Scientific Research which met only twice in 1978 and 1982. From then up till today, that council has never met. That was a council which was supposed to project policy in the sectors of science, technology and so on every five years. the main difficulty is at the highest level of management as we do not have this organ for the coordination of educational policies. This is not functional. the non-functionality of this organ where you would have a broad section of higher education stakeholders come together to do an orientation of HE, evaluate what is going on and then draw up policy guidelines is a problem and universities just function almost independently under the Ministry of Higher Education. ... As

an old practitioner in the system, I see that this is the main problem. (University Official-C:CCU:2015).

I would argue the absence of a national council for HE is a problem in the wake of policy borrowing as there is a lack of decision-making structures where various stakeholders could come together to deliberate on borrowed policies before adoption in a consultative manner which would provide room for addressing the felt needs of each HE stakeholder and societal needs. In line with this evidence, the University World News (2018) noted that one of the challenges plaguing African HEIs (Cameroon inclusive) is that there is too much focus on the provision of external oversight (external governance) to universities while enough is not being done to nurture the capacity of internal evaluation and accountability as the role of councils in transformation has not been adequately crystallised.

Some interviewees comprising of some public and private university officials and MINESUP officials argued that change (through adoption) is problematic to policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in terms of lack of need analysis and clarity. According to interviewees, Cameroonian HE policy makers tend to bring in policies from abroad that makes no sense to anybody yet compel universities to implement them which pose problems of understanding. Some interviewees went further to explain why the Cameroonian government has acted this way pointing to poverty and lack of situational need analysis. In line with these, some interviewees said:

One of my concerns is the fact that poverty has driven many Cameroonians and other Africans to uncritically adopt policies without paying attention to their local realities. This is in terms of resources both material and human resources; in terms of sustainability of these policies; in terms of relevance of those policies. (University Official-A; UB, 2015).

There are problems that cut across universities due to the absence of situational analysis of needs... (University Official-A;SMU:2015).

The first quotation on poverty underscores problems of policy borrowing relative to change/adoption as there is often lack of criticality and consideration of local contextual realities like resource availability which would otherwise aid adoption and implementation. The second quotation talks of lack of situational analysis which considers local contextual realities, national developmental agenda and other concerns. However, poverty has been one of the drives to policy borrowing particularly the adoption of the Bologna Process/LMD which is known to be accompanied by money from multinationals. In line with the evidence provided, Fullan (2001, p.29) noted that ‘the crux of change is how individuals come to grips with this reality’ in relation to the ‘subjective’ meaning of change (personal construct) and the ‘objective’ meaning

of change (which comprises of elements of educational change). This means Cameroonians as individuals find it hard to understand the adoption of change in the advent of policy borrowing and the Bologna Process. Having illustrated change/adoption, I now present change/implementation and how this influences policy borrowing.

7.2.2 Change and implementation issues

In this section, I have presented problems of change which affect implementation of borrowed policies using indicators such as resources, psychological reactions of university staff and contextual concerns. I assume that these indicators under favourable conditions would serve as facilitating factors of policy borrowing. Also note that the indicators affecting the adoption stage have potentials for affecting the implementation phase. Eta and Vuban (2017, p.352-361) revealed that the challenges of implementing a borrowed model like the Bologna Process/LMD in Cameroon include: concerns relative to its conceptualization, perception and implementation (like concerns with credits and various institutional implementation plans); insufficient resources; concerns with LMD/BMP degree structure; concerns with credit system; mobility concerns; as well as concerns with the professionalization agenda. (For more on what these comprise of see Eta & Vuban, 2017). Having said this, I further examine implementation concerns which are problematic to policy borrowing below.

7.2.2.1 Change and resource concerns

According to some interviewees made up of MINESUP and public/private university officials, the implementation of change/reforms like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP pose problems for policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE due to lack of resources. In line with this, an interviewee said:

We have problems of implementation. It's not just only a matter of adopting foreign policies, but of actually implementing these foreign policies. With universities abroad, before implementing their policies, they have all the necessary resources. We don't have these. So, when we adopt foreign policies, we have problems of implementing them....(University Official-B;UBa:2015).

The interviewees added that resource concerns stem from the lack of financial resources required to implement the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP, which is a capital-expensive means of teaching/teaching explained by the lack of infrastructure (libraries, laboratories, lecture halls) as well as equipment like microphones, computers/internet in classrooms and textbooks to cater for student-centered approaches to learning (see competency-based approach to learning/student-centered learning in 6.4.2); lack of sufficient time needed to cater for workload as defined by credits; high student-teacher ratios; and the wrong person

appointed to do the job. Using the wrong person for the job to illustrate policy borrowing and the BMP, (just like human capital formation and expertise concerns in 6.4.3) an interviewee said:

when the BMP was brought in and they wanted to train people to understand and study the programme to see how it can be adopted and implemented in the University of Dschang, they turned around and picked people who had never passed through the system and those were the people who were sent to look at the system and report on the system. Those are the people who even came and offered interviews on the system because they were paid huge sums of money. Some of them were sent to the US, some of them to Britain; to go and study the system. Of course they sent people who were their friends, junior brothers and all that because of the money that was involved. But those who knew the system were not consulted. I am very frank about this! They were not consulted! So, what do you expect? (University Official/Lecturer-I;UBa-2015).

To harness the evidence above, recall in subsection 3.8.2 under the theory of change, it was raised that the problem of lack of resources be it finance (Uzochukwu, 2017), infrastructure (Fullan, 2001), lack of computers and laptops (Uzochukwu, 2017), and shortage of staff and/or concerns with qualified staff (Mohamedbhai, 2013) are all problematic to the implementation of change – in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP and policy borrowing. I would argue that while resource may pose problems for implementation of change and policy borrowing in case of lack, sufficient and available resources serve as a facilitating indicator to the implementation of change and policy borrowing. Next, I present psychological concerns which affect implementation of change, the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP and policy borrowing.

7.2.2.2 Change and psychological concerns

According to some interviewees comprising of MINESUP officials, state lecturers, public and private university officials, the implementation of change/reforms like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP pose problems for policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE as this has raised psychological concerns. According to these officials, new things pose problems especially at the level of implementation because when a method is changed because individuals have been used to doing some particular things and changing these things affect them psychologically. In line with this an interviewee said:

Resistance from lecturers. Psychologically, they are not prepared. Most of them do not know the socio-economic milieu. They've got little or no knowledge or skills or background on the state of things. New lecturers have not been trained on professionalization. So, it's a problem. (MINESUP Official-C:2015).

The quotation above illustrates the psychological concerns lecturers as implementers of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP face in implementing the various action lines such as employability/professionalization among others which is a problem. To harness the above evidence, in subsection 3.8.2, under the theory of change, Mngo (2011) recounted that resistance to change and the BMP reform in Cameroon is caused by staff-perceived fears and expectations of the reform. In line with this, Schon (1971, p.12) cited in Fullan (2001) remarked that all real changes entail “passing through the zones of uncertainty...the situation of being at sea, of being lost, of confronting more information than you can handle”; thus explaining reasons for such resistance. According to Marris (1975, p.121) in Fullan (2001) “any information cannot be assimilated unless its meaning is shared”; signifying there is need to have a common meaning of the change reform by HE stakeholders to aid the implementation phase.

Others raised psychological concerns in terms of concerns about staff competences. In line with this an interviewee said:

...it raises psychological questions. Questions of competence. Questions of superiority or inferiority. Have we become incapable of doing things on our own? Are we so incapable of setting our priorities such that we have somebody from outside set these priorities for us and then move away from us for us to realize that we could not support ourselves? ...it failed because of us doubting our abilities.’ (University Official-B;SMU:2015).

Analysis also reveals that there are psychological concerns which originate from denial, blame and complaints which define Africans at large and Cameroonians in particular which I term the ‘African-syndrome’ as from personal experiences Africans particularly Cameroonians like to complain and blame others for their problems or failures rather than struggle as individuals to provide solutions to such problems thereby helping the entire African/Cameroonian society. The ‘African-syndrome’ based on interviewees’ perceptions I would argue has posed problems/inhibited the implementation of change and policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities. In line with this, an interviewee said:

I think what I have come to realize in my life is that as Africans there are three characteristics which is killing us. Denial! We don’t always want to accept that our next neighbour is above us. We always want to say “no” or why should this person be greater than us? If you know who you are and understand your capacity you can only accept that you can’t do this and until you accept that you can’t do it then will you know how to do it. If you keep on denying, then you can’t be able do it. Blame! We keep on blaming people every day! I ask a simple question, show me one thing that Africa has presented. There is none that we can show. So, these are some of the things. Complaint!

We complain everyday blaming others but we keep doing even what is worse than others. (University Official&Lecturer-D;UB:2015).

I argue if these complaints and denials are removed from individuals, then will they be able to face reality (that the west is indeed 'better' than Cameroon particularly when looking at the west in terms of technological advancements and more). These would aid individuals understand their own weaknesses and cope with change (educational reforms), policy borrowing and the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. Furthermore, individuals would better understand not only the 'change-outcome' - for instance Bologna Process/LMD/BMP action lines like employability, mobility, degree recognition and much more- -; but the 'change-process' constituting of adoption, implementation, and continuation phases; thereby limiting most of the existing complaints. This is because most of the complaints (including corruption, nepotism, denial of problems, adoption of policy for essentially political reasons, underfunding and much more) raised by interviewees have been about the 'process' of borrowed reforms like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP which is perceived as not being adapted to African/Cameroonian realities. I would also suggest there is need for Cameroonian HE stakeholders particularly those concerned with implementation to face reality so as to learn from the west particularly the 'change-process' to become better. Having illustrated change and psychological concerns, I now present contextual concerns.

7.2.2.3 Change and contextual concerns

According to some interviewees comprising of state lecturers and private university officials, change via contextual concerns is problematic in implementing borrowed policies like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. An interviewee said:

We borrow but practice it in a way that when the conceivers see it the way it is practiced, they do not even understand what is going on....Contexts differ a lot hugely. The context of application differs! (University Official&Lecturer-C;BUST:2015).

I would argue the quotation underscores the shortcomings of adapting borrowed policies rather than implementing them the way they are supposed to be and/or the lack of expertise needed to understand, adapt and implement borrowed policies in Cameroonian HE. In line with this in subsection 3.8.1 under the theory of change, Beech (2006) remarked that since imported educational policies are locally mediated and re-contextualized via multiple processes, the consequences of transfer of these imported policies remains unpredictable. Furthermore in subsection 3.8.2 under the theory of change Schriewer (2000b), Phillips and Ochs (2003), Steiner-Khamsi (2004), Steiner-Khamsi and Stolpe (2006) noted that the problem is that borrowed/global policies mutate during their journeys, rarely travel as complete packages, as they move in

bits and pieces – as selective discourses, inchoate ideas, and synthesized models – and they therefore “arrive” not as replicas but as policies ‘already-in-transformation’ thus a problem for implementation in local contexts. To buttress the claims raised an interviewee explained contextual differences relative to culture using intelligence quotient (IQ). Thus:

...it is very difficult to take something from the western world and implement here because we have our own culture. This is because for instance, at times when you say a child is intelligent, a western lecturer will look at it from mental abilities and so on; but what about the Cameroonian child who is able to produce things in the village and even sell them to earn a living or to help the family? That is intelligence! So, you see this is some sort of a problem. So, it becomes very difficult to implement some of these policies as context differ. (University Lecturer-C;UBa:2015).

I would argue the culture of education which varies across contexts is problematic for policy borrowing as it becomes difficult for lecturers to grade students’ performance in the onset of borrowed policies like the Bologna Process which further has negative impacts on student mobility, credit transferability and degree recognition as stipulated by the BMP; as well as pose concerns in terms of quality. To harness this evidence, recall in subsection 3.8.1 under the theory of change, Crossley (2008) remarked that though so much can be learned through the study of foreign educational systems, there are also dangers involved. Also recall in subsection 3.8.3, under the theory of change, Crossley and Watson (2003) added that the development of global education programmes (like the Bologna Process) is often questioned for not taking sufficiently into account local social contexts and needs - such as lack of finance (Lewin, 2007); blockage or resistance to educational reforms by veto players (Martens, Nagel, Windzio, & Weyman, 2010), among other contextual concerns. Having illustrated the implementation of change and how it is problematic to policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE particularly in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP, I now present the change/continuity concerns.

7.2.3 Change and continuation issues

In this section, I have presented problems of change which affect the continuation of borrowed policies from a dual perspective that is systemic collapse/abandonment; and lack of follow up. Also note that the indicators affecting the adoption and implementation stages have potentials for affecting the continuation phase. Recall in sections 3.1, 3.8 and 6.5, I specifically argued that no study into the continuation phase of change has been done which is a gap I fill in this section.

I would like to critique the adoption of the Bologna Process in Europe, CEMAC/Africa and Cameroon to bring out some of the salient problems that have led to continuing concerns which address both systemic

collapse/abandonment and lack of follow up. In Europe, there has been a ministerial meeting every two years to monitor the Bologna Process and adopt new action lines to enable its sustainability and this is monitored and coordinated by the Bologna Follow Up Group (BFUG) among other stakeholders (Crosier & Parveva, 2013, p.28). According to Neave (2005) the continuous adoption of numerous agenda/action lines done biennially has meant the Bologna Process (in Europe) has no end. In CEMAC, ever since the adoption of the LMD/BMP in 2006 (CEMAC, 2006), there has been no follow up meetings or addition of action lines from a regional standpoint. According to Woldegiorgis, *et al.* (2015, p.243), neofunctionalism explains that regional integration (for instance in the era of the Bologna Process/LMD) is not a static action but a continual process which is interlinked across various sectors. Furthermore, in Cameroon ever since the adoption of the LMD/BMP in 2007 (MINESUP, 2007) – I would argue there has been no follow up meeting(s) or addition of action lines in the communique from a national standpoint. The lack of follow up meetings or addition of action lines in Cameroonian HE might partly be as a result of: the lack of follow up meetings and addition of action lines at the CEMAC regional level as Cameroon is a signatory state to the CEMAC convention (systemic influence); or laziness of Cameroonian HE policy-makers to take up the challenge to establish follow up meetings and/or add more action lines from a national standpoint. This explains why in section 6.2.2 under decision-making and consultations/dialogue, I argued that the problem has been that Cameroonian HE policy makers copied Europe’s Bologna Process from a ‘policy’ perspective while ignoring the ‘process’. According to Majone (2014, p.10) a situation where governments decide on what to implement or prioritize in terms of action lines is described as implementation *a la carte*. According to Gaston (2012), some HEIs (like Cameroonian HE) are known to have a surface implementation of the Bologna Process posing problems for evaluation, critiquing and continuation of the process by European HE ministers. These arguments, are partly the reasons for ‘continuation issues’ of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE. However, Majone (2014, p.10) (like ESU, 2014, p.2 see regional harmonization in chapter two) recommended that to deal with harmonization issues (policy borrowing) the aims of the Bologna Process for instance cannot be attained in an “a la carte” manner wherein governments decide on what to implement or prioritize but must be committed to implement all action lines equally.

The second argument ties with section 3.8.3 under the theory of change wherein I related continuation concerns to some arguments raised in colonial/post-colonial theory (see section 3.6). I recounted that according to the University World News (2017) in Cameroon, cultural/language issues plaguing the HE system which triggered the 2016 social unrest in the country has had as consequence the presidential closure of the two lone state Anglo-Saxon universities, though universities in Anglophone Cameroon decided to continue being operational in order not to be at a completely losing side in the course of the strike action (Personal Communication, 2018). I argue that the lack of mastery of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP objectives in local Cameroonian context which is a reform that would have fostered healthy competition

and attractiveness of the national higher educational space as well as promote institutional autonomy is probably one of the main reasons that has fueled the recent 2016 socio-political and educational malaise in Cameroon. According to Doh (2008), Eta and Vuban (2017), and Eta (2018), given that the adoption of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform was geared at harmonizing the dual nature of the HE system; I would argue that the future of this reform in terms of continuity is ambiguous. I argue that due to the severe nature of the strike, the outcome might be ‘national secession’ which may trigger the French and English HE subsystems to revert to their original form of HE organization that lie antiparallel to each other⁴⁶. This is because to properly analyze the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform would require examining what goes on in both subsystems at same time using similar action lines to reflect a holistic picture of national harmonization of HE.

The above arguments, I would say are strong evidence as to why change (through continuity) has posed problems for policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. According to Fullan (2001, p.52) ‘change is a process, not an event’ - thus ensuring continuity – but it seems Cameroonian HE has considered the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP aided by policy borrowing as an event and not a process. Having introduced the section, I now present analysis based on interviewees’ perceptions. I first present systemic collapse/abandonment.

7.2.3.1 Systemic collapse and abandonment

According to some officials comprising of state lecturers, and public and private university officials, change-continuity serves as a problematic factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE as it has led to systemic collapse and abandonment of borrowed policies. According to these officials the problem with change-continuity relative to systemic collapse and abandonment arises from the educational system handling so many things at the same time, which eventually leads to systemic collapse and abandonment of policies. In line with this, under the theory of change (see subsection 3.8.3), Fullan (2001, p.21) noted that ‘the main problem is not the absence of innovations in schools but the presence of too many disconnected, episodic, fragmented, superficially adorned projects’; and also multiple innovations colliding (Hatch, 2000). Interviewees also added that HE administrators are known to take decisions which are implemented sometimes with limited resources and most often they end up forgetting about them. In line with this an interviewee said:

We start and after a while, the adoption of a policy is abandoned because of lack of critical support.

⁴⁶ See 2.5.3 on degree to understand the organization of degrees in both the French-speaking and Anglophone HE systems in Cameroon in the pre-LMD/BMP and LMD/BMP era.

This critical support can be financial, economic, social and cultural. (University Official-B;SMU-2015).

...foreign NGOs help at least the country to be aware of things and also provide financial means...Five years and beyond these institutions are no more there to control the implementation of such policies and that is how these policies are just forgotten. (University Official-B;2015).

The first quotation illustrates the fact that resources are critical support for the continuation of change and the lack of resources leads to systemic collapse/abandonment of policies including the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP, hence posing concerns for policy borrowing. The second quotation stresses the fact that foreign expertise provided by NGOs like UNESCO (Mohamedbhai, 2013) in the implementation of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP though good also has its shortcomings. This is because after training Cameroonian HE staff on how to go about implementing borrowed or global policies like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP, when these experts depart from Cameroon, they leave with their expertise and implementation/monitoring problems set in because the staff of Cameroon had been used to depending on the foreign experts to do these leading to systemic collapse and abandonment of borrowed policies like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP as well as problems for policy borrowing. As seen above, the absence of the Bologna Follow Up Group - BFUG in CEMAC and Cameroon may be one of the main causes for the systemic collapse of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE. Having illustrated this claim, I now present the claim on no follow up.

7.2.3.2 No follow up

According to some interviewees comprising of state lecturers, public and private university officials, change-continuity serve as a problematic factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE because of 'no follow up' of borrowed policies like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. According to these interviewees, the problem with change-continuity relative to no follow up stem from the fact that the Cameroonian government is notorious for not following up quality control which creates more problems leading to continuity issues. (I would like readers to recall on the abandonment of the BMP management system at the University of Buea which would have enhanced the follow up of the BMP. Also recall the abandonment of the National Council for HE which would have aided in the follow up of policies, policy management, quality control of policies and policy continuity in Cameroonian HE). Some interviewees added:

There is lack of follow up due to the fact that once they have reached the goal they abandon everything in the hands of people who are not even experts; then we will be observing some species of policies which have nothing to do with what was originally proposed. (Lecturer-B;UBa:2015).

When the Bologna Process came in, in our typical Cameroonian way, we talked a lot about it, but right now nobody is talking much about it. Though in Europe where it started, every two years members meet in a different country to review and re-orient it, we have not put in place any such instrument for continuity. We only adopted it because at that time the policy imperatives were that we should move towards the Bologna Process. Though we moved towards the Bologna Process, nobody is following up whether we are on track or whether we are reverting back slowly to our comfort zone which is where we were before the reform was adopted. (University Official-C;CCU-2015).

I would argue while the first quotation reveals that continuity concerns in terms of no follow up sets in as a result of lack of expertise due to the departure of NGOs with their expertise after providing trainings in Bologna Process/LMD/BMP seminars/workshops (also see subsection 7.2.3.1 on systemic collapse and abandonment); the second quotation depict a situation of lack of commitment to continuously implement borrowed policies which leads to continuity concerns. In subsection 3.8.3, under the theory of change, Fullan, Cuttress and Kilcher (2009, p.9) remarked that the problem with continuity is that it is not easy to amend failures caused by the lack of ‘change knowledge’ as policymakers do not desire being slowed down by the knowledge of change since it is time consuming to amend such knowledge. I would say that in line with Fullan *et al.* 's (2009) argument, the numerous problems plaguing either harmonization of HE systems from a macro, meso and micro perspective (see chapter five), and other policy borrowing concerns is what might have triggered continuity-concerns in terms of no follow up as this might be a waste of time due to lack of change knowledge.

7.3 Conclusion

As seen above and in section 6.1, change as a factor of policy borrowing falls under the category ‘analysis across the surface’ as it is an overt-covert factor that can be determined by both laypersons and policy critics/comparativists, as well as intersects the surface of the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’. As seen in sections 3.8, and 6.5, I argued that although there are some studies into the ‘adoption outcome’ of change relative to the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE (Eta, 2015), information about the ‘adoption-process’ is yet unknown. I also argued that although there is some research into both the ‘implementation-process’ and ‘implementation-outcome’ of change relative to the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE (Eta & Vuban, 2017), there is still a gap. I also mentioned that no attention has been paid particularly to the continuation phase. This thesis in this section therefore fills in the gaps and extends knowledge of existing literature by answering RQ2 which is ‘what factors facilitate and inhibit (problems

encountered) policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities?’ Analysis has been grounded using Michael Fullan’s theory of change (Fullan, 2001) in section 3.8.

Whilst there are many findings raised in terms of change being a facilitating and problematic (inhibiting) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE, the central finding is that policy borrowing via the change factor is a controversial phenomenon – a paradox. Findings revealed that there are two main indicators that trigger and at same time have potential for limiting adoption of change/reforms (like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP) in Cameroonian HE. These include globalization and context. However, there are other factors other than the aforementioned two that are also problematic to change/reforms. These include administrative bottlenecks, lack of an official document for HE to drive change/reforms, and the onset of poverty/lack of situational need analysis. Relative to the implementation stage, analysis reveal that resource concerns, psychological concerns and contextual concerns serve as problems (inhibiting factors) to the implementation of change like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. However, these factors under favourable conditions facilitate the implementation of change and policy borrowing. In terms of the continuation phase, findings reveal that systemic collapse/abandonment of policies as well as no follow up contribute to the termination of change and policy borrowing. From my personal viewpoint, I mentioned that the lack of follow up meetings regarding the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in Cameroon like what is obtainable in Europe; as well as the lack of proper mastery of the action lines seem to be some of the reasons facing the continuation phase. I also added that it is difficult to cope with foreign policies in Cameroonian HE as a new policy maybe adopted today, and the ‘next day’ another one is adopted even when the first one has not been implemented which pose serious problems in the educational system and confusion as people often wonder what exactly HE authorities want them to do. To solve this concern, Klemenčič (2009, p.15) advised that reforms normally take time and effort, and their success is a function of joint efforts by all key actors within the HE community. This too is the case with the Bologna Process reforms as Rauhvargers (2010, p.4) argued that the Bologna Process as a reform will take time for proper implementation – affecting continuity. Despite this length of time needed, Williams (2004, p.15) postulated that ‘it is not easy to dismiss the Bologna Process like spaghetti bolognese especially as universities are undergoing radical changes’ – which means as the Bologna Process is a continuous process so too is change/continuity and policy borrowing. Majone (2014, p.10) also recommended that to deal with harmonization issues (policy borrowing) the aims of the Bologna Process for instance cannot be attained in an *a la carte* manner wherein governments decide on what to implement or prioritize but must be committed to implement all action lines equally to ensure continuity.

However, while in chapter five, the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP was presented as a policy that aids macro, meso and micro harmonization, with harmonization across these contexts serving as a prelude and catalyst

to policy borrowing, I would argue, change and continuity concerns of the Bologna Process as seen in the evidence above further questions whether harmonization with the aid of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP actually serve as a prelude or catalyst to policy borrowing – thus adding up to the paradox claim of policy borrowing. These claims I would say further add to the controversiality/debate of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. Having concluded on ‘analysis across the surface’ of the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ relative to the change factor, I now present in the next chapter the category ‘analysis beneath the surface’ of the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’.

Chapter Eight

Factors that drive policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities according to key stakeholders' perspectives – ‘Analysis beneath the surface’

8.1 Introduction

This chapter completes analysis of factors that propel policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities lodged within the framework of the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ by unveiling ‘analysis beneath the surface’. With the ‘iceberg’ metaphor, I argue that there is a hidden (covert) part of policy borrowing in Africa at large and Cameroon in particular which seems more ‘dangerous’ as it generates hurtful feelings among recipients of borrowed policies like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. ‘Analysis beneath the surface’ of the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ presents analysis of those factors that need high-level critical judgements and can be determined by a limited few, including policy critics and comparativists and includes postcolonialism and dominance. In addressing ‘analysis beneath the surface’, I also answer RQ2 which is ‘what factors facilitate and inhibit (problems encountered) policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities?’ Also recall that policy borrowing in the Cameroonian context of HE is a controversial phenomenon as some factors/indicators that promote it also serve as inhibiting (problematic) factors at the same time, thus calling for criticality when applying this model in policy making. The chapter also compares Phillips and Ochs’ model of policy borrowing against the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’. Having introduced the chapter, I now present postcolonialism as a factor and ‘analysis beneath the surface’ of the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’.

8.2 Post-colonialism as a facilitating and inhibiting (problematic) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE according to key stakeholders' perspectives

I have argued that post-colonialism, like the other factors, has either been paid less attention to or ignored in studies into policy borrowing in African HE at large and Cameroonian HE in particular. As discussed earlier, from a historical perspective, education has always been pivotal in the administration of colonial powers such as French and British control in South Asia and Africa (Mudimbe, 1994). To properly apprehend, evaluate and appreciate the actual meaning of a given nation’s educational system needs a sound knowledge of its historical traditions; the nature of its social organization; and the economic and political conditions that influence its development are fundamental (Kandel, 1933, p.xix).

From a postcolonial perspective, the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in African HE at large and Cameroonian HE in particular, aided by policy borrowing, is a new form of neocolonialism. This is because the Bologna

Process/LMD/BMP as a perceived neo-imperial HE policy has been taken up by neo-colonialist institutions (NGOs) as part of a broader policy of imposing Western norms; as well as foisted on African countries through processes which themselves are neo-colonial. This explains why I would also say there is ‘colonial shadowing’, whereby colonial powers are physically absent but seem to still exert control over ex-colonies aided by neo-liberal structures.

Having introduced the section, I now present interviewees’ perceptions on how post-colonialism serves as a facilitating/problematic (inhibiting) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. According to interviewees, indicators used for illustration include historical affiliation with ex-colonialists versus the ‘independence nightmare’ and contemporary HE crises; and ‘culture as a plus’ versus ‘culture as a minus’.

8.2.1 Historical affiliation with ex-colonialists versus the ‘independence nightmare’ and contemporary HE crises

In order to present analysis of this indicator, to avoid confusion, I have presented ideas using two subsections namely 8.2.1.1 for historical affiliation with ex-colonialists; and 8.2.1.2 for ‘independence nightmare’ and contemporary HE crises. While the former presents post-colonialism as a facilitating factor, the latter is the opposite as it presents post-colonialism as a problematic/inhibiting factor of policy borrowing.

8.2.1.1 Historical affiliation with ex-colonialists

According to some interviewees comprising of MINESUP officials and private university officials post-colonialism is a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in the onset of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. Some interviewees said:

...there was colonial experience of Cameroon where our university system was designed to follow more or less the colonial administrators’ system and so there is this kind of historical affinity. (University Official-C; CCU, 2015).

...It’s colonial influence!...Most countries are still having things that they got from their colonial masters. You realize that the greater part of the country is Francophone, so most of the things in education and others have been tailored along the path of the French system. And since France itself had seen the need for its own system to be aligned with what is happening in the UK and the

rest of Europe..., I think that has been the push or stimulus for the government to start thinking. (University official-B;CCU:2015).

I think globalization has become a form of neocolonialism for Africa....Well, it is a form of neocolonialism in the sense that Africa is a big market for them and so, they need to sell these ideas and only Africa can consume them. (University Official-A;UCAC:2015).

The quotations depict that while these are examples of ‘analysis beneath the surface’, however, one does not need to have a very special kind of insight to see them at work. Furthermore, the first two quotations illustrate that the historical affiliation of Cameroon with its ex-colonial powers France and Britain has been the major drive to be involved in the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP, thus setting the pace for policy borrowing. According to interviewees, France has had a great influence in Cameroon which it established via the policy of assimilation since colonial rule to make its ex-colonies think and become like French citizens (civilized). Therefore, since France has been part of the Bologna Process in Europe, its ex-colonies (Cameroon inclusive) felt obliged by the policy of assimilation to do same in order to become ‘civilized’. Recall in section 3.3, according to the theory of modernization, Croché and Charlier (2012, p.469) noted that those who resisted the Bologna Process were perceived as ‘backward’ (or not civilized) because they are being considered incapable of understanding the course of history – which Cameroonian HE seems to be avoiding.

The third quotation presents the economic aspect of neocolonialism in Africa/Cameroon and how this has shaped the economy and potential employment in this context in the contemporary globalized world. According to Tsiwah (2014), the ability of France to dictate financial/economic decisions of its colonies (like Cameroon) in its interest at the expense of these colonies has been linked to the ‘French Colonial Pact’ which lifted France as the ‘god’ of trade within its colonies. The pact forbade France’s ex-colonies from any other foreign trade leading to ‘one-evil-route-trade’ to serve France’s selfish interest (Tsiwah, 2014). According to Tsiwah (2014) this is a generational ‘curse’ as it still operations today in its ex-colonies as the failure of trading mainly with France leads to potential serious crises like *coup d’état*⁴⁷. I would say this analysis suggests that the influence of neocolonialism on the economy of Cameroon patterned to satisfy France’s interest has negative consequences for the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP’s employability agenda in terms of a lack of economic diversification.

⁴⁷ A *coup d’état* is an abrupt defeat of a government through the control of all or part of its armed forces including the police and other military elements (in this case by ex-imperialists). I would say this brings about a debate on direct versus indirect influences on Cameroonian HE. However, from the evidence above, France seems to be more interventionist as a neo-colonial power than the UK in this context.

From a colonial/post-colonial theoretical perspective (section 3.6), WENR (2007) concluded that the series of conferences held in Africa to discuss lessons learnt regarding the Bologna Process within the continent presents it as a probable model for reforming African HE systems; nonetheless, it remains true that majority of collaborative and cooperation reform efforts in Africa are supported by common historical, linguistic and cultural traditions. Eta (2018, p.30) added that the Bologna Process in Africa was adopted owing to colonial relationships between Africa and Europe which has had no end even after independence. According to Khelfaoui (2009) the adoption of the Bologna Process in Africa is perceived to be disguised colonization because the reform has been influenced by ex-colonial nations. I would say these evidences thus, present post-colonialism as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in the onset of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE. The above evidences thus present post-colonialism relative to ‘historical affiliation with ex-colonialists’ as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in the onset of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE. Having said this, I now present the contradictory argument of post-colonialism being a problematic (inhibiting) factor to policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE from the angle of ‘independence nightmare’ and contemporary HE crises.

8.2.1.2.....versus the ‘independence nightmare’ and contemporary HE crises

As seen above, the ‘independence nightmare’ and contemporary HE crises contradict the perception that post-colonialism through historical affiliation with ex-colonialists serves as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in the onset of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. In other words it presents post-colonialism from a historical stance as a problematic factor to policy borrowing evidenced by the ‘independence nightmare’ and contemporary HE crises. By ‘independence nightmare’ I mean a situation where Cameroon and its HE system still face many problems due to the nature by which independence was granted to the nation, particularly to Anglophone Cameroon, which was subjected to gain independence by either joining Northern Nigeria or French Cameroun, without a third option of self-independence.

Before delving into interviewees’ perspectives, I would like readers to recall section 3.6 on colonial/post-colonial theory, where I recounted that according to Thompsell (2017) one major problems in Africa has been the lack of a sense of national identity caused by the creation of national boundaries by European imperialists during the scramble for Africa, without regard for social or ethnic realities, leading to many negative consequences. WENR (2007) further argued that although Bologna is working towards developing the appeal of the EHEA to those from outside the EHEA, African policymakers and institutions have been continuously caused to look for European partners for collaborations rather than their African counterparts (Cameroon inclusive). In line with this, I argue such foreign/westernized collaborations have caused a lack

of a sense of national unity/identity among Cameroonian HE subsystems. Having introduced this subsection, I now present interviewees' perceptions.

According to some interviewees, comprising of private university officials only, post-colonialism serves as a problematic (inhibiting) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in the onset of the Bologna Process. According to these interviewees, because Cameroon was once colonized, the aftermath is that Cameroonians have been doomed to be perpetual 'beggars' from those who colonized them, which has led to so many crises in the present-day Cameroonian HE system. An interviewee said:

...One of the bad policies Britain did was to deny us of our independence. ...The reason was because the British discovered that we had oil....we were denied our rights to self-determination. We were forced to either join La Republique which was already a French overseas dominion in Africa because of the 1958 Ford Cartesian Treaty to become extensions of France; or to join Nigeria a neo-colonial Commonwealth territory of Great Britain. That is why we are still suffering today in the hands of our Francophone sisters and brothers, because they want everything to be French and not English. There is so much foreign policy coming into Cameroon....Till date, they indirectly have a hand in all what we do which is not good... (University Official-G:BUST:2015).

I would say the quotation above depicts a situation wherein as an aftermath of the 'independence nightmare', there is effectively still colonial rule in the Cameroonian territory which undermines to an extent national sovereignty at large and university governance/autonomy in particular, leading to extensive foreign dominance and dependency accelerated by Europe's Bologna Process/LMD/BMP and policy borrowing⁴⁸. The above evidence thus present post-colonialism relative to the 'independence nightmare and contemporary HE crises' as a problematic (inhibiting) factor of policy borrowing in the onset of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE. Having presented post-colonialism as a facilitating and problematic (inhibiting) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in terms of historical affiliation with ex-colonialists versus the 'independence nightmare' and contemporary HE crises; I now present analysis based on post-colonialism through culture as a facilitating/and problematic (inhibiting) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE.

8.2.2 'Culture as a plus' versus 'culture as a minus'.

In other to present analysis of this indicator, to avoid confusion, I have presented the ideas using two subsections namely 8.2.2.1 'culture as a plus'; and 8.2.2.2 for 'culture as a minus'. While the former presents post-colonialism relative to culture as a facilitating factor, the latter is the opposite as it presents

⁴⁸ See 8.3.1 for more on dominance and dependency.

post-colonialism relative to culture as an inhibiting factor. I now present post-colonialism relative to ‘culture as a plus’ as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE.

8.2.2.1 Post-colonialism and ‘culture as a plus’

As seen above, post-colonialism is a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE relative to ‘culture as a plus’. By ‘culture as a plus’, I mean cultural aspects in Cameroon that have been influenced by colonialism but which still have positive effects in Cameroon/Cameroonian HE system – particularly as it has influenced policy borrowing and the adoption of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. ‘Culture as a plus’ has been perceived by some interviewees comprising of Commonwealth and MINESUP officials, state lecturers, and public/private university officials. In line with this, an interviewee said “...our system is a bicultural one which we inherited from the French and British in those days as per our status”. (Commonwealth Official-A:2015). According to the interviewees, France and Britain being Cameroon’s ex-colonial powers still have some influence in present-day Cameroon and its HE system particularly as these nations are signatories to the European Bologna Process. Post-colonialism as a facilitating factor (via culture as a plus) of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in the onset of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP is evidenced in the domains of: language, superiority versus inferiority complex, imitation and inspiration elaborated below.

As seen above, according to interviewees, one of such cultural indicator which has propelled post-colonialism to serve as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing is language. In line with this, an interviewee said:

Language! I think the main factor is language because Cameroon is bilingual - English and French. English by far is an international language of Science and Technology. French is also a big language of Science and Technology. So, I think language has more than anything else has facilitated foreign policy adaptation. (University Official-C:CCU:2015).

From the quotation above, it shows that the bilingual status of Cameroon (French and English) which it inherited from its colonial powers has made it possible for it to adopt foreign policies (like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP) via the process of policy borrowing. These languages are perceived to be international languages of communication and the Bologna Process communiqués for instance was first written in English and translated to other languages to aid users to implement the reform. In CEMAC, the Bologna Process/LMD declaration was written in French. Cameroon being a bilingual country has benefitted from these communiqués by virtue of its bilingual status (French and English), its colonial heritage – hence facilitating policy borrowing.

Komagome (2008) citing Masso (1924) illustrated colonial education in support of the imperial power by noting that the use of English as a language for integration (in ex-colonies) is because of the presence of diverse and numerous native languages which have not been documented. I affirmed by arguing that this is also the case with the use of French language in Cameroon – a language which it inherited from its French colonial power (Fonkeng, 2007). Cameroon (like many other African nations and ex-colonies) has many ethnic languages estimated to be about 248; with English and French adopted after reunification at independence to be the two official languages in the country which have also been used as languages of instruction in schools in the English and French parts of the nation respectively. These evidence in addition to the quotation above have justified perceptions raised in line with post-colonialism (through ‘culture as a plus’) being a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE (in the onset of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP).

Another cultural indicator which has aided post-colonialism (through ‘culture as a plus’) to serve as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing according to interviewees is the notion of ‘superiority versus inferiority’ complex. In line with this, some interviewees said:

If somebody comes from Europe for example and is giving a talk on ‘normal management’, most of the time we take it to sound different but when it’s somebody based home, it also sounds different. (University Official/Lecturer-D:UBa:2015).

To an extent we are coloured. This is a threat because the issue of colour is a threat on its own. (University Lecturer D:CCU:2015).

While the first quotation presents European superiority in terms of their expertise over Cameroonian HE perceived to be the ‘inferior’, the second quotation reinforces the first quotation of Cameroonians/HE being ‘inferior’ while Europeans are the ‘superior’ from a racial perspective. I would argue both quotations have implications for policy borrowing and the adoption of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE rooted in colonialism/post-colonialism. I would argue the ‘superiority versus inferiority complex’ as having triggered policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities is because from an inferiority perspective, Cameroonians cannot dictate policies to affect global concerns but the western world or Europeans (France and Britain for instance) can influence/dictate global education policies (GEP – like the Bologna Process) adoption in Cameroon due to its superior nature it acquired during colonial days – hence setting the pace for policy borrowing from a colonial/postcolonial perspective⁴⁹.

⁴⁹ However, ‘superiority and inferiority complex’ as seen in 7.2.2.2 under change and psychological concerns also pose problems for local expertise.

Recall in section 3.6 in colonial/post-colonial theory, I mentioned that according to Sawant (2011, p.2), Eurocentric universalism according to Said's Orientalism addresses Western or European superiority; and inferiority of the imperial Other. In line with this, Bhabha (1995) added that colonizers had unquestionable authenticity and absolute authority that led to the existing superiority and inferiority complex. Borrowed from the ideas of Shizha (2006, p.20 & 21), the Cameroonian schooling system in the postcolonial era still replicates and perpetuates in its educational practices (curriculum, teaching and learning styles – for instance a shift in paradigm from teacher-centered to competency-based approach to learning/student-centered learning aided by the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP-see subsection 6.4.2 on human capital formation) the worldview and cultural capital of the dominant social class wherein Euro-centric knowledge is being promoted as superior knowledge which has neglected ideas of cross-cultural education; the socio-cultural realities students bring to school and the place of indigenous knowledge in schooling experiences. I would argue these evidence reveal how the onset of Europe's Bologna Process in Cameroonian HE has been a post-colonial effect and has set the pace for policy borrowing.

Interviewees also said that post-colonialism (through culture as a plus) in the domain of imitation serve as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. In line with this, an interviewee said:

I think that the BMP system helps the country or educational system to be an imitation of the west because it is coming from outside. So, the country wants to imitate others who are the founders of this policy so that it can help both the country and outside world. Basically, with the expectations of wanting to imitate having seen the experiences of those in other parts of the world, they thought that bringing these ideas or values into the higher education system in Cameroon would also help transform the Cameroonian society... we are living in imitation. We have borrowed from outside. So, everything we are doing here is a photocopy from outside. (University Lecturer-D;UBa:2015).

Imitation in postcolonial terms is called 'mimicry'. Recall in section 3.6 in colonial/post-colonial theory, Sawant (2011, p.6) noted that mimicry is the blind imitation of western cultural lifestyles, literature and ideology by natives without knowledge of how this leads to the natives' cultural and identity destruction (see 'culture as a minus' below for more on cultural destruction in Cameroonian HE). According to Mouton (2008), most African nations have the propensity to uncritically and slavishly imitate innovative, technological and scientific policy paradigms and approaches from abroad. I would argue this evidence

reveal how the onset of Europe's Bologna Process in Cameroonian HE has been a post-colonial effect and has set the pace for policy borrowing.

Interviewees also said that post-colonialism (through 'culture as a plus') in the domain of inspiration serve as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in the advent of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. In line with this, an interviewee said:

There is no system which is isolated from others but gain inspiration from other systems.....the organization of universities has been inspired by British and French systems,... we were inspired by Europe....(MINESUP Official-C:2015).

In line with the above quotation, Eta (2015 & 2018) noted that the Bologna Process which originated in Europe is perceived be an inspiration and an admired reform which has been translated into the LMD in the CEMAC region and LMD/BMP in Cameroonian HE following its dual HE system-French and English subsystems. Next, I present postcolonialism and 'culture as a minus'.

8.2.2.2 Post-colonialism and 'culture as a minus'

Recall in section 8.2.2 I argued that post-colonialism relative to culture is a factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. However, on the one hand while post-colonialism serves as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing ('culture as a plus') on the other hand post-colonialism also serves as a problematic/inhibiting factor of policy borrowing (described as 'culture as a minus'). In this section, I present post-colonialism as a problematic factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE ('culture as a minus'). By 'culture as a minus', I mean cultural aspects in Cameroon that have been influenced by colonialism which still have negative effects in Cameroon/Cameroonian HE system – particularly as it has influenced the HE system negatively in the onset of policy borrowing and the adoption of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. 'Culture as a minus' has been perceived by some interviewees comprising of Commonwealth and MINESUP officials, and public/private university officials to be the reason why post-colonialism is a problematic factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE.

As previously noted, the recent 2016 political unrest and strike action originated from the quest of Anglophone lawyers and university lecturers to combat the dominance of French language in courts and universities in Anglophone regions⁵⁰. I would say this means Cameroon is still living out a colonial rivalry between Britain and France, even though these two powers have 'physically' withdrawn. To Akana (2018),

⁵⁰ For more on information on the 2016 strike action, see section 3.6 on colonial/postcolonial theory.

the Anglophone crisis is a nightmare which would not end soonest. Having introduced ‘culture as a minus’ from a colonial/post-colonial theoretical perspective, I now present interviewees’ perspectives on post-colonialism as a problematic factor to policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in the onset of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP.

According to some interviewees post-colonialism is a problematic factor to policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in the onset of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reflected from the angle of ‘culture as a minus’ particularly in terms of bilingualism versus instructional underpinning constraints. According to the interviewees, French-speaking lecturers teaching in English-speaking universities use the dominance of the French language as a punitive measure during instructional delivery to fail students. English-speaking Cameroonians studying in French-speaking universities also suffer from this malaise. In line with this an interviewee said:

The terrible or negative aspect of our bilingualism is that some people are not aware of the usefulness of bilingualism. When I was a student at the International Relation Institute of Cameroon and in a class of about 20, just two of us were Anglophones...the speed with which we could assimilate teaching was a little slower compared to our Francophone colleagues. There was one teacher who told me in front of the rest of the class that “quand on decide le bilinguisme au Cameroun, je n’étais pas là. Donc, tu ne faut jamais utilise votre Anglaise la dans ma cours. Si non, je vous donne zéro”. (Commonwealth Official-F:2015).

The last bits of the passage in French is translated as “...when bilingualism was adopted in Cameroon, I was not there. So, you will not use your English in my class otherwise I’ll score you a zero [own translation]”. With the onset of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reforms, there has been efforts to neutralize cultural boundaries thereby producing a ‘national HE system’ aided by harmonization. This has instead made more French officials and lecturers to be deployed to work in English-speaking universities and not vice versa thus causing bilingualism problems. I would argue bilingualism and French assimilation of the entire Cameroonian HE system from a national perspective becomes threatening for especially Anglophone students when it comes to marks/credits earned. It also undermines the learning process and development of competences as stipulated by the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP - thus a problem for policy borrowing in terms of implementation⁵¹. This explains why some interviewees remarked that the Cameroonian educational system has been ‘Francophonized’. In the University of Bamenda – an English-speaking

⁵¹ See subsection 6.4.2 on human capital formation and the competency-based approach (CBA) to learning/student-centered learning brought into the Cameroonian HE system via the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP and policy borrowing.

university for instance, there is a problem of language because Francophones are being deployed to teach there. These are people who lack certification in English language and so it becomes difficult for them to transmit information or content to students during instructional delivery. I would argue since the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP has harmonized programmes through the ‘Tuning approach’ (Delpouve & Breillat, 2010, p.1) and degree structures (Eta & Vubo, 2016), there appears now to be more similarity across both subsystems than there was before. Therefore, the deployment of lecturers to teach across universities has been made possible but as the system is French dominated it seems such deployment in the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP era has been one way – from Francophone to Anglophone universities – with one of the negative consequences being on instructional delivery.

According to some interviewees, post-colonialism is a problematic factor to policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in the onset of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reflected from the angle of ‘culture as a minus’ particularly in terms of official documents and unhealthy conflicts. An interviewee said “Anglophones always get lost in the system. Most official documents are in French...I don’t know why! So, the ‘whole’ system is ruled by Francophone officials.” (MINESUP-I:2015). I would argue this is some kind of cultural bottlenecking resulting from the way official documents are presented which pose a problem. I would add that such cultural bottlenecking in the way official HE documents are handled makes it difficult for the Anglophone HE stakeholders to understand and interpret borrowed policies like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP thus pose problems for implementation – hence a problem for policy borrowing. As seen above in the University World News (2017) some of the major reasons for the 2016 Anglophone protest included the fact that all official documents are in French with (limited or) no English translation; and international documents and treaties to which Cameroon is a signatory such as ‘the Organization for the Harmonization of Business Law in Africa’ among others are in French.

The interviewees also held opinions based on post-colonialism as a problematic factor to policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in terms of ‘culture as a minus’ by highlighting persistent conflicts that arise from cultural differences. In line with this, an interviewee said:

There is what I call 'apartheid' where the Francophones would see things coming from America or Britain and say it is bad. Again, anything coming from France whether good or bad is accepted by them. There is this conflict!...when they go out for meetings they only end up in conflicts. They earn up not really agreeing on anything concrete. This poses a problem because we come from two backgrounds that is British and French. (University Official&Lecturer-E;CCU-2015).

I would argue this view comes from a partisan perspective because Francophones might have their own different perspective different from the Anglophones as both Anglophones and Francophones do not belong

to a homogenous group. I would also argue this poses problems of attaining 100% national harmonization as there is more heterogeneity caused by cultural bottlenecks⁵². In line with this evidence, as seen in section 3.6 in colonial/post-colonial theory, Brar and Brar (2012, p.584) provided a metaphoric explanation of such Francophone/Anglophone ‘apartheid’ by using the words of Chinua Achebe’s novel titled ‘Things Fall Apart’ (Achebe, 1987) - by reflecting on the shortcomings of African society by colonial rule as colonial rule was meant to tear Africans apart because colonizers alienated Africans from their African relationships, rituals and customs by transforming these into western standards. I argue given that the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform in Cameroon was geared at harmonizing the French and English HE system - meaning to assess this reform requires an examination of what goes on in the two HE subsystems at same time, the ongoing 2016 strike action makes the future of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP and policy borrowing ambiguous in this context. Having illustrated how post-colonialism serve as a facilitating and problematic/inhibiting factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE, I now conclude the entire section.

8.2.3 Conclusion

In the above section, I presented post-colonialism as a factor that falls under the category ‘analysis beneath the surface’ of the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ as it is a covert factor. I also argued in section 3.1, that post-colonialism like other factors has either been paid less attention to or ignored in studies into policy borrowing in African HE at large and Cameroonian HE in particular. I argued that the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP is a neo-imperial HE policy which has either been taken up by neo-colonialist institutions (NGOs) as part of a broader policy of imposing Western norms; and/or foisted on African countries through processes which themselves are neo-colonial. I introduced the term ‘colonial shadowing’, which I describe as a situation whereby colonial powers are physically absent but seem to still exert control over ex-colonies aided by neo-liberal structures. I would say post-colonialism as a factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in the onset of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP is a ‘blessing and a curse’ for Cameroon as a nation and its HE in particular. As a ‘blessing’, it has played a great role in the development of HE in Cameroon through modelling of western-inclined HE policies like the Bologna Process of which Britain and France are part of to aid development and harmonization within the globalized world through policy borrowing. As a ‘curse’ it is a new form of ‘shady’ colonial control (‘colonial shadowing’) using a different name with HE as its means. Furthermore, I would say as a ‘curse’ the state of Cameroonian HE and problems plaguing it is a chain of conglomerated unresolved issues that originated from colonial rule (see section 5.6).

⁵² See more inhibiting factors of post-colonialism in terms of culture in section 5.4.3.

Based on the above claims, analysis reveal that there are two broad categories of controversial indicators that furnish post-colonialism to serve as both a facilitating and problematic (inhibiting) factor to policy borrowing. These include historical affiliation with ex-colonialists versus the ‘independence nightmare’ and contemporary HE crises; and ‘culture as a plus’ versus ‘culture as a minus’. However, relative to the 2016 strike action in Cameroon and its devastating consequences in the entire nation and HE system particularly the alleged closure of the two lone state Anglophone universities in Cameroon – Universities of Buea and Bamenda (Okie, 2016; University World News, 2017 & Akana, 2018); I would argue the future of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP is unclear, unpredictable and ambiguous⁵³. Given that the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP has been instrumental in macro, meso and micro-harmonization (see chapter five) which otherwise present policy borrowing as ‘the starter’, ‘the accelerator’ and ‘the take-off’ respectively, one can conclude that contemporary policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE via the lens of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP and harmonization has been quite problematic due to the ongoing 2016 strike action. This is because in the words of Chinua Achebe (‘Things Fall Apart’: Achebe, 1987) the nation is gradually falling apart as a result of the above postcolonial crises and this is affecting the HE system too. This therefore questions the onset of micro-harmonization (‘the take-off’ of policy borrowing) in Cameroonian HE. Having concluded the section, I now present social dominance which is another factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE that falls under the category ‘analysis beneath the surface’ of the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’.

8.3 Dominance as a facilitating and inhibiting (problematic) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE according to key stakeholders’ perspectives

As seen above and in sections 3.1 and 6.1, dominance as a factor of policy borrowing falls under the category ‘analysis beneath the surface’ of the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ as it is a covert factor. Also recall in section 3.1, I argued that dominance like the other factors has either been paid less attention to or ignored in studies into policy borrowing in African HE at large and Cameroonian HE in particular which this section addresses using participants’ viewpoints while drawing references from the theory of dominance in section 3.5 among other contributions in the thesis (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; & Bryman, 2016).

According to interviewees’ perceptions, dominance as a factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE has taken many forms ranging from dependency, control, conditionality, western dictatorship/imposition and unequal power relations. I have used these indicators, to illustrate how dominance serves as both a facilitating and problematic (inhibiting) factor to policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. Also recall that in

⁵³ Though these universities decided to go operational for fear of being at a completely losing side in the course of the strike action (Personal Communication, 2018).

section 6.1, I argued that policy borrowing is a paradox which this analysis illustrates. First, I present analysis on social dominance (through dependency) as a facilitating and (problematic) inhibiting factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE.

8.3.1 Dominance and dependency

Recall in section 3.7, I mentioned that dependency is perceived to have two main dimensions namely education and economic dimensions. According to Kandel (1932, p.v) from an educational perspective, the education of indigenous people in colonial dependencies has begun to receive attention to a degree never manifested before; as ‘the civilized world is gradually extending its boundaries and the significance of educating vast millions of people who have hitherto been isolated and content with their own customs, traditions, and occupations is being realized’ (p.xiii). In line with this argument, Europe’s Bologna Process is perceived to have been extended to other regions like Africa (Eta, 2018) – that is from a ‘civilized’ world (Europe) to indigenous and ‘backward’ societies (like Cameroon), which I argue depict a neocolonial/post-colonial dependency.

According to some interviewees made up of state lecturers, MINESUP officials, public and private university officials, dominance (through dependency) serves as a facilitating factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. According to the interviewees, it is perceived that Cameroon is a dependent country and most of its policies and ‘everything’ is based on foreign ideas (indicating policy borrowing). The interviewees added that Cameroonian HE administrators engage in policy borrowing as something that can help the Cameroonian students to compete in the world market to avoid societal problems. Some interviewees said:

...we depend and we believe so much in foreign expertise. ...therefore we try to look at what is happening elsewhere to see how it can be borrowed and then put into our own system to see how it can help improve our own system and improve equally our own economy. In other words, the *raison d’être* of higher education is economic development and in most cases, the policies are being borrowed. The policies are being borrowed because we believe and we depend solely on the foreign expertise. (University Official-D;UBa:2015).

We depend a lot on foreign aid from all types of educational institutions, governments, bilateral agreements with our partners.... (University Official-C;SMU:2015).

The first quotation depicts that dependency on foreign expertise from the west and multinationals has facilitated policy borrowing with the aim of improving HE, which is perceived to be the drive for economic development in Cameroon. In line with the need for foreign expertise (human resource) recall in sections

3.4 in the theory of human capital formation and 6.4 in human capital formation as a factor of policy borrowing, I mentioned how the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2009, p.5) stipulated that in contemporary HE, there is an advancing agreement in the development industry that ‘capacity development is the engine of human development’⁵⁴. The second quotation illustrates that dependency on the west has been to benefit from financial aids and donations to cater for development as Cameroon is a developing and poor nation. In other words, the quotations illustrate that the tangible forms of dependency which have propelled policy borrowing in Cameroon include foreign expertise (human resource) and foreign aids (financial resource).

On the other hand, some interviewees consisting of public and private university officials contradicted the argument above by arguing that dominance (through dependency) is a problematic (inhibiting) factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. In line with this, an interviewee said “A policy driven by a donor starts operating when the donor is present. When he/she leaves, we realize that the technology has not been transferred. So, we are back to square one. Dependency!” (University Official-C;SMU:2015). I would argue there might be a conspiracy for not permanently transferring technology in terms of expertise, knowledge and competences to Cameroonian university dons/staff in order to either: establish continuous dependency and lack of autonomy in terms of decision-making; maintain neocolonialism and superiority versus inferiority complex; limit development to maintain a wide gap between developing and developed countries to enhance social class inequalities and unequal power relations, and the huge financial gains that comes with expert consultations. Another interviewee presents dominance (through dependency) as a problem by unpicking colonization in the domain of cultural crises. Thus:

I think that colonization is based on domination. More importantly cultural domination. Dominating a people or a territory culturally aids in possessing the minds and goods of those under domination. Domination is an enterprise of cultural destruction. It destroys the local culture and substitutes it with western culture and claiming that western culture is supposedly superior to local culture. The problem is that, this is dysfunctional. When foreign things are brought into Africa, they are often not coherent or bring solutions to the people but make them extremely dependent on the west. The real aim of this kind of education which we have received has disarticulated our thinking patterns, made sure we are no longer dependent on ourselves and made sure we lack our own approaches to deal with any sphere of life concerning us....I think this is really the aim of colonial dominance through education. (University Official-B;UYI:2015).

⁵⁴ Also see expertise concerns in subsection 6.4.3.

It has been argued that ex-colonial powers still control most of what is done in Cameroon today. This has led to many crises such as: mental colonialism and brain drain, de-culturalization evidenced in how Cameroonians struggle to affiliate more with western universities than African universities, with whom they share much identical cultural heritage, the recent ongoing 2016 strike action; and much more. I would argue domination and dependency is not only colonial and foreign-driven but nationally driven too where Anglophone Cameroonians suffer from Francophone Cameroonians in every sphere of life which partly is rooted in colonial domination. The evidence provided thus illustrates that dominance is both a facilitating and problematic (inhibiting) factor to policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. Having illustrated how policy borrowing is a paradox by examining the dominance factor I now present the next dominance indicator – control.

8.3.2 Dominance and control

According to some interviewees comprising of public/private university officials, MINESUP officials and state lecturers, dominance (through control) is a factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. As a facilitating factor, dominance (through control) is perceived by interviewees to be initiated by foreign (western) bodies thus initiating policy borrowing. In line with this an interviewee said “...we have foreigners themselves who create the policies. They come and implement the policies...” (Lecturer-B;UBa:2015) – thereby exhibiting control. The quotation depicts that HE policies in Cameroon like the Bologna Process/LMD come from abroad and are being created by foreigners (westerners and multinationals) who implement them in Cameroon hence exercising control (dominance). Recall that in most areas in the thesis, I mentioned that the Bologna Process was initiated in Europe and has impacted on other world regions like Africa and sub-regions like CEMAC (with Cameroon being a signatory state to the CEMAC convention); and multinationals like UNESCO have aided its implementation by providing funds and sharing of best practices. An interviewee also added that “Francophonie is the greatest thing in Africa. Francophonie wants to control education to be French...Commonwealth too does almost the same thing...” (University Official-G;BUST:2015). Eta (2018) noted that when the LMD was introduced in Cameroonian HE, experts were deployed from France (and Belgium) to control implementation in Cameroon - hence illustrating control of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP and paving the way for policy borrowing. From a theory of dominance perspective (section 3.7), according to Sawant (2011, p.5), colonialism illustrates western form of hegemonies (Europe) which depict power and control over the colonial Other (Cameroon). According to the Millenium Issue (1999), such control was because colonial powers were regarded as foster parents to their colonies. According to Haughton’s (2004) metaphorical analysis most ex-colonies are still like babies whose umbilical cords were never severed at birth thus making the babies to grow up being underdeveloped still attached to their mothers by their extended umbilical cords

which tend to restrict the babies' movements and at same time provide the uncaring mothers great control over the babies by imposing their will on them, putting unfair demands on them withdrawing services from them upon failure to conform to their demands. Based on this metaphor, I would argue that ex-colonial powers as mothers (Europe) still have dominating control over their babies (ex-colonies) particularly in the educational sector via the umbilical cord (known to be the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reforms) which still links the babies (ex-colonies like Cameroon) to their mothers (ex-colonial powers like France and Britain) – hence promoting policy borrowing.

On the other hand, some of these interviewees argued that dominance (via control) serve as a problematic factor to policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. Some interviewees said:

The countries from which the policies are being taken tend to control policy makers in Cameroon. So, I think these are some of the problems encountered. (University Lecturer-E;UBa:2015).

This quotation illustrates that the countries from which borrowed policies are learnt/imported into Cameroon have the tendency of controlling Cameroonian HE through its government officials. I would add this explains the nature of top-down decision making, lack of state sovereignty and autonomy, and lack of situational analysis of local needs that comes in with foreign dominance - thus generating more problems⁵⁵. Recall in section 3.7 in the theory of dominance, I mentioned that according to Bauman (1991) and Shizha (2006, p.24) the true spirit of enlightenment centres around certitude and control; and it is unfortunate that in colonial or metropole (Europe and multinational) nations, their quest to control instead marginalized and under-valued local indigenous (Cameroonian) knowledge claiming that it is irrational and unscientific and “replaced” this with Euro-centric knowledge with the aim of making Africans become civilized. From Bauman and Shizha's view, I would say that in the quest of controlling Cameroonians via its HE system in the domain of policy-making/implementation like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP brought in by policy borrowing, to make them ‘civilized’ has instead undermined Cameroonian local knowledge and expertise which is not good for Cameroon's development (see development concerns in section 6.3). Having presented dominance (through control) as a facilitating and problematic factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE, I now present aid conditionality indicator.

⁵⁵ See section 6.2.2 on decision-making and consultation/dialogue concerns where it has been raised that top-down decision-making is a problem.

8.3.3 Dominance and aid conditionality

According to some interviewees made up of MINESUP and Commonwealth officials, public and private university officials and state lecturers, dominance (through aid conditionality) is both a facilitating and problematic/inhibiting factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. An interviewee said:

.....we need finance for other issues and for educational policies, we have adopted the BMP to benefit from foreign aid from organizations like the European Union and others. In order to generate more income we have aligned ourselves to the policies of foreign donors...(University Official-A;UCAC:2015).

In line with the quotation above, Radelet (2010), added that strong economic policies were instituted by the International Monetary Fund (IMF)-World Bank known as the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) to cater for economic policies and to harness relationships between aid donors and African countries. According to Adedeji (1995) in Africa, foreign support such as the ability for African nations to get rid of their debt burdens has been triggered by the award of a certificate of good behaviour' by multinationals owing to the ability of these nations to respect SAP and other conditions. Due to the fact that multinationals like UNESCO are heavily concerned with supporting HE across the globe to implement the Bologna Process/LMD reform (Mohamedbhai, 2013), I argued that the satisfactory implementation of this reform has become a new 'certificate of good behaviour' and/or a condition for multinational aids for national governments/their universities in developing countries like Cameroon. Thus triggering dominance (through conditionality) to facilitate policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE.

There are some of these interviewees who argued that dominance (via conditionality) is a problematic/inhibiting factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. In line with these some interviewees said:

If you adopt the BMP system, then you get finances from the World Bank and other organizations but if you do not adopt the BMP system, then you cannot get such finances.....That is why I say we now become enslaved because of finance as we borrow this system wholesale without rethinking on how it can be applied at home. (University Official-A;UCAC:2015).

The quotation illustrates that dominance (through aid conditionality) is a problem in Cameroonian HE as attention is unidirectionally paid to the financial part of the reform rather than contextual sensitivity which is also important in attaining the aims of the reform and in realizing positive outcomes like employability among others. Therefore, policy borrowing from the angle of dominance (through aid conditionality) is a

problem. Using SAP condition to illustrate how problematic dominance (through conditionality) has been on policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE, an interviewee said:

...The World Bank ...came up with a dead or mortuary-like Structural Adjustment Programme – SAP, without any alternative follow-up to empower the youths. If the World Bank had followed up with a special Marshall Plan for young people to borrow money that they invest in self-employed projects, then SAP would have been more fruitful and not just cutting off branches on which people, especially the youths were sitting on. (University Official-G;BUST-2015).

SAP in Cameroon was aimed at curbing civil service employment and aiding professionalization, entrepreneurship and self-reliance. However, the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP's employability agenda on the other hand has been perceived to have been negatively influenced by the World Bank/IMF's SAP conditions. From the quotation above, rather than for SAP condition to aid employability it seems it has instead created what I describe as 'youth unemployment crises' since there has been no follow up of employment through self-reliance using a Marshall-type Plan. I would argue based on the quotation above, the negative effect of SAP coupled with Cameroon's narrow economy patterned to reflect civil-service-based employment has been disastrous for youth employment, professionalization, entrepreneurship, and graduate self-reliance – thus a disincentive for policy borrowing and the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP's employability agenda.

Interviewees have metaphorically represented dominance (through conditionality) as a problem to policy borrowing using the slogan 'there ain't any free lunch'. Thus:

Well, the first one is technical assistance. If I'm going to give you money, I'm going to give you persons to train you [laughs sarcastically]. Most of that aid goes back to "technical assistance" that is paid back to the donor in many ways. Yes! There ain't no such thing as a free lunch! Again, the aid is not even as much as what they get from us in terms of raw materials. If you want to go the business way, I'd say we get very very little return for what we give in terms of raw materials. (University Official-C;SMU:2015).

'There ain't any free lunch'; is a common adage which means it is impossible to get anything for free. Within Cameroon's HE in the domain of policy borrowing and particularly the aspect of support (such as donations/aids/loans/expertise) provided by multinationals and bilateral ties, this adage implies that, Cameroonian HE does not get this support for free but pays back dearly. Hence a problem for policy borrowing in terms of financial constraints and natural resource exploitation. I would add that the adage 'there ain't any free lunch' thus illustrate 'analysis beneath the surface' of the 'policy borrowing iceberg'.

In line with these evidence, recall in section 3.7 in the theory of dominance, Haughton (2004) metaphorically asserted that colonialists have kept their ex-colonies perpetually poor and needy, a strategy to pass to drop a penny and reap a pound and under such pressurized circumstances, the baby (ex-colony) would succumb to the mother (colonialists) – depicting a new strategy to exploit Africa’s (Cameroon’s natural resources) using aid conditions which could be finance or expertise. Also recall how Mead (2012) noted that strings attached to conditions for debt cancellations by the IMF and World Bank have led to other problems and described by Jeffrey Sachs as a ‘belt-tightening for people who cannot afford belts’.

This evidence provided thus illustrates that dominance (through conditionality) is both a facilitating/problematic factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. Having illustrated the conditionality indicator, I now present the next dominance indicators – western dictatorship and imposition.

8.3.4 Dominance and western dictatorship/imposition

Western dictatorship and imposition were elaborated in-depth by interviewees. For some state lecturers, public/private university officials, dominance via western dictatorship/imposition is both a facilitating and problematic factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. According to these interviewees, Cameroonian HE dances to the tune of those who conceptualized western policies like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP because they do not know how policies should be implemented and so are bound to stick to, learn from and take whatever westerners say. In line with these some interviewees said:

If you don’t know what you want, other people will just impose on you what they want and I think that is the situation in which many African countries and also Cameroon find themselves. (University Official-A;UYI:2015).

What I can say is imposition from the west. Some of these policies are imposed by globalization because we are on a global wheel, it is rotating, it gets to us, it is moving. There is pressure from globalization that determines most policies in Cameroon and in developing nations or third world nations. They say you must do this! Even with economic policies, IMF has to come and impose. World Bank has to come and impose. With Health policies, WHO has to come and impose! They say this is what we have agreed in say Beijing and should be executed in every country. This also includes educational policies. Most policies are tilted or brought in by the pressure from globalization. That is one very important factor in determining policies in this part of the world. (University Official&Lecturer-C;BUST:2015).

You know we are not a big economy. We are only a small economy. We are not a strong economy. We cannot dictate and if we have to benefit from those opportunities then we have to take into

account what is said abroad as we design our higher education system. (University Official-C;CCU:2015).

I would argue, the three quotations above illustrate how dominance (through western dictatorship/imposition) facilitates policy borrowing from the west to the rest or simply a unidirectional flow of information and policies. Such unidirectional flow of information from the west leading to policy borrowing is either caused by the lack of knowledge which attracts western imposition of HE policies like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP (quotation one); or imposition by multinationals after agreeing on policies to be used across the globe in international conferences in line with globalization (quotation two); or the small size of Cameroon's economy which can only be aided to expand through benefiting from western opportunities (quotation three). Recall in section 3.7 under the theory of dominance, the Millennium Issue (1999) argued that not all was plunder or oppression in Africa as Europeans brought in western civilization, constructed hospitals, schools, other infrastructure and instituted modern administration as a foundation for prospective independent states (this evidence also contradicts the argument on dominance - through aid conditionality - as a problem of policy borrowing metaphorically described as 'there aint' any free lunch' in subsection 8.3.3 - dominance and conditionality above). Recall in section 3.7 in the theory of dominance, I mentioned that according to Brar and Brar (2012, p.583), the imposition on colonies as a ruling policy of imperialistic nations or capitalist empires (and multinationals) was a means to subordinate their dependencies – thus facilitating policy imposition/western dictatorship and policy borrowing.

On the other hand, some of the interviewees argued that dominance is a problematic factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. In line with this, some interviewees said “Some of the policies which the west is forcing down the throats of Africans are wrong because they are not backed up by means and the necessary strategies.” (University Official-G;BUST:2015). The quotation above indicates that dominance is a problematic factor of policy borrowing in Cameroon due to lack of sufficient financial resources provided by westerners/multinationals for implementation; or simply lack of clear strategies needed for implementation thus a problem for policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE.

Another official said “...Cameroon, like other African Countries, find themselves in a weaker bargaining position. We cannot impose our policies on the developed world but the reverse is true.” (Commonwealth Official-C:2015). The quotation illustrates how being a developing nation, Cameroon (and other African nations) find it difficult to impose policies on the developed world or the global arena but developed nations by virtue of their developed status are able to do so. Recall the Bologna Process originated from Europe and has spread to other parts of the world (Eta, 2018); and not from Africa/Cameroon. I would argue that this is problematic for policy borrowing as it provides very little room for Africans and Cameroonians to

determine their destinies using the medium of HE and keeps them lagging behind development since the west are those who pilot developmental agendas. I would like the reader to recall on the shortcomings of conditions attached to loans/donations from multinationals which also are examples of problems associated to imposition. Also recall on the devaluation of African cultural values like the development of competences through student-centered learning (competency-based approach to learning) resulting from postcolonial constraints in the advent of imposition by western education and the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP. From a theory of dominance theoretical perspective, Haughton (2004) affirmed that colonialists (westerners) imposed false identity on indigenes (Cameroonians) and diminished their resources that would have aided in their growth and development, discouraged self-reliance, equality and justice for the indigenes and despite the wealth of these nations they were/are still referred to as underdeveloped or Third World – thus a problem to policy borrowing. Having presented dominance as a factor of policy borrowing using western dictatorship/imposition, I now present the next indicator - unequal power relations.

8.3.5 Dominance and unequal power relations

Among the indicators mentioned in section 8.3 above (namely dependency, control, conditionality, western dictatorship/imposition and unequal power relations) to illustrate how dominance is a factor to policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE, ‘unequal power relations’ is the only indicator which strictly presents dominance as a problematic factor and has no evidence as a facilitating factor to illustrate the controversiality of policy borrowing. However, this section is still relevant to understand ‘analysis beneath the surface’ of the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’. According to some interviewees comprising of MINESUP officials, public and private university officials, dominance in the domain of unequal power relations is one of the main problems of policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities. They perceive that colonialists/multinationals possess more power than Cameroon which is not helping the latter develop. Some interviewees added:

This is the way international organizations treat Africa. They bring foreign policies and force them on Africa and since African governments hardly ever have power to resist them, they implement these policies. Yet, when high failure rates crop in, the international organizations tend to blame the local governments for these failures. (MINESUP Official-C:2015).

...colonial powers...are terms which from a psychological standpoint tend to establish a weak-strong kind of relationship. The term power comes in which of course depicts there are those who are powerful and those who are weak. (University Official-A;UYI:2015).

From the evidence provided, interviewees slip between talking about Africa and Cameroon because there

is a general assumption that all African nations have a common ancestry (from colonialism) as well as low economic power (underdeveloped). This suggests that Africa is like a common ‘melting pot’ with all its nations being identical and what works or does not work for one nation would be same for the others. The problem with this generic assumption is that each African nation has some uniqueness in its own way which portray diversity than unity – therefore assuming that Africa is a common ‘melting pot’ is wanting. Recall in section 3.7 in the theory of dominance, I recounted that according to Finnemore (1996) and Verger, Novelli and Altinyelken (2012, p.23) the main sources of power of International Organizations (IOs) bureaucracies for instance rely firstly on the legitimacy of the rational-legal authority that they represent, and secondly their control over information and data as well as technical expertise. I also mentioned that IOs exercise power by organising three types of apparently technical and apolitical actions (Barnette *et al.*, 2004) including classifying the world; fixing meanings in the social world; and articulating/disseminating new forms, principles and beliefs by spreading what they consider as ‘good and best practices’ in educational development like the Bologna Process (Klemenčič, 2009). Such power possessed by IOs - according to Mboa (2003, p.219) is described as ‘expert power’ which is the ability to influence or control the behaviour of others by virtue of possessing specialized skill or knowledge. These evidence from literature all furnish the argument I have raised above on why Africa is perceived as a melting pot based on IO classification and expertise.

All in all, I would argue Africans (Cameroonians inclusive) end up feeling as if they are being treated like ‘guinea pigs in the laboratory’ for experimentation without respect. I would argue this is problematic for policy borrowing because ex-colonies/developing nations (like Cameroon) have no choice than to accept and inculcate whatever policies and practices that have been imposed by the super powers even if they do not have any bearing on their developmental agenda or cultural practices. This creates what I describe as ‘colonial shadowing’ wherein despite the physical absence of ex-colonialists (or presence of multinationals acclaimed to be democratic institutions) they still tend to exert power, control and dominate ex-colonies/developing nations like Cameroon – which undermines the sovereignty and territorial integrity of African states (Cameroon inclusive). I would add that ‘colonial shadowing’ also creates inequalities in social class, superiority-inferiority complex, marginalization, continuous dependency on the west, devaluation of African/Cameroonian knowledge while empowering the west to what I would describe as the ‘intellectual bourgeois’. By ‘intellectual bourgeois’ I mean a situation of intellectual or knowledge monopoly by the west due to their social standing as the upper class and/or rich middle class within the globalized world – which serve as a problem for policy borrowing for Cameroonian universities. I would like the reader to also recall on conditionality and post-colonial issues above and on how these have been problematic for policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities. I would argue this evidence/literature all

sum up to illustrate that dominance (through unequal power relations) is a problematic factor of policy borrowing. Having illustrated how dominance act as a facilitating and problematic/inhibiting factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE, I now conclude the section.

8.3.6 Conclusion

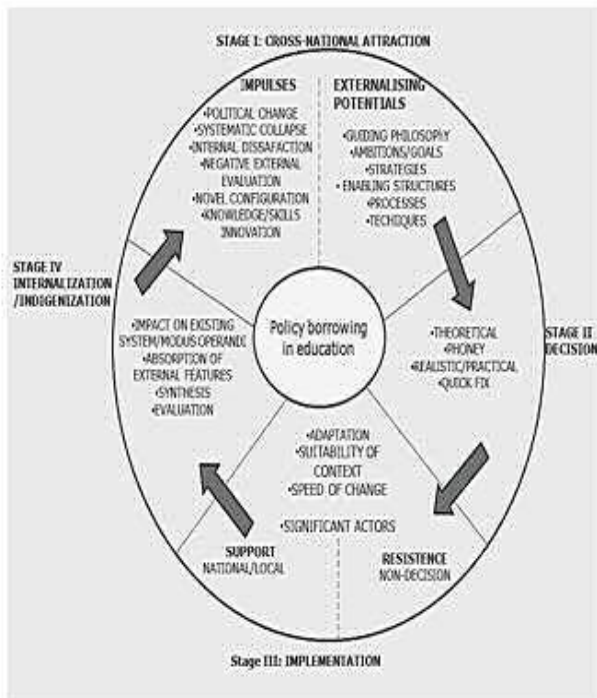
The dominance factor of policy borrowing as seen in section 6.1, belongs to the category of ‘analysis beneath the surface’ as it is a covert factor which seem dangerous and generates hurtful feelings. In section 3.1, I argued that dominance like the other factors has either been paid less attention to or ignored in studies into policy borrowing in African HE at large and Cameroonian HE in particular which this section addresses using participants’ viewpoints while drawing references from the theory of dominance in section 3.5 among other contributions in the thesis. Findings reveal that the dominance factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE has taken many forms ranging from dependency, control, conditionality, western dictatorship/imposition and unequal power relations. However, among these indicators, ‘unequal power relations’ is the only indicator which strictly presents dominance as a problematic factor and has no evidence as a facilitating factor to illustrate the controversiality of policy borrowing yet relevant in understanding ‘analysis beneath the surface’ of the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’. The arguments raised using the other indicators of dominance (namely dependency, control, conditionality and western dictatorship/imposition) from a facilitating and problematic perspective illustrate policy borrowing as a paradox. As seen in section 3.6 under colonial/post-colonial theory, the claim I raised with respect to the onset of the Bologna Process in present-day society which has given a new dimension to international relations between the West and the rest from a HE standpoint thus replacing steam engines and iron hulled boats which were used in changing the face of international relations between Imperial Europe (west) and the rest of the world during the scramble for Africa (Boddy-Evans, 2017) in the past - holds true – and this has been aided by policy borrowing/harmonization of HE systems. From a dominance theoretical perspective, according to Brar and Brar (2012, p.583), Edward Said’s Orientalism was a Western style colonial tool used in dominating, restructuring and establishing authority over the Orient; as Africa (at large and Cameroon in particular) was perceived by imperialists as a dark continent needing imperial enlightenment thus explaining monopolization and standardization of imperial power over the African (Cameroonian) indigenes. Sawant (2011, p.6) also reported that according to Spivak, the colonial Other or colonized (‘subaltern’) indicates a lower rank, suppression and marginalization. I would argue this evidence illustrates that the Bologna Process is perceived to be a western (European) form of dominance over the ‘Orient’, ‘colonial Other’, ‘colonized’, or ‘subaltern’ (Cameroon) – and it is such dominance through suppression and marginalization of the latter that policy borrowing has set it.

However, despite the physical absence of colonialists in Cameroon and/or the presence of multinationals acclaimed to be democratic institutions; these institutions still tend to exert power, control and dominate ex-colonies/developing nations like Cameroon (through what I describe as ‘colonial shadowing’) which undermines the sovereignty and territorial integrity of African states (Cameroon inclusive). I added that ‘colonial shadowing’ creates inequalities in social class, superiority-inferiority complex, marginalization, continuous dependency on the west and the devaluation of African/Cameroonian knowledge while empowering the west to what I would term the ‘intellectual bourgeois’. The evidence from a dominance perspective thus present policy borrowing as a paradox. Having said this, I now present an analytical appraisal of Phillips and Ochs’ policy borrowing model in contradistinction to the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’.

8.4 Comparing Phillips and Ochs’ model of policy borrowing and the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’

In this section, I have presented an analytical appraisal of the Phillips and Ochs’ policy borrowing model in contradistinction to the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ in order to comparatively study the models to identify areas of commonalities, divergence, difficulty and/or where knowledge has been extended. Recall in 6.1, I argued that one can quickly jump into concluding that the six factors revealed by the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ are entirely what Phillips and Ochs (2003 & 2004) describe as ‘impulses’ which trigger ‘cross-national attraction’. I argue such a conclusion is faulty as these six factors can randomly be placed on the latter model. However, randomly placing the ‘iceberg’s’ six factors on Phillips and Ochs’ model pose some level of difficulty and confusion. In line with this argument, I agree with Eta’s criticism on the difficulty of having a clear-cut information on where certain indicators of Phillips and Ochs (2003 & 2004) policy borrowing model start and end (Eta, 2018, p.77). I also agree with Steiner-Khamsi (2012) that policy borrowing means different things across contexts (that is a Euro-centric context is different from an Afro-centric/Cameroonian context). The figure below illustrates a comparative perspective of both models.

Policy borrowing model (Phillips & Ochs, 2003)



'Policy borrowing iceberg'

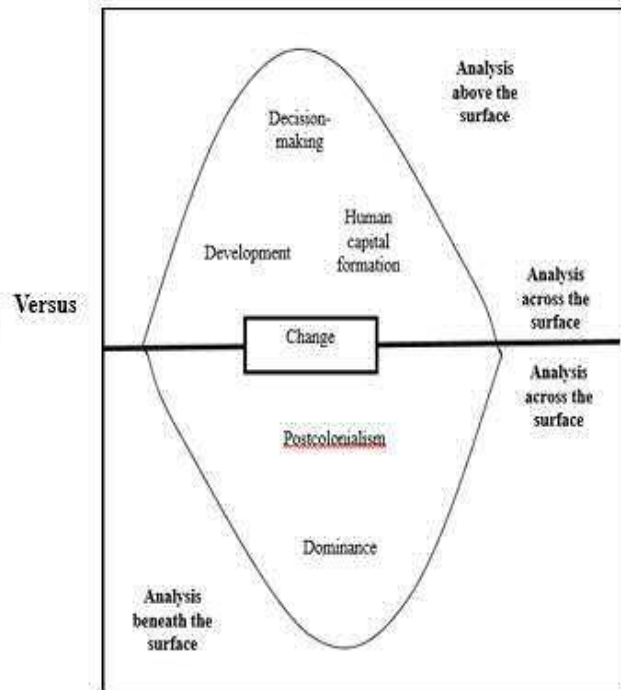


Figure 8.1: Phillips and Ochs' model of policy borrowing versus the 'policy borrowing iceberg' model

In comparing the policy borrowing model propounded by Phillips and Ochs; and the 'policy borrowing iceberg', I would say while the first model is cyclical and staged, the latter has no order, is un-staged but makes individuals understand factors which fall under three main categories namely 'analysis above the surface' (or overt factors – for instance decision-making, development and human capital formation); 'analysis beneath the surface' (or covert factors- for instance postcolonialism and dominance); and 'analysis across the surface' (or covert-overt factor– for instance change) in the policy borrowing process. While the 'policy borrowing iceberg' presents policy borrowing as a paradox judging from the fact that the factors and their corresponding indicators serve as a facilitating and problematic (inhibiting) factor at the same time; Phillips and Ochs's model does not explicitly address this though this can be deduced during policy studies. While Phillips and Ochs' model is more Euro-centric, the policy borrowing iceberg is more Afro-centric and rooted in existing theories.

In Phillips and Ochs' policy borrowing model, the first stage called 'cross-national attraction' comprises of both 'impulses' and 'externalising potentials'. Based on the indicators provided in the 'impulse' stage, I would say the 'adoption phase of the change factor' in the iceberg is related to 'impulses' (see sections 3.8

on the theory of change – adoption phase; and 7.2.1 on findings on change - adoption). The adoption phase of the ‘change factor’ in the ‘iceberg’ for instance illustrates ‘impulses’ like globalization and context not addressed by Phillips and Ochs’s model. Furthermore, ‘impulses’ like ‘internal dissatisfaction’ (for instance problems plaguing degree recognition/structures; credit value; unemployment; and mobility concerns. These are problems which have triggered the adoption of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP: economic change (for instance graduate employability); quest for competitiveness and political influence (for instance CEMAC and MINESUP decisions to adopt the LMD) – tie primarily with ‘decision-making’ of the ‘iceberg’. However, one could also say that these tie with the adoption phase of ‘change’ in the ‘iceberg’. ‘Impulses’ like knowledge/skills tie primarily with ‘human capital development’ of the iceberg though this also feature under some evidence provided in ‘dominance-conditionality’ of the ‘iceberg’. I would argue, it is quite difficult to appropriately situate factors of the policy borrowing iceberg’ on the ‘impulse’ stage of Phillips and Ochs’ model.

Phillips and Ochs’ ‘externalising potentials’ seem to tie with all the six factors of the ‘iceberg’. Using the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP’s employability agenda to illustrate ‘externalising potentials’ in terms of ‘ambitions/goals’ for instance in comparison with the ‘iceberg’, the ‘ambitions/goals’ (of the employment agenda) ties with:

- ‘human capacity formation’ in terms of training skilled manpower for development;
- ‘decision-making’ to enhance graduate employability;
- ‘change’ to reform HE systems to enhance graduate employability;
- ‘post-colonialism’ wherein employment is influenced by economic assimilation of imperialists;
- ‘dominance’ in line with aid conditions to control the economy and employment;
- ‘development’ to foster graduate employment as a driver for national/economic development.

Despite the above analysis, I would say it is still difficult to situate all indicators of ‘externalizing potentials’.

I would say Phillips and Ochs’ second stage called ‘decision’ stage ties with ‘decision-making’ of the ‘iceberg’. However, while the former addresses ‘decision’ using indicators like ‘theoretical’, ‘realistic/practical’, ‘quick-fix’, ‘phoney’; the latter addresses ‘decision’ from ‘political influence’, ‘consultations/dialogue versus centralization’, and ‘problem-solving’. It shows that my analysis of the iceberg adds to existing literature of Phillips and Ochs’ ‘decision’ stage.

The third stage of Phillips and Ochs model called ‘implementation’ ties primarily with ‘change’ of the iceberg. This is because the former addresses indicators like ‘adaptation’, ‘suitability to context’, ‘speed of change’, ‘significant actors’ (‘national/local support’ and/or ‘resistance/rejection’); which are all addressed

by the ‘change factor’ of the ‘iceberg’. Phillips and Ochs ‘implementation’ stage to an extent is also addressed by the iceberg’s ‘decision-making’, ‘dominance’, ‘human capital formation’ and ‘post-colonialism’ factors – however - this is limited to the indicator ‘significant actors’ only as these actors are important to support or resist the implementation of borrowed policies. While ‘decision-making’, ‘dominance’, ‘human capital formation’ and ‘post-colonialism’ have not been directly addressed by Phillips and Ochs ‘implementation’ stage, the argument I raised on employing high level critical analysis done by a very limited few (for instance comparativists or policy analysts) in appraising Phillips and Ochs’ model – presents this as one of the shortcomings of Phillips and Ochs’ model.

The fourth stage of Phillips and Ochs model called ‘internalisation/indigenisation’ comprising of indicators such as ‘impact on existing modus operandi’, ‘absorption of external influences’, ‘synthesis’, and ‘evaluation’ ties with the ‘change’ factor of the iceberg only as it addresses the place of context in policy borrowing. According to Steiner-Khamsi (2004), ‘internalisation/indigenisation’ is contextualization of the borrowed policy - making it an integral part of the educational system of the ‘borrower’ country.

From the analysis above, I would argue that Phillips and Ochs’ model of policy borrowing has a tighter relationship primarily with ‘change’ and ‘decision-making’ factors of the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’. As seen in the figure above, Phillips and Ochs’ model of policy borrowing does not take into consideration aspects such as ‘post-colonialism’, ‘dominance’, ‘development’ and ‘human capital formation’ addressed by the ‘iceberg’ which are important indicators in analyzing policy borrowing within an Afro-centric context. Therefore, the former is limited when addressing African/Cameroonian realities. Where these ‘neglected factors’ feature in the comparison of both models, have been my own personal analysis and struggle based on experiences with theories in chapter 3 as well as findings raised in chapters 6, 7 and 8. Therefore, the claim I raised regarding the difficulty and confusion encountered in trying to situate the ‘iceberg’s’ six factors on Phillips and Ochs’ model is true. Therefore, the justification of creating a model that depicts African/Cameroonian realities which is easy to understand and use such as the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ is timely within the field of comparative education. As mentioned above, I strongly agree with Steiner-Khamsi’s proposition (2012) that policy borrowing is a concept open to multiple interpretations and means different things across contexts. Having compared both Phillips and Ochs’ model and the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’, I now present a comprehensive conclusion of the entire chapter.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter completes analysis of factors that trigger and are problematic to (inhibit) policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE lodged within the framework of the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’. The chapter provides evidence on ‘analysis beneath the surface’, which are covert and potentially dangerous factors. In other words, the chapter adds analysis on RQ2 which is ‘what factors facilitate and inhibit (problems

encountered) policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities?’ Recall I argued that the original framework of the policy borrowing model as established by Phillips and Ochs (2003 & 2004) has attracted many criticisms – one of such criticism is that it is Euro-centric being produced by westerners following European/western realities and does not adequately address African/Cameroonian local realities – among many criticisms. To bridge the gap, this chapter additionally examines two more factors and their indicators which address ‘policy borrowing’ in Africa at large and Cameroon in particular namely post-colonialism and dominance.

Post-colonialism as a factor of the ‘iceberg’ (and its corresponding theory in chapter three – colonial/post-colonial theory) is important in policy borrowing as it clearly traces the roots, connections and reasons why European/western HE systems and reforms still have a strong hold on contemporary African/Cameroonian HE (Khelfaoui, 2009) through neo-colonial structures (NGOs) and neo-imperial policies like the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP – a situation which I describe as ‘colonial shadowing’ which indicates that colonial powers though physically absent (or NGOs though present) still exert control over ex-colonies aided by neo-liberal structures and neo-imperial policies.

Dominance as a factor of the ‘iceberg’ (and its corresponding theory in chapter three – theory of dominance) is relevant to policy borrowing as it highlights the complex interplay of colonial dominance (Matunhu, 2011; & Sawant, 2011) and multinational dominance (Verger, Novelli & Altinyelken, 2012) on contemporary HE systems in Africa at large and Cameroon in particular which have both influenced the implementation of Global Educational Policies like the Bologna Process/LMD in this context.

The chapter also compared and contrasted Phillips and Ochs’ model of policy borrowing against the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ which is essential in comparative study as this brings out areas of commonalities, divergence, difficulties and/or indicates where knowledge has been extended in policy borrowing discourses. I argued that it is easy to conclude that the six factors revealed by the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ (namely decision-making, development, human capital formation, change, postcolonialism and dominance) are entirely ‘impulses’ which trigger ‘cross-national attraction’ as described in Phillips and Ochs’ model which is not true. From my judgement, these six factors can randomly be placed on the latter model though with much level of difficulty and confusion. Furthermore, recall I have used the term ‘policy borrowing’ in the thesis to comprehensively mean the policy borrowing framework as propounded by Phillips and Ochs (2003 & 2004); conceptualizations of other authors based on policy borrowing; theories raised in chapter three; as well as interviewees’ perceptions presented in the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’. Next, I present the last chapter of the thesis which provides recommendations to the study, suggestion for further research among other information.

Chapter Nine

Conclusions and Recommendations

9.1 Introduction

The general purpose of this study was to critically examine harmonization and policy borrowing through the lens of the Bologna Process/LMD/BMP reform in Cameroonian HE. The chapter presents implications for policy and practice by addressing these across different levels including the international/regional levels, national level and university level. It also presents implications for the theoretical literature(s) that has proved most relevant for the research (that is Phillips and Ochs model of policy borrowing) by explaining how my research supports this literature, builds upon this literature as well as challenges this literature. Next, limitations of the study and priorities for further research have not been left out. Having introduced the chapter, I now present implications for policy and practice.

9.2 Implications for policy and practice

The implications for future policy and practice has been subdivided into three levels. That is international, national and university levels. Whilst the findings presented many concerns, for the sake of space, I have provided implications for concerns I think are the most pressing.

- At the international/regional levels

Though the European Bologna Process has been perceived as a Global Education Policy (GEP) for HE systems across the globe (Cameroon inclusive) leading to the international harmonization (and standardization) of HE systems, however, within the context of Cameroonian HE, issues related to internationalization have emerged. Here, concerns related to the lack of pedagogic materials to cater for the policy of internationalization; the idea that Cameroonian universities lack international rating (ranking/accreditation); and concerns related to brain drain have been raised. Therefore, to deal with concerns related to the harmonization of Cameroonian HE internationally particularly that which relates to internationalization, HE stakeholders across the globe should recognize that the whole world is not standard (Woldegiorgis, *et al.*, 2015, p.243) as there exists different levels of development across countries. This means there is need to avoid unnecessary macro-harmonization pressures.

While some participants on one hand generally agreed that there is regional harmonization of HE systems across the CEMAC zone (Cameroon inclusive) with the coming of the Bologna Process/LMD as a novel regional education policy (REP); as well as the enhancement of regional integration using the Bologna Process/LMD reform among other aspects, however, there are others who think that regional harmonization is more of a myth than a reality leading to a controversy. In terms of the latter, these set of participants raised that though there exist the Libreville Convention (of the LMD reform), they have never seen it concretely work as there are doubts whether there have been much changes in terms of programmes and policy of the old and new system. Therefore, to address concerns associated with regional harmonization controversy – a myth than reality resulting from the harmonization of Cameroonian HE on a regional basis, I would suggest that there should be proper sensitization of regional harmonization among CEMAC HEIs (Cameroon inclusive). Such sensitization establishes a common language for regulators (Azatyan & Kopp, 2012, p.11) needed to minimize barriers to regional harmonization.

In contemporary society, while international agencies, such as UNESCO have participated in prescribing an ‘off the shelf’ solution known to be the Bologna Process considered as a best practice for global, regional and national HE systems, however, there have been concerns regarding what best practices actually mean in Cameroonian HE. According to findings best practices such as the Bologna Process/LMD reform is not a glorified term used in determining development as context and culture differ across borders thus a problem. Therefore, international agencies need to strike a better balance between promoting policies which connect Cameroon more closely to global higher education norms, without trying to force policies designed with other contexts in mind on to the country. Furthermore, to solve developmental concerns based on problems related to what is known as ‘good and best practice’, there is need for both international, regional and national HE stakeholders to be sensitive to contextual realities.

Whilst the Bologna Process is known to be what is setting the pace for educational reform or educational change in present-day HE systems, Cameroon inclusive, there have been concerns raised relative to the continuation of this reform in the latter. According to findings, a concern such as systemic collapse and abandonment has been raised and this is caused by the lack of critical support and no follow up or control of reform policies (Bologna Process/LMD) which leads to an abrupt end of these reform policies rather than the continuation of these. Therefore, in order to deal with change, relative to crises plaguing the continuation stage (Fullan, 2001), I recommend that multinationals should periodically and persistently monitor and coordinate policies where they took part in the implementation to avoid systemic collapse and abandonment.

Findings indicate that the Bologna Process in present-day HE has established a new form of dominance over African HE systems at large and Cameroonian HE in particular and in the course of such dominance, concerns such as excessive control of the latter's policy makers has been raised. To deal with dominance concerns related to control (Haughton, 2004), westerners and multinationals should respect Cameroon as a sovereign state as well as provide autonomy to its HE system in the adoption/implementation of global policies (Bologna Process) thus limiting excessive control of its policy makers and educational system.

- At the national level

To solve concerns related to the harmonization of Cameroonian HE in relation to internationalization (as seen above), Cameroonian HE administrators at the national level should provide ample educational resources to cater for the implementation of international/regional policies like the LMD, as the lack of resources have been raised as a major internationalization concern (Mohamedbhai, 2013). Also, it would be better to implement international policies that are not resource intensive. Furthermore, while the Bologna Process/LMD has been used to enhance micro-harmonization or the national harmonization of the dual system of Cameroonian HE comprising of the French and English HE sub-systems, some participants raised that such harmonization has been politically driven hence a problem. Therefore, to address the negative political influence on national harmonization of Cameroonian HE, Cameroonian politicians should avoid politicizing harmonization (Doh, 2015) and the HE system; but should create a "common" national HE policy that considers both the French and English cultural realities to enhance national harmonization.

Decision-making has been raised as a major factor of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. However, from a national level concerns have been raised owing to the excessive centralization of the decision-making process characterized by top-down rather than bottom up initiatives which do not consider the felt needs and opinions of other HE stakeholders in this context. To this effect, in order to solve problems raised by decision-making in terms of political influence, there is need for the Cameroonian government to combat excessive centralization in decision-making and stimulate consultations. In other words, more attention should be paid to the internal dimension of decision-making whereby student unions, staff, enterprises among others (Tuck, 2007, p.48 & 49) should be able to have their voices heard during decision-making regarding policies and programmes.

One of the major factors driving policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE in the advent of the Bologna Process has been the quest to ensure development particularly as the nation craves to become an emergent nation by 2035. However, from a national perspective, some participants raised that there has been no plan to cater

for emergence. Therefore, to solve developmental issues surrounding Vision 2035, the Cameroonian government should establish a plan for emergence and hand this plan to Cameroonian universities to strategise ways of realising it through research.

As seen above, the quest to ensure educational reform and educational change using the Bologna Process in Cameroonian HE has led to some concerns. One of such concerns is that of the national implementation of this reform caused by lack of adequate resources. In order to deal with change relative to crises plaguing the implementation stage, I recommend solving resource concerns (Uzochukwu, 2017). This means either (1) the Cameroonian government/private HE proprietors should provide adequate resources (finance; infrastructure; human resources) to enhance proper implementation of policies. To solve concerns with human resources in particular, there is need: to deal with student-teacher ratios; to consider the right person for the right job; and to avoid politics in staff recruitment. Or (2) reform policies which either require more resources to do something new, or do not lead to more efficient ways of doing things should not be adopted/implemented as these are not going to help the HE system.

Whilst the development of formal HE in Cameroon has been made possible due to colonial relationship Cameroon shared with ex-imperialists (particularly France and Britain); and coincidentally the Bologna Process in Cameroonian HE has been perceived to be as a result of such historical/colonial ties (postcolonial effect) the nation shares with its ex-imperialists such as Britain and France who happen to be the forerunners of the reform policy in Europe, however, the onset of the Bologna Process/LMD in this context has posed many concerns related to the 'independence nightmare'. One of such concerns is that which relates to the presence of 'all' official HE documents in French without any English translated version which pose problems of understanding, implementation and follow up for typical Anglophone HE officials, lecturers and students. Therefore, to deal with concerns relative to post-colonialism regarding the 'independence nightmare' and cultural concerns thereby stimulating favourable policy borrowing, MINESUP should design and translate all official HE documents (Ebongue, 2017) in both French and English to avoid conflicts and ease understanding/implementation of policies, programmes and practices.

As seen above, dominance is one of the leading factors of policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. However, such dominance has led to the excessive use of or dependence on foreign experts than local national experts in the implementation of foreign-derived reform policies like the Bologna Process with devastating consequences such as the follow up, monitoring and continuation of reform policies already in motion. Therefore, to solve dominance concerns related to dependency (Matunhu, 2011), there is need for the

Cameroonian government to constantly train and use local policy implementers rather than constantly rely or depend on foreign policy implementers.

- At the university level

One of the problems raised that impede successful national harmonization of the Cameroonian HE system is that related to what I described as ‘harmonization versus post-colonial effect on culture’ as evidenced by participants’ perceptions based on the bicultural malaise facing this context in the wake of policy borrowing and the Bologna Process/LMD. Therefore, to address cultural problems inherent to the national harmonization of the Cameroonian HE system owing to ‘harmonization versus post-colonial effect on culture’, Cameroonian HE administrators, lecturers and students should learn to acknowledge and appreciate the bilingual state of the country (Ebongue, 2017) which has reflected the organization of its HE system as an asset; and this should be embraced with great pride given that French and English are powerful international languages in the world. Therefore programmes, policies and practices should be embraced by both HE systems regardless of its cultural origin.

Human capital formation has been raised as one of the factors that trigger policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE. One of the ways this has taken is the competency-based approach (CBA) to learning otherwise known as student-centered learning. However, there are concerns raised owing to CBA in this context ranging from shortage of teachers to cater for the available student population; lack of adequate resources; as well as the postcolonial effect on the curriculum which undermines not only African competences but learners’ learning and competences. Therefore, to cater for human capital concerns related to the competency-based approach (CBA) to learning/student-centered learning (Barth, Godemann, Rieckmann & Stoltenberg, 2007) there is need for university administrators to solve issues concerning student-teacher ratios by either recruiting a minimal number of students that would match staff availability; or recruit more staff to cater for the student population. There is also need to provide adequate educational resources to cater for student learning. Furthermore, the post-colonial effect that undermines African education/competences should be solved by appraising African competences during instructional delivery by lecturers through: the provision of practical Afro-centric examples for illustrations, use of African models to explain concepts, drawing inspiration and learning from the experiences of other African contexts and much more.

9.3 Implications for the theoretical literature(s)

Whilst there are many theoretical frameworks or models used in comparative studies such as policy learning, policy convergence, policy transfer, information-theoretical framework of policy transfer and policy borrowing, this thesis focused on the most prominent of these, the policy borrowing framework proposed by Phillips and Ochs (2003 & 2004)⁵⁶. As aforementioned, the policy borrowing model as well as the others have been criticised for being Euro-centric. This means they do not properly address African realities in policy borrowing discourses. This shortcoming has triggered investigations into policy borrowing within the African context thus leading me to propose a new model of the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ which addresses African realities in policy borrowing discourses. In other words, the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ supports and builds upon existing models of comparative education particularly that of policy borrowing by accepting and illustrating that there is policy borrowing going on across different contexts (in the wake of the Bologna Process/LMD reforms and harmonization of HE systems) through the examination of some African contextual realities (see below) which are relevant and timely in contemporary policy borrowing discourses.

However, while Phillips and Ochs model of policy borrowing for instance presents concepts in a cyclical four-staged manner made up of (1) cross national attraction, (2) decision, (3) implementation, and (4) internationalization/indigenization, with some indicators embedded in these; the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ challenges this approach by suggesting that to better understand policy borrowing within an African context, the best way to look at this is by using the iceberg metaphor which consists of three categories of factors which are unstaged and not cyclical. These comprise (1) analysis above the surface or overt factors comprising of ‘decision-making’, ‘development’ and ‘human capital formation’; (2) analysis across the surface or overt-covert factor(s) made up of ‘change’; and (3) analysis beneath the surface or covert factors made up of ‘postcolonialism’ and ‘dominance’. These factors also have respective indicators which they address and it is interesting to note that most of these indicators have not been addressed by Phillips and Ochs model of policy borrowing⁵⁷.

All in all, the theoretical implications means that in addressing policy borrowing in future comparative studies regardless of context, there is need to include discourses pertaining to the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ in order to have a comprehensive connotation of what ‘policy borrowing’ actually means and covers in terms of depth and breadth. Furthermore, I wish to remind readers that much of the policy borrowing

⁵⁶ See Appendix H for descriptive account of these models.

⁵⁷ For more information on Phillips and Ochs model of policy borrowing.

discussion has gone on in relation to policy learning, policy convergence, policy transfer etc or what I describe simply as ‘foreign policy appropriation’ among richer countries, which underplays geopolitical power relations. I would argue that there is a benefit of testing the policy borrowing iceberg model in other contexts (both within Africa and other ‘subaltern’ regions, but also in the ‘global North’). In this way it responds to the invitation of those looking to expand the reach of the social sciences (such as Bhambra on postcolonial theory, Connell on ‘Southern theory’ etc). In addition to the above, it is worthy to recall that solutions developed in Europe on policy borrowing does not wholly translate to Africa requiring the application of the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ in the latter in comparative studies and/or policy borrowing discourses for better results. Next, I present limitations of the study.

9.4 Limitations of the study

French was a barrier to me and therefore, the study did not include typical Francophone HE stakeholders due to issues with translation. Furthermore, I was also limited in terms of resources (financial resources) which made it hard to get access to certain things such as acquiring a French translator as well as gaining access to some NGOs. It is likely that interviewees presented things in a certain light as they may have been wary about what they said which may have posed concerns about the authenticity or credibility of the data provided. In addition to this, with any idiographic study, it is difficult to transfer findings to a larger population or to a wider context because of a limited sample size.

9.5 Priorities for further research

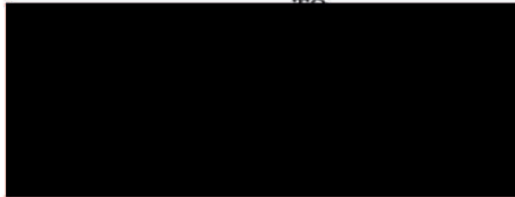
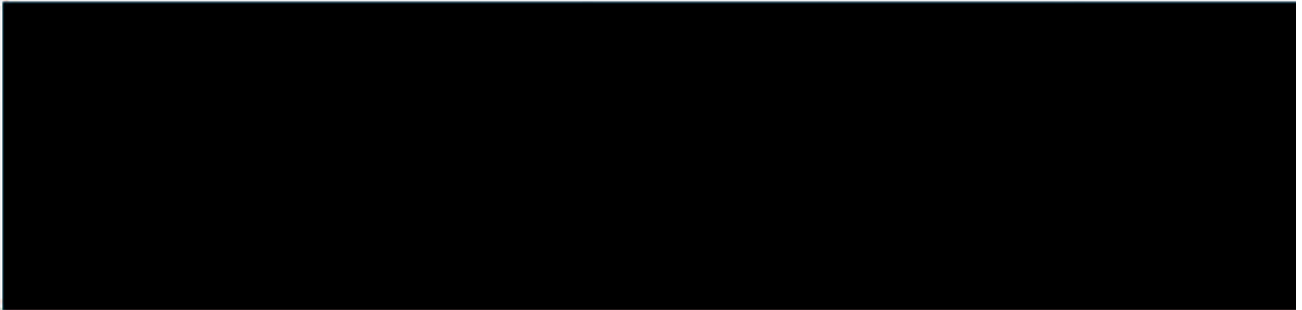
Given that the ‘policy borrowing iceberg’ is a new model in comparative education which addresses policy borrowing from an Afro-centric standpoint, the model should be applied in comparative studies in order to test the workability or non-workability of the model in other contexts in both the global north and global south. Another idea, in relation to the iceberg model, is to identify whether there tend to be a set of common beneath/above the surface factors, or whether they differ from case to case or from one context to another. Generally, since this study was carried out in Cameroon, a similar study should be carried out in other developing contexts for instance other CEMAC countries, other African countries, countries in Latin America and Asia to find out if findings can be transferred to a larger population. Furthermore, there is also need to look at the implementation of the Bologna Process/LMD elsewhere; as well as compare action lines that have been adopted, problems encountered, strategies put in place to cater for these problems etc across contexts to bring out areas of convergence and divergence from which lessons can be learnt. There is also need to look at other policies in Cameroon whether home-made or borrowed in order to set a solid foundation regarding policy analysis in this context.

As the study made use of a qualitative research design, a quantitative study using a survey and/or mixed methods should be carried out to identify the most frequently occurring facilitating factor(s) as well as problem(s) encountered as per each research question to determine areas needing the most attention amid scarce resources.

Given that mostly Anglophone HEIs were used in the study (with exception of the University of Yaounde), a similar study should be conducted in Cameroon including more Francophone universities/respondents. Next, I present the appendices.

Appendix A: Authorization letter from the Cameroon Minister of Higher Education to carry-out research

Appendix A: Authorization letter from the Cameroon Minister of Higher Education to carry-out research



Subject: Your request for authorization to conduct research.

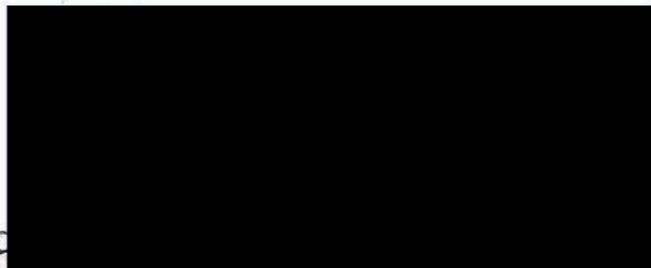
Madam,

Further to your request for an audience with me that was granted to you by my collaborator upon my instructions, on October 29 2015,

I wish to inform you that I have no objection to your request to conduct research in the central and external services of the Higher Education System of Cameroon.

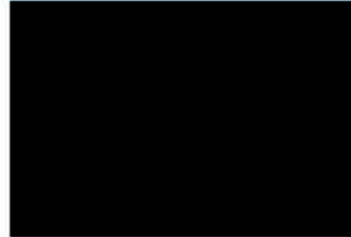
I take this opportunity to thank and congratulate you for your interest in matters of Higher Education and wish you great success in your studies.

Kindly accept, Madam, my best regards.



Appendix B: Sample letter requesting for authorization to carry-out research at an institutional level

Appendix B: Sample letter requesting for authorization to carry-out research at an institutional level



Dear Sir/Madam,

A REQUEST FOR AN AUTHORIZATION TO CARRY-OUT RESEARCH

I am a Commonwealth Scholar and a PhD student in the University of York; United Kingdom. I wish to request your permission to carry-out research via interviewing you and other officials in this university. My research is about the factors, problems and prospects of adopting foreign educational policies within the framework of universities in Cameroon.

With due respect, Sir/Madam, I wish to inform you that my stay in Cameroon is very limited as I have to return to the United Kingdom to continue my education and research by the end of November. I am currently doing same study in Bamenda at the moment. If you can kindly consider granting me permission and audience as soon as you can, I will be very grateful. There are no right or wrong answers as what is needed are your personal opinions and experiences. I look forward to receiving your call or reading an e-mail from you.

Kind regards

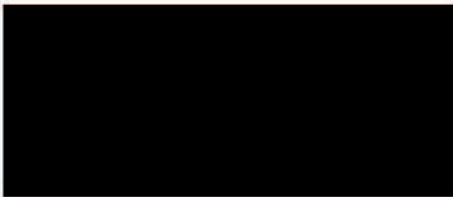
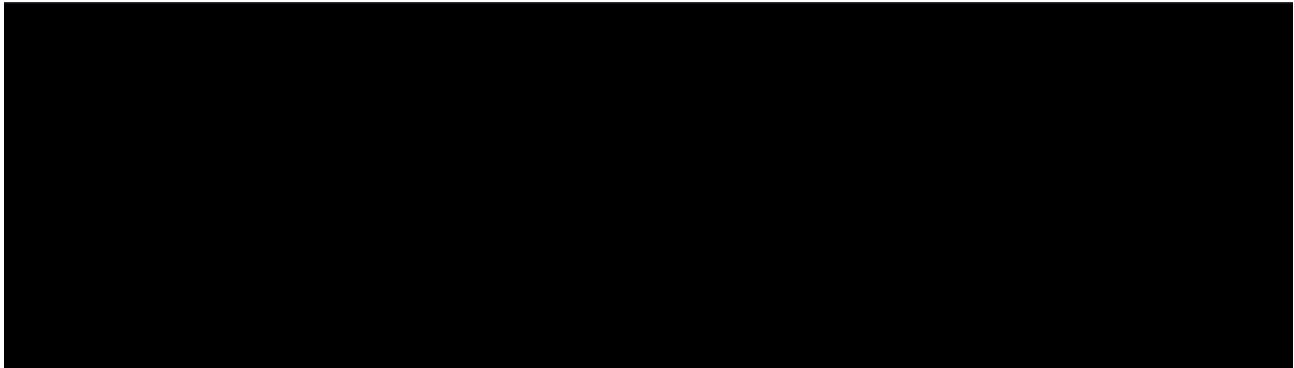


Enclosures:

- Authorization from the Minister of Higher Education (MINESUP) to carry-out research
- Thesis Proposal
- Consent Form
- Interview Guide
- Commonwealth Scholarship Confirmation of Award

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Appendix C: Sample permission letter to carry-out research at an institutional level

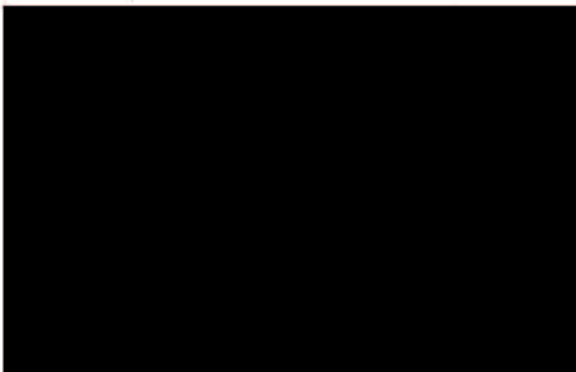


Application for permission to carry out research at The UBa

We write to acknowledge receipt of your email application file of 10 October 2015 on the above subject matter and to grant approval to your request to carry out a portion of your PhD research project titled: "Policy borrowing in Anglophone Universities: Factors, problems and prospects" at The University of Bamenda. However, on your arrival, we will need to formalize this agreement and fix modalities for this process at the university campus.

We wish you well in your research endeavor.

Accept our kind regards



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D-AcA

Appendix D: Informed consent form for pre-pilot study

INFORMED CONSENT FOR DISSERTATION RESEARCH PROJECT PARTICIPATION

Higher Education policy-making in Anglophone Cameroon

Respected Sir/Madam

I am Vuban Joyce Afuh a PhD student in the Department of Education at the University of York. I would like to invite you to participate in my research interview on the factors, problems and prospects of adopting foreign higher educational policies by key policy-makers within the framework of Cameroonian universities. I am interested in addressing this issue of concern by carry-out a pre-pilot/pilot study using opinions of policy-makers in the University of York; United Kingdom.

Your participation will include being interviewed for an hour and it will be recorded. I will give you a hard copy of the transcript of the interview conducted. With this, you will be able to make any changes if you deem necessary. You also have the right to withdraw from the study anytime until March, 1 2016. At this point, I will be in the final stages of the writing process and will not be able to delete quotations from the document.

The data will be shared with members of my Thesis Advisory Panel (TAP) only and will be stored in password protected computer files. The data will also be destroyed once the research is completed. If need arises for me to use the data in public presentations direct quotations from the interviews will be used and this will be anonymous. If you feel uncomfortable with this, you have the right to decline. The data also might be used for further analysis in the future or other purposes. The dissertation that results from this interview will be published in hard copies and soft copies online which will be housed by the JB Morrell Library on campus.

I am deeply thankful for your time dedicated to this study and your opinions based on expertise and experiences. These will aid me learn more about higher education policies at large and the intricacies of foreign educational policy adoption in particular within the framework of Cameroon. If you have any questions, doubts or worries, please feel free to contact me at:

[Redacted contact information]

Thank you,

Vuban Joyce Afuh (signed)

Please sign below if you are willing to participate in the dissertation research project outlined above.

Signature: -----

Print name: -----

Date: -----

Appendix E: Informed consent form for main study

**INFORMED CONSENT FOR DISSERTATION RESEARCH PROJECT PARTICIPATION
Higher Education Policy-Making in Cameroonian Universities**

Respected Sir/Madam

I am Vuban Joyce Afuh a PhD student in the Department of Education at the University of York. I would like to invite you to participate in my research interview on the factors, problems and prospects of adopting foreign higher educational policies by key policy-makers within the framework of Cameroonian universities. I am interested in addressing this issue of concern by carrying-out a study using opinions of policy-makers (educational administrators) in Cameroon's Ministry of Higher Education (MINESUP); public and private Anglophone universities; Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs); and multinational organizations.

Your participation will include being interviewed for about an hour and it will be recorded. I will give you a hard copy of the transcript of the interview conducted. With this, you will be able to make any changes if you deem necessary. You also have the right to withdraw from the study anytime until December, 1 2016. At this point, I will be in the final stages of the writing process and will not be able to delete quotations from the document.

The data will be shared with members of my Thesis Advisory Panel (TAP) only and will be stored in password protected computer files. The data will also be destroyed once the research is completed. If need arises for me to use the data in publications and public presentations, direct quotations from the interviews will be used and this will be anonymous. In some circumstances it may be necessary to mention information about an interviewee's role in order to provide sufficient context for readers/listeners to understand. Every effort will be made to ensure that an individual's identity is not disclosed. If you feel uncomfortable with this, you have the right to request that your data is not used in this way for publications and public presentations, other than the PhD thesis. This thesis that results from this interview will be published in hard copies and soft copies online which will be housed/hosted by the JB Morrell Library, University of York.

I am deeply thankful for your time dedicated to this study and your opinions based on expertise and experiences. These will aid me learn more about higher education policies at large and the intricacies of foreign educational policy adoption in particular within the framework of Cameroon. If you have any questions, doubts or worries, please feel free to contact me at: [REDACTED] You may also contact members of my TAP viz: [REDACTED]

Thank you,

Vuban Joyce Afuh (signed)

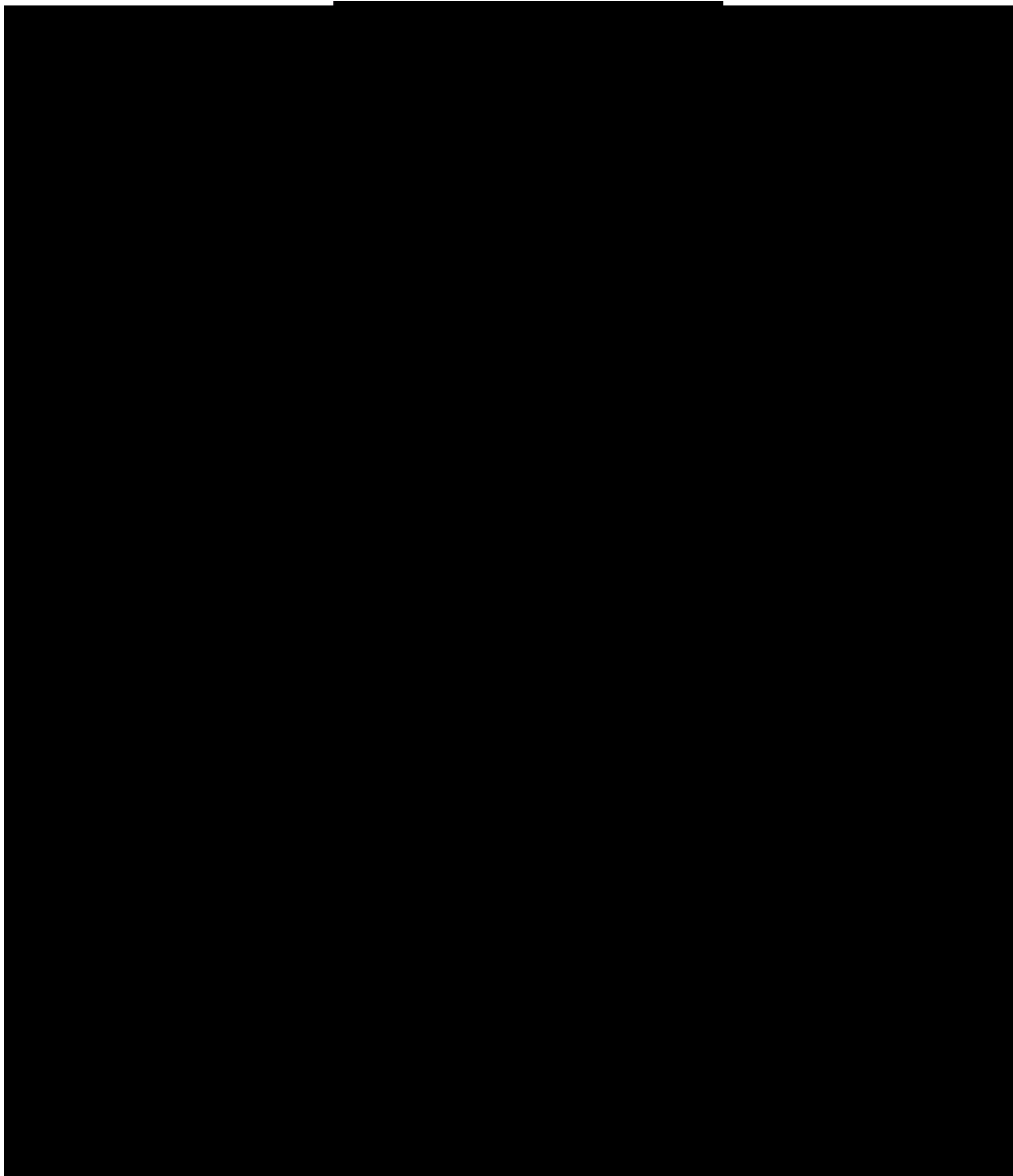
Please sign below if you are willing to participate in the dissertation research project outlined above.

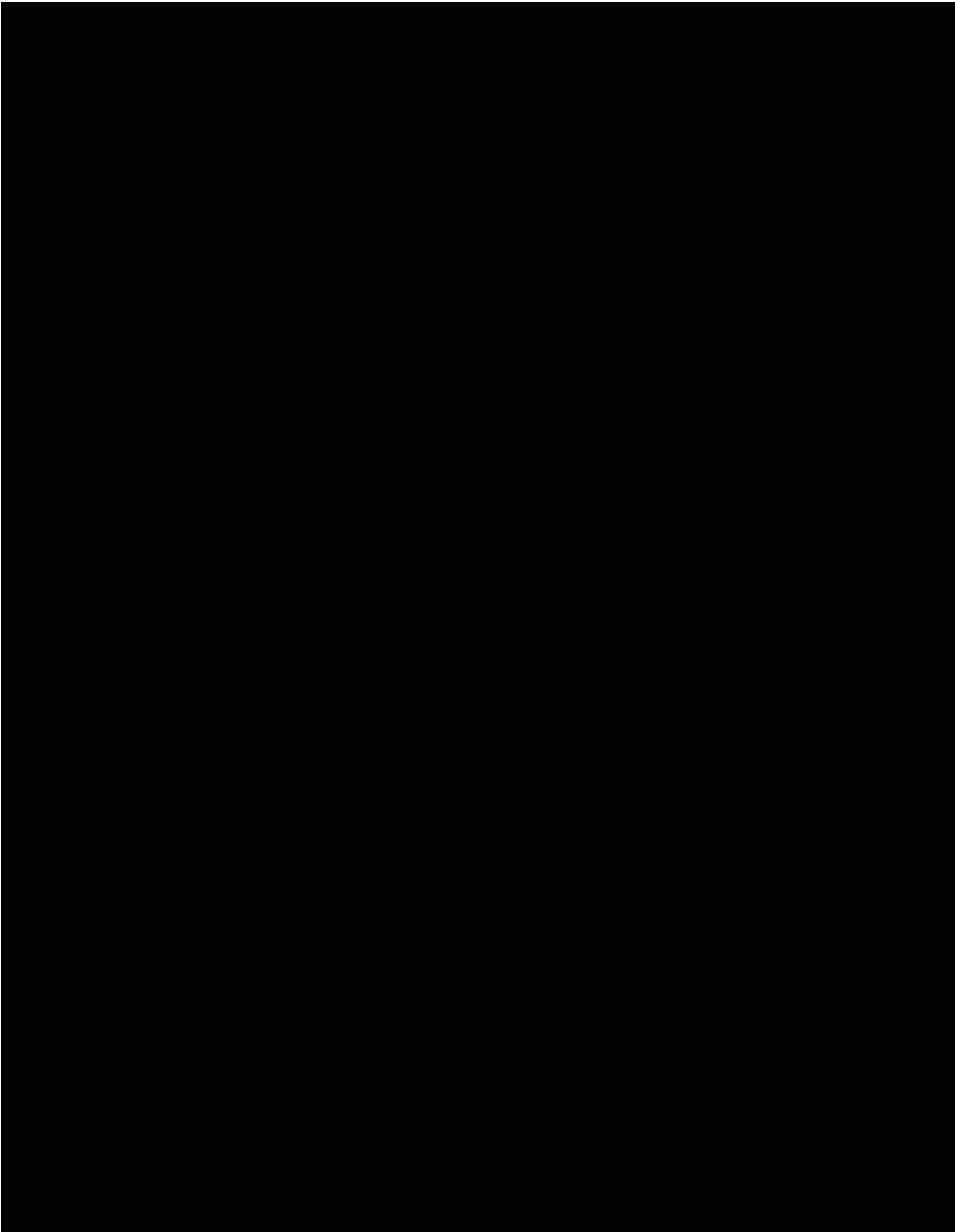
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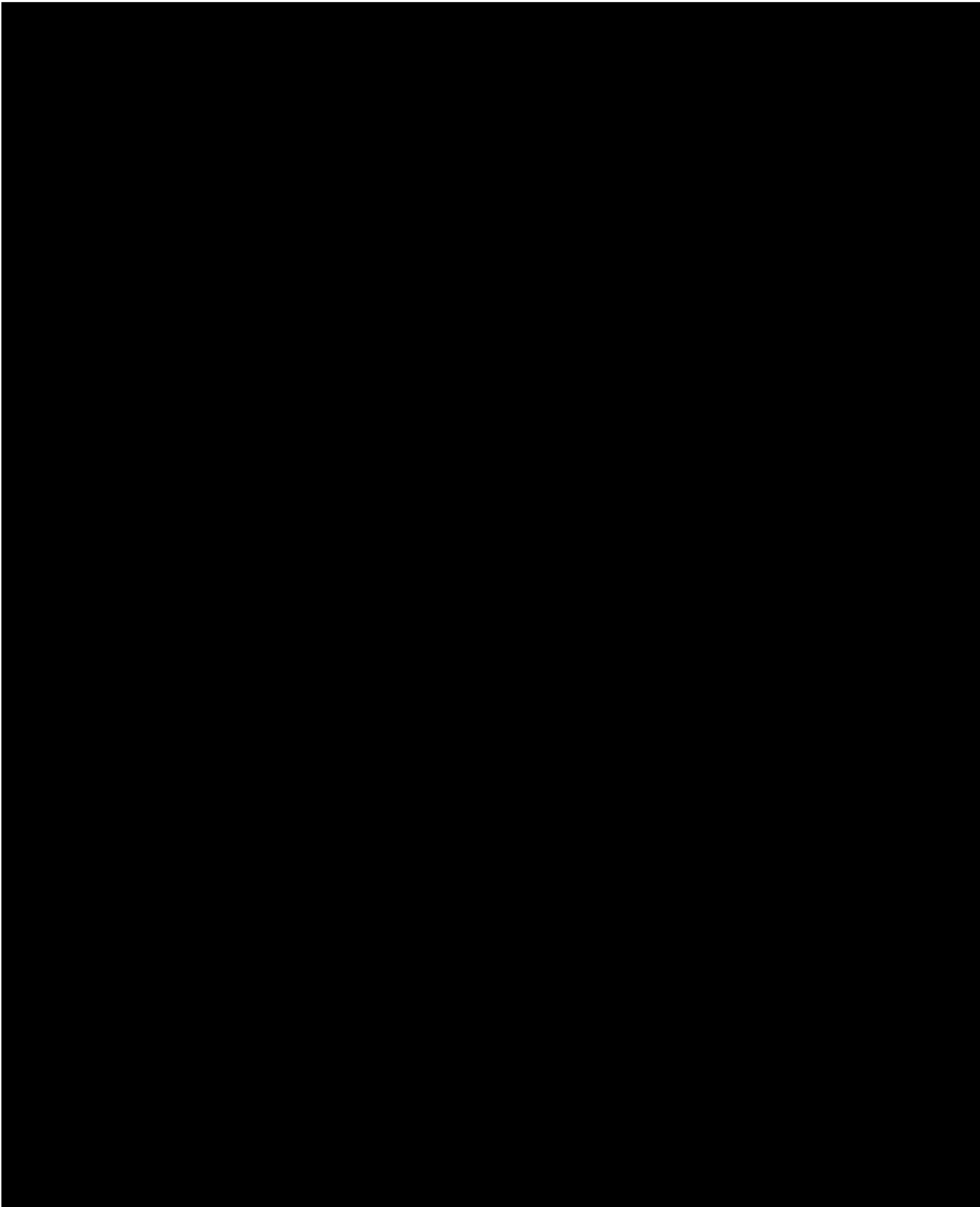
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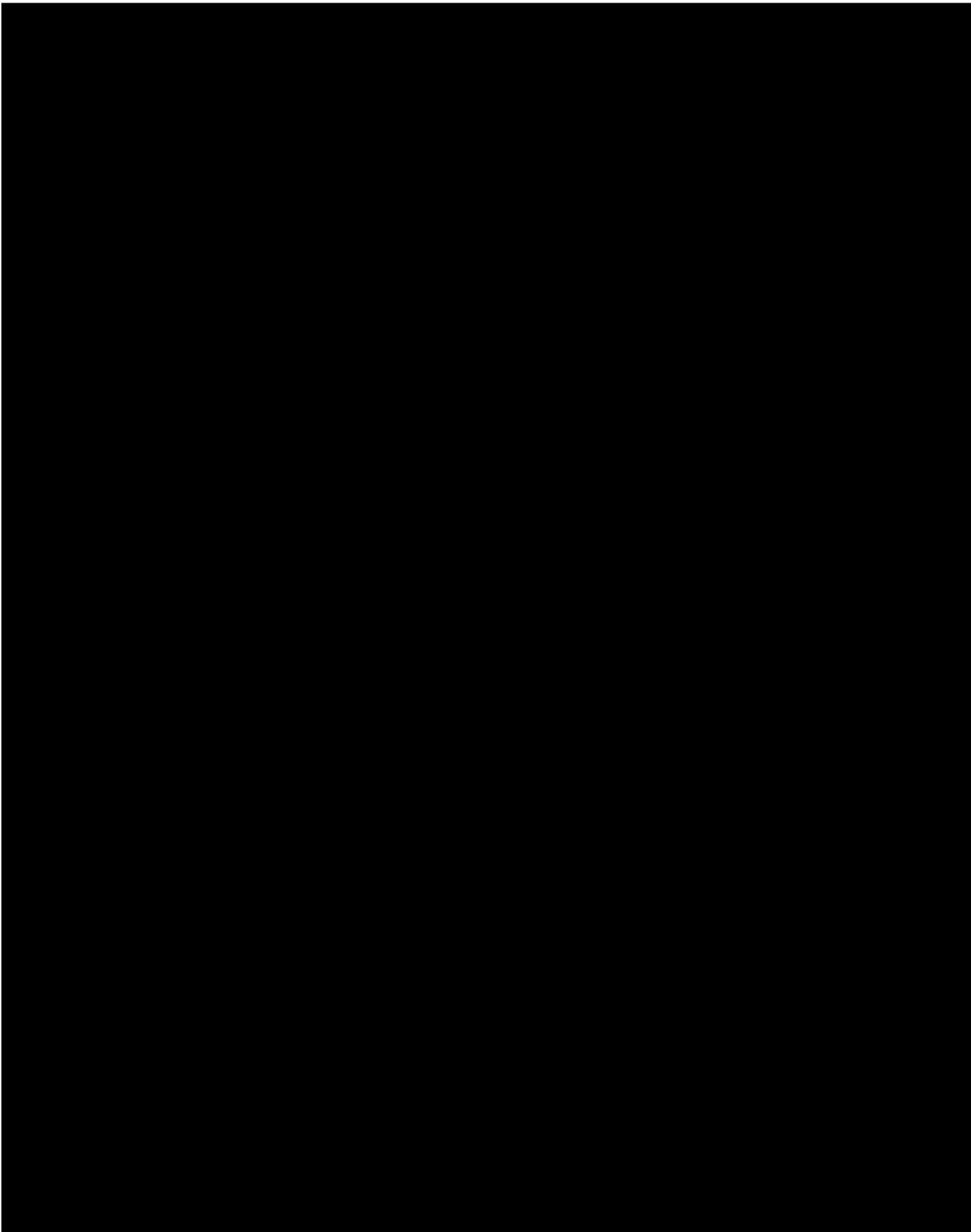
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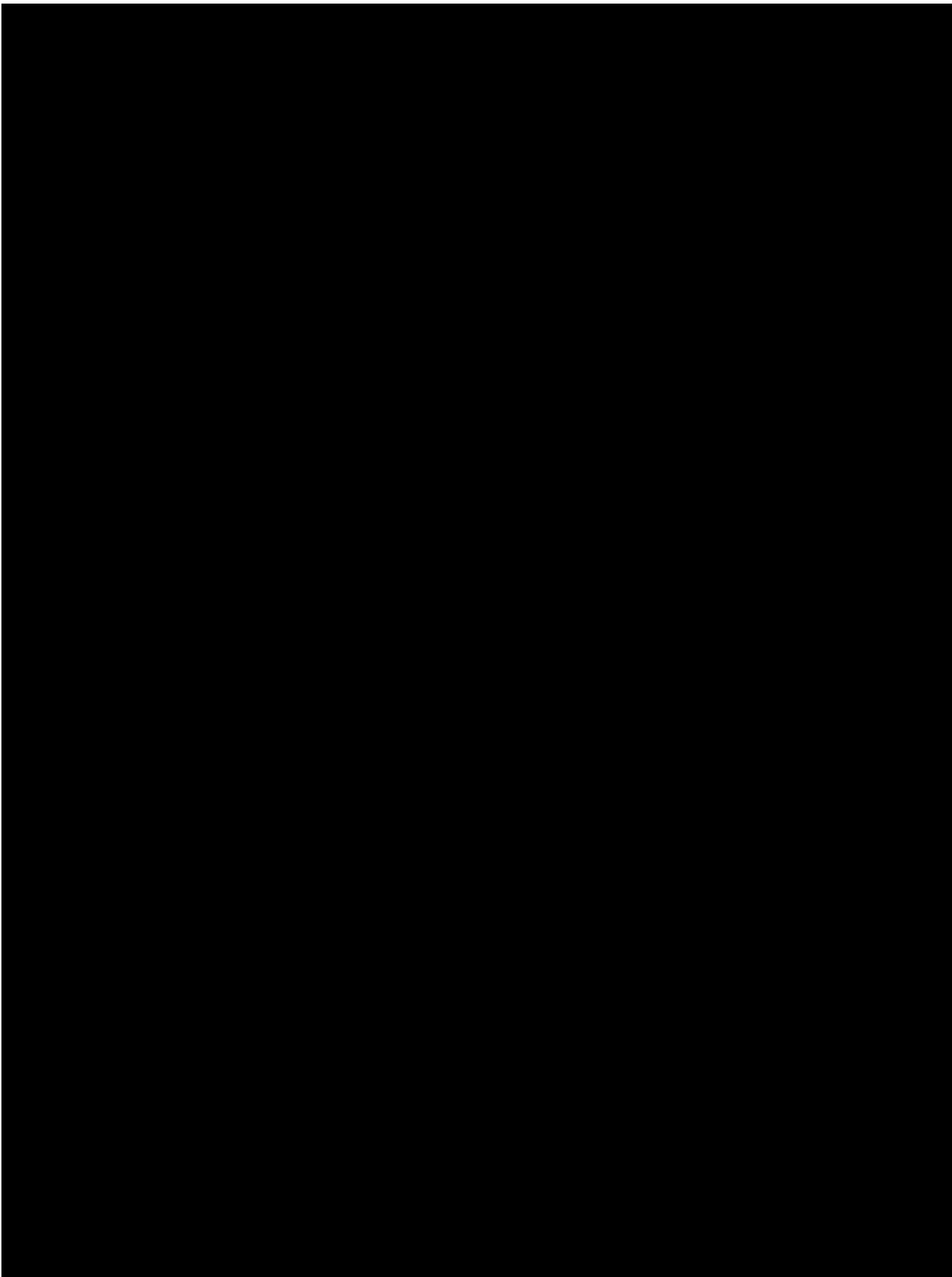
Appendix F: Sample of interview

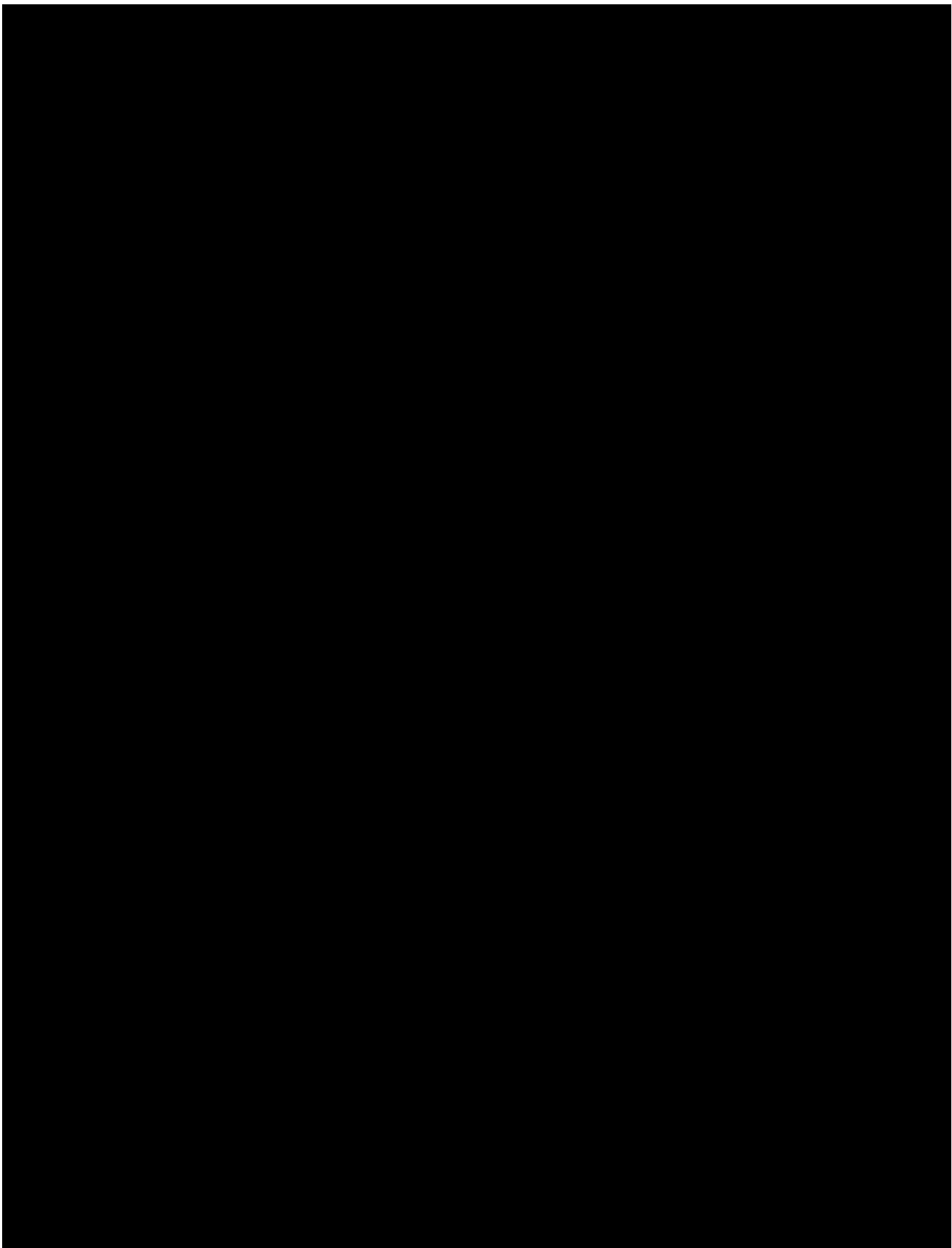


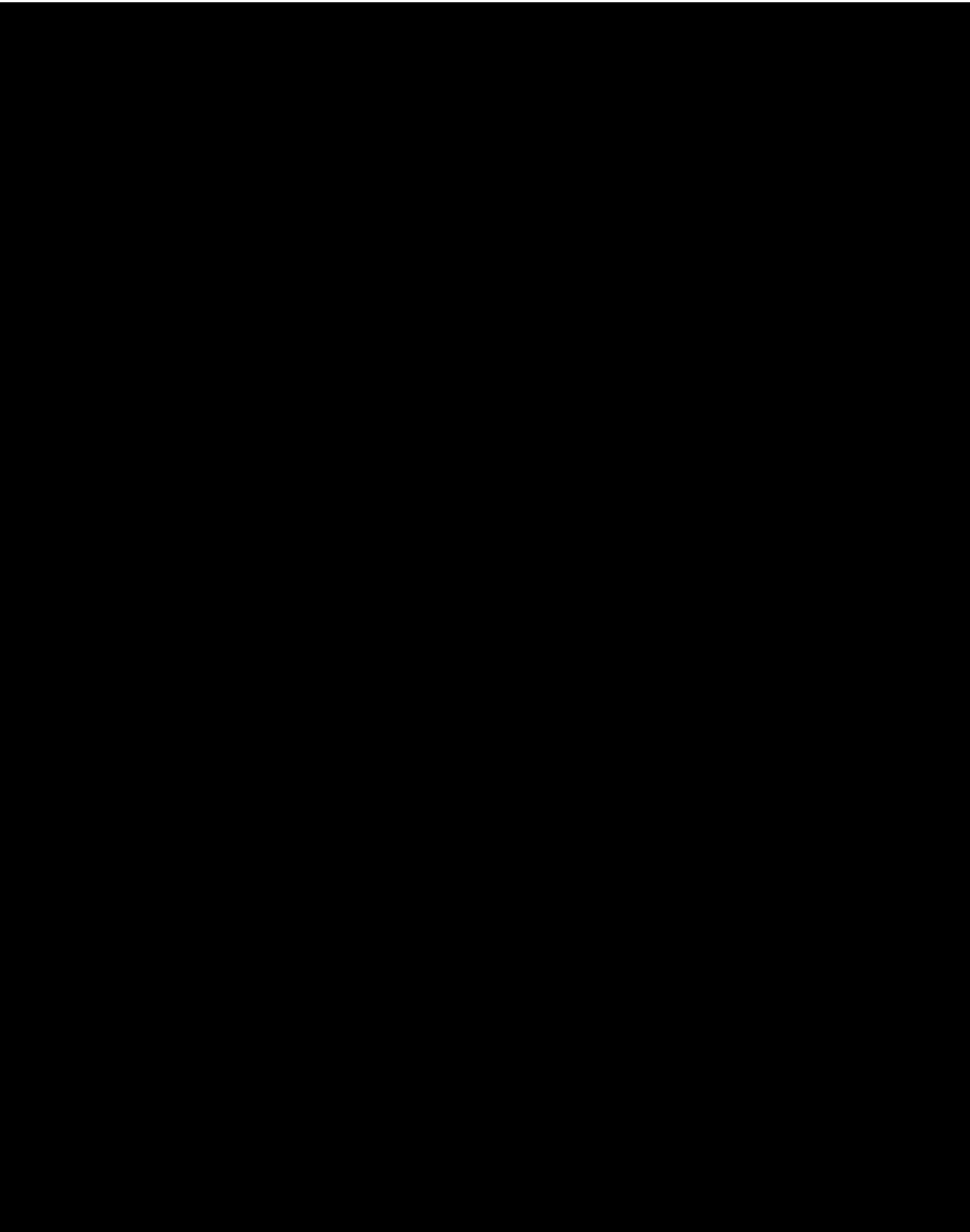


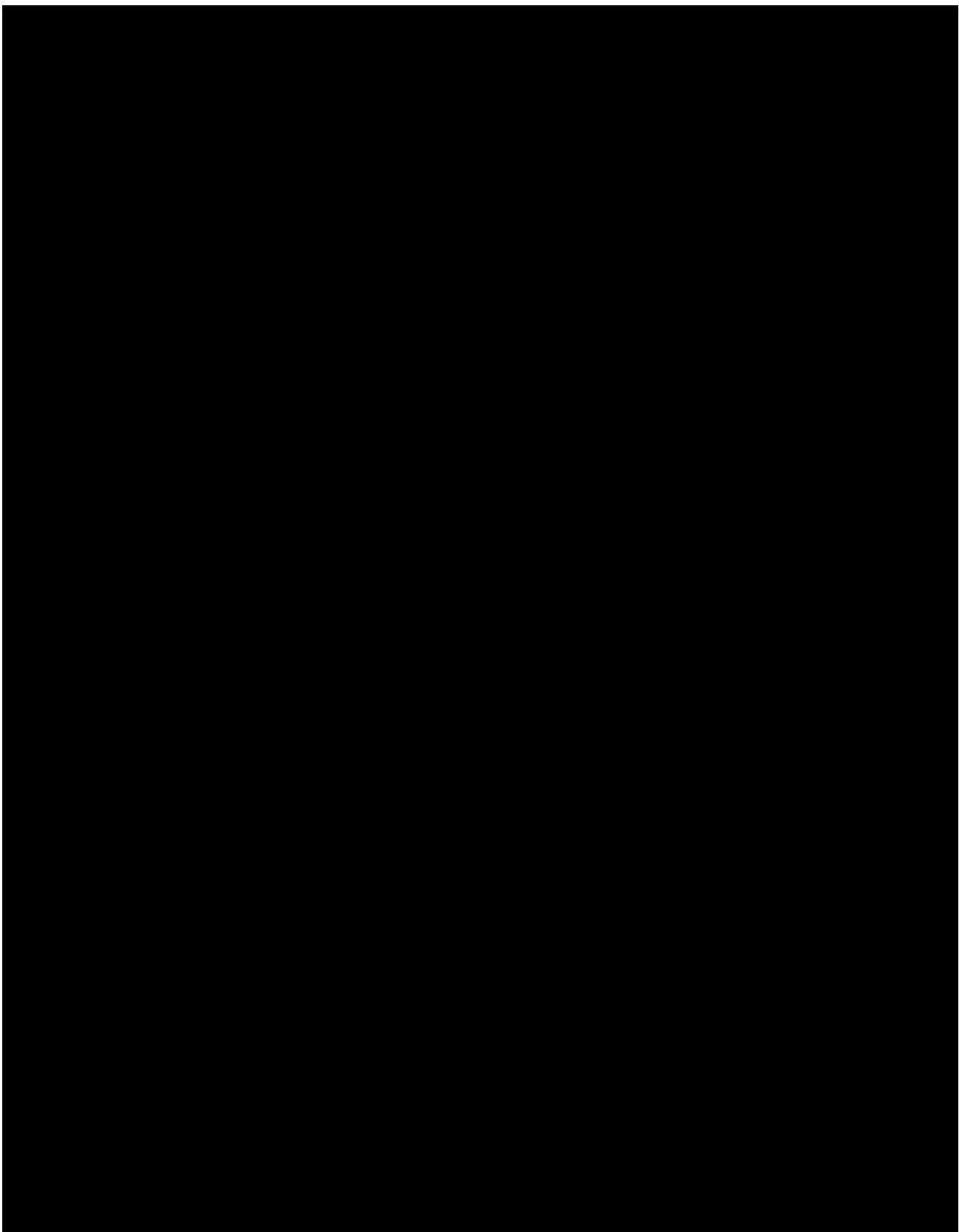














Appendix G: Existing Literature on Policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE

Whilst there are many studies carried out in the field of comparative education on policy borrowing across developing and developed regional and national contexts relative to specific indicators of interests to the researchers (Amsalu, 2014; Fan, 2007; Hulme & Hulme, 2008; Lam, 2009), there is very limited information on policy borrowing in Cameroonian HE, though it is perceived that the creation of universities in Cameroon have been modelled to reflect those of its ex-colonialists – France and Britain (Doh, 2007) which are part of the Bologna Process (WENR, 2008), a depicting a policy borrowing scenario from a postcolonial perspective (Khelfaoui, 2009). Eta (2018), inspired by the works of Phillips and Ochs (2003, 2004 & 2010) to produce something similar in Cameroon used three empirical studies on the Bologna Process/LMD in Cameroon which she championed among other authors viz Eta (2015 & 2017); Eta, Kallo and Rinne (2017); Eta and Vubo (2016). Her rationale for replicating the policy borrowing model was based on the argument that research into ‘local systems’ motivations for educational policy borrowing and the processes’ involved are fundamental concerns in the field of comparative education; and bears implications for present theoretical comprehension of the framework of policy borrowing as well as serves as an evidence to support the fact that the reasons for policy borrowing in the local context can be complex and multifaceted. Her concept of the policy borrowing framework is diagrammatically presented below together with her perceptions.

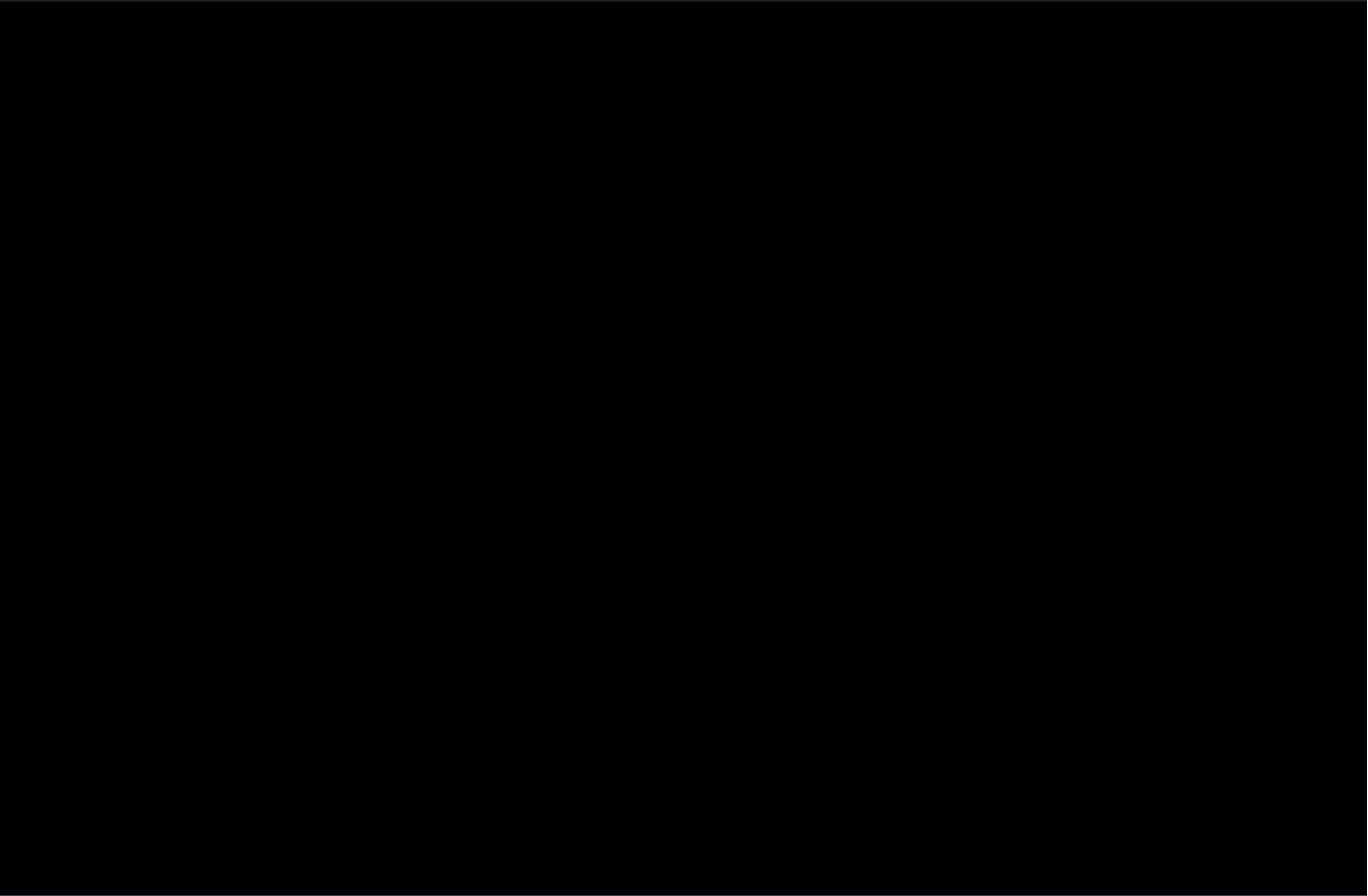


Fig: Eta (2018) conceptualization of policy borrowing in Cameroon

According to Eta (2018, p.76) the adoption and adaptation of Bologna Process ideas in the Cameroonian HE (which is the onset of policy borrowing) originated from a *cross-regional initiative* to create the CEMAC space for higher education, research and professional training via the LMD system as was adopted in the Libreville Declaration. Eta (2015, p.169-170) noted that the signing of the Libreville Declaration by CEMAC heads of states stemmed from a recommendation in 2004 by the Conference of Rectors and Officials of Research Organisations of CEMAC to adopt the LMD. The CEMAC council of ministers recommended the creation of a technical unit to oversee implementation of the LMD, which officially was adopted in 2005 and implemented in 2006 (through the construction of a CEMAC space for HE) by the CEMAC head of states, of which Cameroon is a signatory state. As ratified in the Libreville Declaration (CEMAC, 2006; Eta 2015; Eta, Kallo & Rinne, 2017), the main reasons for the adoption of the LMD included the need to: harmonise higher education, research and professional training within the CEMAC region in order to enhance: mobility of students and staff; common degree structure and credit systems; and professionalization of studies within the region (hence regional harmonization - Woldegiorgis, *et al.*, 2015); and for the CEMAC region to converge with the European system to facilitate collaboration between regions. In other words, the *impulses* that drove *cross-regional borrowing* were the quest to enhance

regional harmonization and the quest to *converge with European HE* (Eta, 2018, p.77). (The quest of achieving global standards as a motive for implementing Bologna ideas in Cameroon ties with Steiner-Khamsi's (2012, p.9) observation which holds that there is a rising 'shift from bilateral to international reference frames', which suggests that policy borrowing in HE may not necessarily start from local needs but from global needs to provide global solutions (Steiner-Khamsi, 2013) as seen in her findings. Eta, reiterated that global solutions are important in solving national HE challenges. Nonetheless, laying emphasis on local needs gives room for local support and mitigate resistance of borrowing.) Eta (2018, p.76) noted that these borrowable indicators also form what is known as '*externalising potential*' (Phillips & Ochs, 2003, 2004 & 2010) of the Bologna Process' '*guiding philosophy and goals/objectives*' (Phillips & Ochs, 2003, 2004 & 2010). Eta (2018, p.79) noted that the cross-regional nature of adopting Bologna ideas in Cameroon has implications for the processes involved in policy borrowing geared at initiating change as a process. Her finding for instance challenges Phillips and Ochs' (2003, 2004 & 2010) sequential order of the processes involved in policy borrowing such as: cross-national attraction stage (impulses and externalising potential), decision stage, implementation stage and internalization stage; as well as their respective components. Her finding therefore suggested that the process of policy borrowing commence with cross-regional attraction (impulses and externalising potential), followed cross-national attraction/borrowing, which further leads to 'adoption' and 'adaptation' since these processed are interconnected in nature. She re-designed and re-conceptualized the model of policy borrowing by presenting the diagram above and presented subsequent analysis.

Eta (2018, p.77) noted that owing to the implementation of the LMD at the Cameroonian national level as seen in Eta, Kallo and Rinne (2017), the above borrowable indicators became rooted in the nation's HE system forming what is known as '*cross-national borrowing*'. Eta (2018, p.80) noted that research indicates that it is easier to interpret explicitly reference societies when attraction is cross-national. Eta (2018, p.77) also argued that owing to the fact that it was difficult for her to place where a given stage starts and ends as found in the Phillips and Ochs Model (2010), she decided to group the sub-stages involved into two main parts viz *adoption* and *adaptation* which are focused on aspects examined and provided by her empirical studies as noted above (Eta, 2015; Eta, Kallo & Rinne, 2017; Eta & Vubo, 2016). Eta justified that within the '*cross-national borrowing stage*', she used dotted lines to illustrate that what was transferred and implemented in Cameroon was informed by what was adopted at the CEMAC *cross-regional stage*. She reiterated that this is an evidence to suggest that at the Cameroon national level, the *adoption* and *adaptation* of Bologna ideas was an interconnected process. This means Cameroon's reasons for adopting the LMD (*cross-national borrowing impulses*) were influenced by: the country's obligation to the CEMAC; the need to meet international standards; to harmonise the dual Anglo-Saxon and French degree structures and

grading systems; and to provide solutions to other higher education challenges in Cameroon (Eta, 2015 & 2018, p.77; & Eta, Kallo & Rinne, 2017; Eta & Vubo, 2016). Eta (2018, p.79) noted that harmonization as a drive for the implementation of Bologna Process ideas in Cameroonian HE portrays ‘a shift from a cross-national attraction (in which adoption is based on a country’s interest in another country’s system) to a cross-regional attraction (in which adoption is based on an entire region or sub-region’s interest in another region)’. In this light, Dolowitz and Marsh (2000); and Steiner-Khamsi (2012) perceived that the motive for policy borrowing via harmonization tend to challenge the voluntary nature of policy borrowing, since harmonisation indicate that policy borrowing is not only coercive but a nation’s obligation as a signatory member in an organization to respect shared and agreed norms.

Nonetheless, the drives for international-standards and harmonization as well as cross-regional motives for policy borrowing may obscure reference societies from which lessons are learnt because much attention is always being paid on global practices or discourses than local/national ones. Therefore, paying attention to the process of policy borrowing/transfer through which Bologna ideas known as the LMD at the CEMAC level gets translated into the national Cameroonian level trigger individuals to probe into ‘externalization’ to make sense out of it; that is; ‘on how and where concrete lessons are learned and why’. Her finding illustrates two ways (via visitation) through which this search is carried out. First, Cameroonian officials visit European nations that are making use of the Bologna Process; and second is Bologna Process experts also visit Cameroon.

In connection with Bray (2007), her finding portray how language has influenced the nations, from which Bologna Process lessons are drawn from in Cameroon as in its French universities, the officials visit mostly French-speaking nations while its English-speaking universities had officials who visited mostly English-speaking nations. Her findings therefore suggested that Cameroon’s dual colonial legacy has conditioned the manner in which Bologna Process principles were embraced and perceived; which has also created *tension* because the adopted approaches at the national level were said to be more French-driven.

While Doh (2007 & 2008) and Eta (2015b) noted that in the literature that the adoption of Bologna Process ideas in the Cameroon HE system may led to the harmonisation of its dual HE system comprising of the French and Anglo-Saxon degree structures which would have potentials for enhancing inter-university mobility among other benefits; Eta’s findings (2018, p.81) suggested that harmonisation occurs ‘in name and, to an extent, practice’. For instance, ‘harmonisation in name’ has been achieved via issuing common degrees and use of same credit systems in all universities under the two sub-systems. Nonetheless, regarding ‘harmonization in practice’, there are still differences in the actual implementation of the degree structure and the credit system as found in Eta and Vubo (2016). Eta (2018, p.81) noted that the differences in the

application of the degree structure and credit system are deeply rooted in the dual systems of education in Cameroon, wherein each sub-system is seeking to preserve its cultural heritage. Tchombe (1999) reiterated that in this way, it is apparent that there will always be barriers to the harmonisation of HE practices because the two cultures have to co-exist; and according to Ngalim (2014) the barrier would exist for fear that harmonisation may lead to assimilation and subsequent extinction of one sub-system. This harmonization debate is what probably propelled the Cameroon's Ministry of Higher Education to issue a press release on harmonization in the *Cameroon Tribune* (2016) stipulating that, 'The specificities of the Anglophone sub-system of education will have to be respected as prescribed by the Law. The Universities of Buea and Bamenda will, therefore, harmonise their curricula among themselves without necessarily conforming to the Francophone model'.

Eta (2018, p.78) added that the *decision* to introduce the LMD in Cameroon, as discussed in Eta, Kallo & Rinne (2017) was based on *theoretical, realistic/practical and quick-fix decisions* (Phillips & Ochs, 2003, 2004 & 2010) and also *imposition* (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004) on universities by the Cameroonian government via the Ministry of Higher Education since the universities were not consulted prior to adoption at the CEMAC level. Eta (2018, p.78) noted that since the adoption of the LMD was done out of Cameroon, there was a need to *disseminate* these ideas at the *national and institutional levels* thereby paving the way for implementation. *Dissemination* was therefore a 'continual process' which occurred at both the adoption and adaptation stages. At the national level, dissemination was done via *conferences* and the production of *text documents* to aid implementation. The *conferences* at the national level were organized to educate university officials who would lead implementation at the institutional level. At the institutional level, dissemination started with the creation of implementation committees; the creation of more text documents informed by national text; and the organisation of seminars to educate members of the university community about the LMD. Eta (2018, p.78) noted that *text documents* that were prepared by universities were grounded on universities' understanding and interpretation of LMD national documents as well as the traditional philosophies that guide the Anglo-Saxon and French educational subsystems. These informed the manner in which some ideas of the LMD system such as degree structure and credit system as found in Eta and Vubo (2016) were locally adapted and implemented in both Anglo-Saxon and French-speaking sub-systems. Eta (2018, p.79) added that 'dissemination' has also been introduced which cuts across adoption and adaptation stages to indicate how ideas flow and how local actors engage and prepare for implementation.

Eta (2018, p.78) noted that the '*externalising potential*' (Phillips & Ochs, 2003, 2004 & 2010) of policy borrowing (at the *cross-national borrowing* stage being a continuous process like that of *dissemination* reason why they intersect both the *adoption* and *adaptation* sub-stages) also took place, both at the adoption

and adaptation stages. At the *adoption stage*, the *externalising potential* such as the *guiding philosophy and goals/objectives* borrowed from the Bologna Process/LMD at the CEMAC level was introduced in Cameroonian HE. On the other hand, at the *adaptation stage* in Cameroon, the *externalising potential* mostly involved learning about concrete lessons/practices from different European countries and educational systems that are *implementing* the Bologna Process. At the *adaptation stage*, the *context* (Anglo-Saxon and French sub-systems) influenced what was implemented, which determined the extent to which the LMD was supported and/or resisted at university level, as well as the influence the LMD had on existing HE *practices*. ‘Externalization’ of the borrowing potential just like ‘dissemination’, also occurs within the interface of adoption and adaptation stages, with different foci on the borrowable items. Eta (2018, p.79) noted that the ‘double process of externalisation of borrowing potential’ is likely as a result of the cross-regional nature of adoption, wherein the externalization of borrowing had already taken place prior to introduction in Cameroon. In this sense, she argued that her finding is an attempt to contribute to theory development on the processes involved in policy borrowing.

Appendix H: Descriptive account on some common models used in comparative education

This section presents a descriptive account of the following models: policy learning, policy convergence, policy transfer, and information and communication. First, I present the policy learning model.

Roses Model of Policy Learning (1993)

Rose (1993) postulated that there has been an increasing studies of countries learning from the experiences of other states over the last ten years, a term which he referred too as ‘policy learning’ or policy transfer. “The process of lesson-drawing starts with scanning programmes in effect elsewhere, and ends with the *prospective evaluation* of what would happen if a programme already in effect elsewhere were transferred here in future” (Rose, 1991: 3). Roses’ model (1993:173) is based on the idea that those involved in public decisions may either decide to adopt programmes which have been successful in other places or invent novel ideas. His model sought to discover important questions that are posed to obtain both empirical and logical conclusions based on observations of either past experiences or those obtainable elsewhere; which are significant to policy-makers; and which also add value to the drawing of lessons from an academic standpoint. Rose argued that policy-makers involved with pragmatic solutions to current problems look for lessons by locating policies that are feasible as well as “copy-able” across space and time. He differentiated an academic policy analyst from an activist in terms of feasibility be it ideological, electoral or programmatic. To him, policy-makers tend to explore novel ideas across space in cases of outstanding dissatisfaction with present programmes.

Rose defined a lesson as "a program for action based on a program or programs undertaken in another city, state, or nation, or by the same organization in its own past" (pp 21). Lessons however, are very complex than mere decision rules or ordinary maxims in the sense that they specify ‘cause-and-effect mechanisms’ which lead to specific outcomes of policy. He postulated four main analytical phases in lesson drawing. Thus:

- The search for experiences across space and time in order to obtain programme alternatives that are satisfactory.
- Conceptualizing ‘cause-and-effect model’ from observation of things;
- The creation of new programmes or lessons to stimulate action;
- Lastly, doing an estimation of the consequences that may arise as a result of adopting any given lesson.

To Page and Wolman (2002: 478) policy transfer is a 'subset of policy learning'. Bennett and Howlett (1992, 288-289) defined policy learning as "the general increase in knowledge about policies" while Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier (1993:42) defined it as the "relatively enduring alterations of thought or behavioral intentions that result from experience and which are concerned with the attainment or revision of the precepts of the belief system of individuals or of collectivities." Being a subgroup of policy learning, policy transfer entails both the acquisition and use of knowledge regarding policies in different contexts. In another words it entails taking into consider such knowledge during policy-making. Policy transfer is also a subset of 'organizational learning' (Page & Wolman, 2002: 478). Argyris and Schon (1996, 191) defined organizational learning as a situation where people within an organization act on its behalf while interacting with others which changes the beliefs, values and attitudes of important members in the organization leading to a change in the behaviour of the organization- this is also the case of policy transfer. Next, I present policy convergence.

Bennet's Model of Policy Convergence (1991)

According to Bennett (1991) the theoretical idea underpinning convergence stems from observations by comparativists, that developed nations face problems that are alike and therefore tend to address them in the same way. Convergence according to him, denotes either of these five elements: political goals (for instance the quest for Cameroon to become an emergent economy by 2035), policy instruments (e. g presidential, prime ministerial or ministerial decrees, educational laws and ordinances), policy styles (decentralization, participation), policy content and policy outcomes (Bennet, 1991:218). These five things have setbacks as they: scarcely represent well 'defined analytical categories'; fragment policy-making into linear and mechanistic phases; and insensitive to interactive feedback processes that frames policy content.

Kerr (1983:3) defined convergence as 'the tendency of societies to grow more alike, to develop similarities in structures, processes and performances'; which has led to regional integration e.g EU, CEMAC, OEDC, MEENA etc. Bennett added that convergence does not insinuate the lack of state autonomy (pg 215). To Bennet (1991) convergence originated from policy transfer and the level of convergence depends on four different kinds of processes or variables or determinants viz: emulation; elite networking/policy convergence (or dissemination; Martinez: pp 2-3); harmonization; and penetration (imposition). Government officials have the tendency of copying actions obtainable elsewhere; engage in elite networks where convergence is as a result of 'transnational policy communities'; harmonization via multinational regimes; as well as penetrate through foreign interests and actors (Bennett, 1991: 215).

Emulation is the first process that determines convergence (Bennet, 1991 & Martinez, pg 2). It is based on the idea that knowledge regarding foreign models has very often stimulated local decisions. Emulation is as well connected to shared insecurity during policy innovation. Such a convergence is very evident in both foreign and federal contexts. The use of Bologna in HE in most countries in comparing degree structures makes this kind of transfer a common instrument of educational innovation. Bennet (1991) added that emulation is voluntary and best explained by the policy borrower's interest. Using evidence from overseas programme(s) as well as lesson drawing from this experience is the central characteristics of emulation (Bennett, 1991:221). Lesson drawing on its part leads to convergence of policy. Emulation also provides explanations for the convergence of policy instruments, policy goals and policy content but does not account for either policy style or policy outcome. Emulation can also occur at varying phases of the policy process in both the emulating country and that which has been emulated (Bennett, 1991:223). Proof of contact and ample analysis of regulations and laws foster emulation (Bennett, 1991:222).

The second type of convergence is that of elite networking/policy convergence (or dissemination, Martinez pp 2-3). Elite networking is based on transnational networking which serves as a basis on which policy solutions are generalized. Such transnational network originates from actors who share same motivation, information and expertise regarding a common problem being faced. Elite networking is more sophisticated than emulation because it takes into consideration past and permanent informal or formal networks that aid practitioners or experts share experiences, solutions and concerns. The sameness of solutions is as a result of idea exchanges and constant connections among the elite class. These elites are confident in using foreign instruments to solve domestic problems. It should be noted that cultural or regional identity have a great role in the exchange process. A common educational policy like Bologna may be influential in processes linked to elite networking/dissemination. Here, the part played by elite academic institutions is significant in policy generalization.

The third process of convergence is that of harmonization. It arises when more attention is given to international organizations than national governments. Bennett (1991: 225). This kind of transfer is based on both the authoritative nature of foreign or multinational organizations as well as the existence of networks of motivated transnational actors whose interaction opportunities are regular. The recognition of interdependence is the framework on which transfer and convergence stand. The presence of similar organizations reinforces the operationalization of similar solutions to problems that are common based on the fact that domestic isolated policies may not be efficient and may also destroy the interest of associate nations. The European Union, CEMAC and OECD are good illustrations of organizations reinforcing harmonization. Supranational and intergovernmental institutions shape and provide common solutions to common problems thereby mitigating the unintended foreign consequences of local policies. Bennett

(1991:226) remarked that analysts of comparative policy have proven that multinational regimes are very significant determinants of policy convergence. Bennett (1991:227) also criticized harmonization for not only being irregular, but incremental as well as uneven, despite its main aim of converging policy across communities. However, the mutualistic recognition of a given policy denotes a unanimous acceptance to void costs as well as external discrepancies among individual state's public policies leading to policy convergence and not divergence (Bennett, 1991:227). Harmonization differs from both elite networking and emulation. Harmonization differs from elite networking (informal networking) in the sense that it revolves around international regimes. It also differs from emulation in the sense that it is very co-operative, interdependent and void of the aspect of 'leaders and followers' (Bennett, 1991:227).

Penetration otherwise known as Imposition (Martinez, pp 2-3) is the last type of policy convergence according to Bennet (1991) and it is contradictory to harmonization. Penetration entails a foreign agent who defines the purposes, instruments, tools for evaluation; and to an extent makes provision for essential resources needed to put into practice policies; while forcing states to conform to their actions taken. Rosenau (1969:46) defined a 'penetrative process' as a condition in which 'members of one polity serve as participants in the political processes of another'. Penetration therefore expresses power. This transfer type is very common in developmental projects as multinational donors commonly impose conditions before providing technical support or finance.

Bennett (1991: 230) noted that convergence is a complicated bundle of assorted processes and patterns which reflects a wide array of epistemological and theoretical claims despite arguments raised by its theorists. He therefore recommended the dynamic conceptualization of this notion bearing in mind 'time than space'. Bennett (1991:231) opined that it is also faulty to assume that similar problems predetermine similar solutions without carrying out empirical research for verifications. The acceptance of this kind of logic without evidence-based research leads to early dismissal of possible explanations of convergence as well as prevention of vital divergences. Bennet's model is descriptive and based on the proposition that policy transfer gives rise to convergence. His proposition has been criticized by many authors who opined that several outcomes can emerge as a result of adapting general models to domestic conditions. Bulmer and Padgett in 2004 (pg 106) furthered by explaining that, the intensity of transfer; the agreement of the borrower country; as well as every detail about the policy can lead to the following divergent situations:

- Emulation (which entails borrowing an external policy in all its terms).
- Synthesis (which combines elements from varying contexts).
- Influence (in which the external model inspires new policy creation).
- Abortive (in which transfer is prevented by veto players).

Bennet's model therefore is based in addition to his four determinants of convergence, two main factors as seen below (Martinez, pp 2-3). First, the coercion factor and second, the level of internationalization of domestic politics.

The coercive factor analyzes whether transfer is voluntary or imposed by foreign agents and the extent to which either of these are done. However, experience has shown that transfer entail both elements of voluntary will and necessity. The extreme urgency or exigency that is felt by a given state authority based on the problem faced may be a compelling factor to transfer external policies than an imposed obligation by external donors. Bennet (1991) added that both coercive pressure and voluntary actions exist in varying proportions in all transfer processes.

The second factor based on the level of internationalization of local politics analyzes the relationship between local authorities and foreign context which explains the extent of transfer. This factor also analyzes the frequency of multinational contacts and how institutionalized they are. It also analyzes how sizable is the different kinds of contacts are and if such contacts may be limited by linguistic, cultural or regional factors. The analyses also seek to explain whether colonial links still predominate; and how sophisticated comparative knowledge is as well as the comprehension of multinational and external constituencies. Next, I present the policy transfer model.

Dolowitz and Marsh's Model of Policy Transfer (2000:7-21)

Bennett (1991 & 1992b), Dolowitz and Marsh (1996), Dolowitz (1998), Rose (1991 & 1993) remarked that a limited attempt to create an analytical framework of the policy transfer process that focus on a number of important questions needed to be addressed in investigations exist. Dolowitz and Marsh's model (2000:7-) of policy transfer drew inspiration from models propounded by Rose and Bennet. This framework is the most recent and addresses six main questions viz: "Why do actors engage in policy transfer?"; "who are the key actors involved in the policy transfer process?"; "what is transferred?"; "from where are lessons drawn?"; "what are the different degrees of transfer?"; "what restricts or facilitates the policy transfer process; and how is the process of policy transfer related to policy "success" or policy "failure"?".

"Who Is Involved in the Policy Transfer Process?" Dolowitz and Marsh (2000:10) identified nine main political actors involved in the policy transfer process viz: political parties, elected officials, pressure groups, bureaucrats/civil servants, transnational corporations, policy entrepreneurs and experts, supra-national governmental and nongovernmental institutions, think tanks, and consultants. Consultants (policy experts) have highly been used by national and international policy-makers in developing new structures, policies, and programs; as they offer advice of 'best practice' obtained elsewhere while paying minimal

attention to the borrowing system's context. The role of actors also do change with time (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000:11). Consultants, NGOs and IGOs are agents of coercive and voluntary transfer in the policy transfer process. Robertson (1991), Robertson and Waltman (1992) and Rose (1993) postulated that there exist lenders and borrowers whose roles rarely change. This is not a universal convention because sometimes borrowers serve as models to be emulated while lenders tend to draw lessons from elsewhere.

In addressing the question "What is transferred?" the authors (pg 12) identified eight distinct groups of things that are often transferred viz: policy goals; policy instruments; policy content; policy programs; ideologies and attitudes; institutions; and negative lessons. They affirmed that just anything can be transferred from one system to another depending on the situation or issue involved.

"From where are lessons drawn" is grounded in the category of governance in place that actors consider in order to draw lessons. Three levels of governance exist. These include: the local, national and international. This means that policy-makers in a given nation can either draw lessons from their local governments or from other nations and vice versa. Otherwise, lessons can be forced upon them or drawn from international bodies (Pg 12).

"Degrees of Transfer" is very particularistic and involves agents and processes or a combination of both. However, there are four distinct degrees of transfer viz copying, emulation, combinations and inspirations (See Rose, 1991 & 1993). This kind of transfer varies among cases of policy transfer and other factors; for instance where does transfer actually occur in the policy-making process and who is involved. Most politicians rely on copying or emulation (quick-fix solutions) while bureaucrats combine both types. Emulation is often used at the stage of agenda-setting while policy creation or operationalization make use of copying or a mixture of distinct programs and policies (pg 12).

These authors addressed the question of "why transfer" by using the policy transfer continuum which they developed.

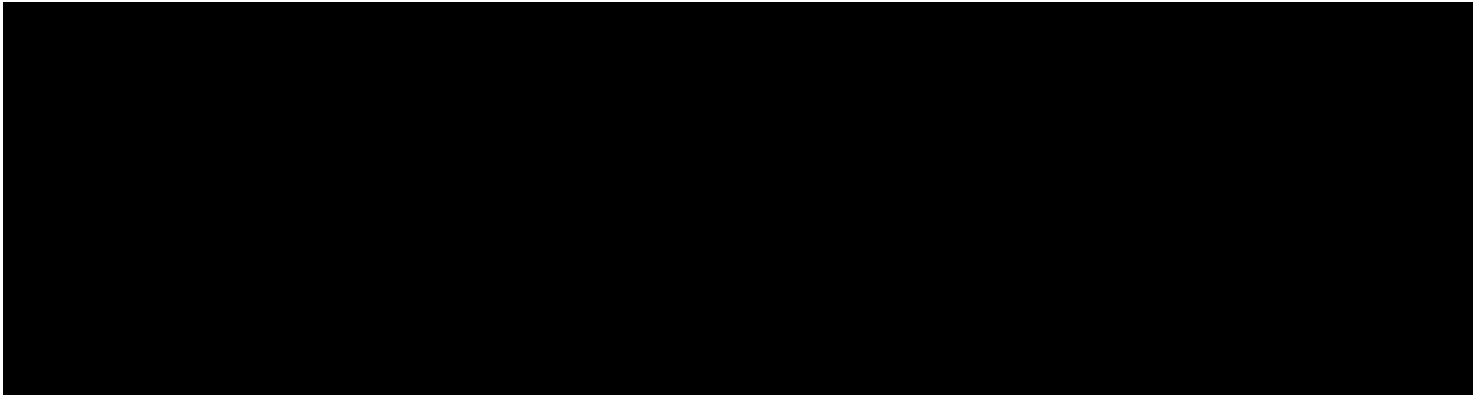


Fig : Policy Transfer Continuum (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000:)

Dolowitz and Marsh (2000:13-17) conceptualized transfer as something that lies across a continuum between lesson drawing and direct imposition by one political system on another. The continuum is important not only because it recognizes useful categories for empirical studies but also because it acknowledges elements of coercive and voluntary transfer thereby broadening our understanding of this phenomenon. The continuum's lesson-drawing edge holds that the rational response to perceived processes trigger actors to embark on policy transfer. A problem or unsatisfactory state of affairs propel actors to engage in voluntary transfer in order to search for novel ideas in solving problems. These means are considered as "cheap" and quick.

Actors have been criticized for being irrational because they act with insufficient information or are often confined (bounded rationality). Again, the perceptions of a given situation(s) in decision-making influence them more than the actual situation. Therefore an inaccurate evaluation of the actual situation may influence transfer. Such a transfer may be grounded on incorrect evaluation of the actual situation. Specifically, it may rest on either mistaken or incomplete information regarding the policy's nature as well as its' operating mechanisms in the system which is transferring; or based on the difference between important political, social and economic consequences in the "transferring system". Such a transfer grounded in 'incomplete information' represents a subgroup of transfer.

Between both ends of the continuum cases of multinational organizations which force governments to comply to their norms and adopt policies and programs dictated by them can be identified. Sometimes, governments are forced to comply (obligated transfer) to policies and programs because of their belongingness as members of the international structure e.g Cameroon and CEMAC. It is evident that policy transfer lies around half way the continuum. Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) noted that different motivations naturally lead to different policies and programmes and also that once transfer has occurred, it motivates the actors involved in the process. It is also necessary to note the motivations behind transfer as well as the key actors involved.

In addressing the six question "what restricts or facilitates the policy transfer process; and how is the process of policy transfer related to policy "success" or policy "failure"?", Bennett (1992a), Dolowitz (1998) and Rose (1991) remarked that despite the fact that most research on policy transfer focus on success it is worthwhile to know that transfer can also be unsuccessful or fail. Bovens and 'tHart (1998) furthered by saying that it is problematic distinguishing what success is and what failure is. To Dolowitz and Marsh (2000: 17) success is when a transferred policy achieves the objectives set out by the actors or government in place or could be based on the main actors' perception of the said policy. Governments and institutions borrow external policies hoping that such a transfer will be successful than a failure (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000: 17). This is based on the assumption that successful policies in one country will follow same trend

in others. The reality is that, this does not hold in all cases. Analyzing the different parts of the transfer processes provide explanations for these possibilities (failure and success). They (p 17) pointed out three main factors that can lead to policy failure in the transfer process. These include: uninformed transfer, incomplete transfer and inappropriate transfer.

- Inadequate information being possessed by the borrowing country regarding the institution/policy as well as its operating mechanisms in the nation from which is borrowed or transferred. This process is what the authors termed “uninformed transfer”.
- Despite transfer, when vital elements of the policy in the original country has not been introduced, “incomplete transfer” sets in. The absence of motivation or the lack of capacity trigger this failure.
- Lack of adequate attention to the differences between ideological, political, social, and economic contexts in borrowing and transferring country may exist. These give rise to what is known as “inappropriate transfer”.

When both countries share same ideologies and same problems and when a given policy have been known to succeed in a given context, there is a high tendency for the other country to transfer ideas from the other. The authors added that though transfer has the tendency of shaping policy change, it may also lead to failure at the level of implementation. Therefore it is worthwhile to follow up individual policies through to determine if any of the above mentioned factor leads to failure (pg 21). Indicators that determine whether transfer will occur and if it is going to be successful include three broad questions viz: why is the lesson drawn?; where is the lesson drawn from?; and who is involved in the process of transfer? For instance if a State is in urgent search for solutions to problems, transfer is likely to occur because the needed solutions are crucial but there is a high possibility of the transfer being unsuccessful because less time used in making the decision may have limited the exploration of models leading to inadequate transfer. On the other hand, if every stakeholder who are representatives of those whom the policy will affect are involved in the transfer process then there is likely to be very few problems at the level of implementation once transfer has occurred (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000:8). These authors added that the quality of past international relationships is vital in the sense that the complex nature of policies and administrative reforms need the availability of ‘a cognitive community’. Successful transfer depends on mutualistic understanding between the borrower and the lender of policy experiences. Again, successful policy transfer depends on the nature and conditions of the receiving or borrowing countries or institutions.

It is argued that the generation of a sequence of questions has limited use; though it makes provision for research organization, it does not indicate the explanatory power of the concept (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000:8). There is also a controversy of whether policy transfer is a dependent, independent or an explanatory variable. Next, I present the information-theoretical model.

Information-theoretical Framework of Policy Transfer (Wolman & Page, 2002)

The use of this framework according to these authors was justified in terms of permitting them to go beyond classification while getting involved with examining theories which are important and which have been ignored by other studies (Page & Wolman, 2002: 487). Policy transfer is rooted in learning (Page & Wolman, 2002:489; Rose, 1993) which Farkas (1998:4) remarked that the latter involves the process of information transfer. According to Page and Wolman (2002:447), the rapidly increasing literature of policy transfer is void of analytical framework that ought to have enhanced understanding. It is against these backgrounds that Page and Wolman (2002, 477-501) developed a model for policy transfer known as information-theory framework of policy transfer. The framework has four main components comprising of: communications, processing, assessing and utilizing. An analysis of the framework is done below.

The first component is that of communications. Communications entail the creation and dissemination of information among members for mutualistic benefits (Rogers, 1995:5-6). It consists of producers (sometimes referred to as indirect senders); sender(s); and receiver(s) of information (Page & Wolman, 2002:479). These individuals have the tendency of sharing information through networks that are either: semi-structured, formal or unstructured one-off occurrences. These authors acknowledged that it is very evident to find literature on the receivers of information and not the senders. In this case, 'producers, senders and facilitators of information' (educational policies) are foreign or international bodies including governments, organizations, universities and so on while 'recipients' are local, domestic or home-based governments, organizations or universities. In policy transfer, attention is mostly paid to recipients of information (policy) and not senders or providers (Page & Wolman, 2002:487).

The second component is that of processing (Page & Wolman, 2002:479). In information exchange, processing and interpretation are very fundamental. Interpreting events is vital in organizational learning which is rooted on frames and main story patterns used in setting problems and obtaining experiences by organizational inquirers. Frames are important to interpret judgments. Frames are unfalsified causing organizational inquirers to get stuck 'within self-referential frames' (Agyris & Schon, 1996:197).

Assessing is the third element which requires those receiving information to evaluate the relevance and quality of information obtained within 'frames' mentioned earlier (Page & Wolman, 2002:479-480). Receivers should assess whether the received information is valid and accurate in: representing the policy's experience and its impact on State units in place; making generalizations to the receiver's area despite the existence of varied differences that spans from the type of problems involved to institutional frameworks as well as historical, cultural and political concerns. The assessment of information poses lots of problems in policy transfer (Mossberger & Wolman, 2000).

Utilizing comprises of the fourth component of this model (Page & Wolman, 2002:480). Policy transfer and policy diffusion becomes more meaningful when relevant information is utilized. These authors raised an argument that policy transfer entails knowledge utilization adopted from others experiences though policy transfer does not entail real adoption. Utilization means either the consideration of knowledge from such experiences in the process of policy-decision or the belief that such knowledge has the tendency of shaping and affecting the decision(s). The process of utilization can take different forms. Thus: 'process-related or institutional design; instruments or tools; and ideas or goals' (Bennett & Howlett, 1992). Page and Wolman (2002: 480) remarked that 'direct transfer of programmatic design or technique' is the most evident form though it is criticized for involving 'mechanical copying' which is only an aspect of 'lesson-drawing' (Rose, 1991). Rose furthered that lesson drawing can take different forms viz emulation, hybridization or synthesis and inspiration. To Rose, emulation deals with 'adoption but with adjustment for differing circumstances'; hybridization or synthesis entails 'combining elements from several different programs'; while 'inspiration' is 'experience elsewhere acting as a spur for new ideas'. Inspiration also propose that the term policy transfer may include the transfer of ideas, concepts, goals and program techniques, design and structure (Page & Wolman, 2002: 480); and 'policy labels' which are appellations applicable to a vast range of policies that reflect unclear and loosely connected ideas (Mossberger, 1996 :171). The concept transferred is the 'label'. Utilizing also entail either learning political tactics and strategies used in different settings or occur as an arm of political processes in which actors tend to refer to experiences of different governments with the aim of urging others to desire or not to desire any given policy. Such phenomena is called 'after-the fact utilization' in which knowledge drawn from a different context may be used as a strategy in legitimizing the adopted decision rather than using such knowledge in contributing to the proper creation of policy decision (Page & Wolman, 2002:481).

These authors justified that this framework of information processing addresses important theoretical questions that relates to the extent and conditions which propel policy-makers to acquire policies from other places; the kinds of sources from where information are sought; how to judge information and the validity of the sources; how far is the information being used; reasons why both 'facilitators' and 'senders' share information and such information is being assessed.

Appendix I: Emerging results from pilot study transformed into main study

Conceptualizing HE

B) Role Perspective

One of the questions I asked was ‘What do you think the roles of university education in Cameroon are or should be?’

Emerging findings indicate that the roles of higher education in Cameroon center around its mission and other roles. The mission role of Cameroon universities include: teaching, research and outreach to the community. Other roles universities play include: train high quality Cameroonians; enhance development of the country; meet needs of both the country and job market in either satisfying careers/professions and/or aiding individuals to be self-employed; and lastly to enhance citizenship.

What strategies have universities put in place to realize these roles?

To realize these roles, certain strategies have been put in place by the government, respective universities and programmes. In terms of programmes there has been: the development of different syllabi by different universities; collaboration with private sector to build programmes; transformation/ re-design of programmes and relating theoretical studies with field practice e.g Integrated Practicum in CCU. Universities on their part have: ensure standards via benchmarking; created more infrastructures and encouraged seminars. The Government of Cameroon via MINESUP has created a quality assurance unit called "Chaning Consulting and Services" which aim at checking quality in universities. The government has also ensured the: development of new policies e.g professionalization and so on; the creation of more universities; and is engaged in financial commitments in public universities. The government also constructs more infrastructures and organizes seminars.

Comparative perspective

A comparative study on university education was made at a local level, regional level that is within CEMAC and international level that is Africa and the wider world. Comparisons were made in terms of similarities and differences.

Are there any similarities/differences between public and private universities in Cameroon?

At a local level, comparisons were made between public and private universities and French-speaking and Anglo-Saxon universities. Public universities in Cameroon are similar with private universities in the sense that they all offer same programmes. They differ in many ways viz: supervision, funding, fees, resources, number, and student enrolment. In terms of supervision, public universities mentor private universities. The state is the main funder of public universities while private universities as their name imply are privately funded. Public universities charge low fees 50,000 FCFA while private universities charge high fees. In terms of resources, public universities have less resources while private universities have more resources. There exist 8 full-fledge universities but over 150 private universities with just two being full-fledged. Public universities have more student enrolment while private universities have less student population.

Are there any similarities/differences between French-speaking and English-speaking universities in Cameroon?

French-speaking and Anglo-Saxon universities are similar in terms of harmonized programmes which are set at a national level. They differ in terms of: language of instruction (there exist monolingual universities which are exclusively English-speaking or French-speaking as well as bilingual universities that integrate both languages); and length of study cycle. French universities have a 5 step kind of education viz: HND/BTS, Bachelors, Masters I, Masters II, Doctorate while Anglo-Saxon Universities have a 4 step education viz: HND, Bachelors, Masters, PhD.

Are there any similarities/differences between universities in Cameroon and those of the CEMAC region?

Within the CEMAC region, the similarity that exist among its universities is the common practice of the BMP system. The difference is in terms of staff promotion. While written exams are done in Francophone regions research publications are more practiced the in ‘Anglophone’ countries like Cameroon. Universities in Cameroon and those of Africa offer the same subjects. They differ in terms of levels of sophistication in teaching/equipment; age of universities; and number of universities/faculties/schools.

Are there any similarities/differences between university education in Cameroon and those of the world at large?

Universities in Cameroon differ from those of the North in that they have less facilities and encounter difficulty in doing research while those of the North have more facilities and conduct research with ease.

C) Types of HE policies

What higher education reforms/policies are you aware of in Cameroon?

Emerging findings indicate varying policies which have been adopted locally with others highly controversial about their origin such as the BMP. There has been the introduction of Harmonization which cuts across structures and programmes; as well as Professionalization. It was mentioned that the BMP has also triggered and reinforced professionalization and harmonization. Other policies raised included: Regionalization within CEMAC; New University Governance Policy 2005; and Quality Assurance. Other policies took the form of reforms and laws. In terms of reforms, there has been the 1993 reform and that of 2005. In terms of laws, there has been the introduction of the: financial law, Law of Orientation of Higher Education 2001 and Privatization of Higher Education.

D) Factors that trigger external foreign appropriation

Why do higher education managers/administrators in Cameroon engage in adopting HE policies from abroad?

In terms of factors, these has been addressed following how probing was done that is reasons, facilitating and inhibiting factors. In terms of factors in the form of reasons that propel policy makers in Cameroon to engage in policy borrowing, the following were raised viz: to harmonize systems (shortening the length of study cycle in French universities; enhance transferability of credits and foster staff/student mobility); shape our educational system; enhance international standards; enhance internationalization of higher education; improve on our educational system; ensure Cameroonian universities are ranked like international universities; ensure adaptation of our graduates anywhere in the world; compare past and present educational practices to improve on system; youthfulness of the country; colonial influence; gain inspiration from others; economic reasons (for instance to benefit from research grants, and ease employment).

In terms of factors that facilitate policy borrowing in Cameroonian universities, the following were raised: copy good policies; government policy/political will; lack of expertise/initiative; language in terms of the

bilingual nature of the Cameroon; systemic perspective (no country lives in isolation; our system is comparable; universities are "universal"); internet; cope with change in the age of ICT; implement new methodology which is learner-centered; enhance clarity of programmes; globalization; emphasis practical/hands-on programmes; influence from foreign organizations eg CEMAC, UNESCO; networking (benchmarking; consultations; partnership agreements; and collaborations with foreign organizations).

Inhibiting factors include: sophisticated kinds of training; different levels of development; conditions; contexts differ; small economy; problems of finance; lack of resources; and high student-teacher ratio.

E) Problems encountered with foreign policy adoption

What are the problems encountered as a result of foreign policy adoption in Cameroon universities?

Emerging findings revealed that problems encountered as a result of policy borrowing include: management problems (corruption and responsibility problems); lack of resources (infrastructural problem; financial problems; human resource problems; lack/insufficient internet facilities); universities go operational when created without any league time for developmental projects; problems associated with teaching; problems associated with capacity building; lack of mastery of our own destiny; lack of follow up/evaluation of policies; lack of diploma supplements; and lack of experience and expertise in handling new policies.

F) Prospects of foreign policy adoption (obstacles and opportunities)

What do you think are the prospects of foreign policy adoption in Cameroon universities?

Prospects raised were both positive and negative. Positive prospects included: possibility of bright future; more sophistication; more resources; obtain necessary needs; meeting goals of government/job market; possibility of better adjustment to national objectives; some policies succeed; and possibility of working in other systems. Negative impacts included: some policies fail; and likelihood of policy ceasing to exist because of lack of instruments for continuation.

G) Impacts of foreign policy adoption

How impactful is foreign policy adoption in Cameroon's higher education?

Impacts raised were both positive and negative. Positive impacts included: more readability of programmes enhanced; more defined degree structures in Cameroonian universities; more PhDs supervised by foreign

professors/lecturers; other benefits (like knowledge; and research with which students and staff benefit through exchange programmes; and the possibility of staff and students to further their education elsewhere); more rewards (in terms of: other initiatives enhanced; more income; individuals more enterprising; international expertise enhanced; and local standards enhanced). Negative impacts raised included; being misfits; training provided sometimes does not match job descriptions with individuals and employers facing acute problems.

H) Models of foreign policy adoption

Among models such as policy convergence model, information and communication model, policy transfer model, policy learning model and policy borrowing model, interviewees were asked which model which model best describes the situation of policy adoption in Cameroonian universities? and which model would they recommend to be practiced in the policy adoption process in Cameroonian universities?

Interviewees responded that all the above models have been used situationally but policy adaptation which was not mentioned was emphasized. When asked of which model(s) they would recommend to be practiced more in the policy adoption process, policy transfer, policy borrowing and policy learning were stressed.

Appendix J: Emerging results from Pre-Pilot Study

Demographic Information



Conceptualizing HE

From this interview, it shows that HE from a role perspective is geared towards providing: high level education (to enhance access and for the sake of education); training for career and employment opportunities (in the academia and commercial sectors); knowledge development; and in serving the community.

From a comparative perspective indicators such as: size (number of courses and number of students), administrative structure, language of instruction, educational policies, entry requirements, matriculation/graduation requirements and funding opportunities were used to bring out the similarities/differences between universities in Africa and those from without Africa (Europe and North America).

Factors that trigger Policy Borrowing

From the interview, it shows that the following are factors that trigger policy borrowing in Africa viz: motivation, underlying belief that foreign policies are better than local ones, need to enhance collaborative research, burning desire to adopt good practices, and technological advancement (internet/skype).

Problems Encountered as a Result of Policy Borrowing

The interview indicated that: limited resources; migration of seasoned researchers and academics to Europe/North America causing brain drain; inability to retain good students as well as difference in contexts impede the process of policy borrowing in Africa.

Prospects of Policy Borrowing

The interviewee mentioned that: collaboration, proper critical appraisal of foreign policies in local contexts, and mutualistic learning between Africa/Europe/North America are some solutions or prospect to the problems raised by policy borrowing.

Impacts of Policy Borrowing

The interview indicated that the impacts of policy borrowing center around: unifying standards, increasing access to higher education, strengthening students' privileges, and a glaring effect from colonization (positive impacts of colonization include: providing more support and funding to African universities; enabling African universities to be self-supportive; as well as enhancing capacity development in African universities. Negative impacts include: the violation of autonomy in African universities, and the superiority complex colonial masters exhibit by looking down on African students to be inferior).

Models

The interviewee stressed that the "policy learning model" is the model that best describes policy borrowing in Africa.

Pre-pilot Study, Problems encountered and Lessons Learnt

Pilot studies are important for trying out strategies and reinforcing the justification for a given strategy (Marshall & Rossman, 2011:95). They prevent doubts concerning the researcher's capabilities and data obtained and enables the investigator to understand himself/herself. They help researchers' to get rid of obstacles like mistrust of the research agenda and resistance to tape recorders (Marshall & Rossman, 2011:96).

The pre-study on policy borrowing into higher education was conducted in October 2015 via skype and was audio recorded. The purpose of the interview was to: develop and test the adequacy of my instrument; establish a protocol for the research; establish the effectiveness of the sampling frame and technique; test my skills as a beginning qualitative researcher to identify particularly my weaknesses in order to strategize ways of overcoming them; convince the Commonwealth to assist me fund my trip for data collection;

discover potential problems; and gain general experience in data collection and analysis. These enabled me to better situate myself in conducting elite interviews and to identify major themes that emerged from the findings.

From this study, I learnt how to conduct myself during elite interviews; came to grips with the reality of who elites are in terms of their: personalities, busy work schedules, influence, difficulty in gaining access to them, difficulty in engaging in long and meaningful discussions with them and so on which are basic aspects in elite interviews. During the interview, we experienced internet failure, skype breakdown and recording problems. These indicated to me some of the potential difficulties I might encounter in handling gadgets and networks; and therefore strategized ways of mitigating them like employing manual note taking. I also learnt how to be flexible in posing, probing and reframing questions to elicit information. I learnt how to properly present myself, considered ethical guidelines and used consent forms appropriately as a legal instrument to protect him.

Due to the fact that the interviewee was not knowledgeable about the state of higher education in Cameroon, the instrument was modified to reflect policy borrowing in Africa. This made the context differ. Lots of references were made to the University of Malawi where he had taken some courses. However, it was noticed that the factors, problems and prospects of policy borrowing in “Malawian universities” were same to an extent as those affecting “Cameroonian universities” after conducting a similar study in Cameroon, though other emerging themes came up that were different. The findings permitted early forms of generalization and ensured validity and reliability of the instrument. With these, I gained confidence that the pre-prepared instrument was valid.

Appendix K: Interview Guide Plan A

SELF-INTRODUCTION

Good day Madam/Sir. I am Vuban Joyce Afuh, a PhD student in the University of York. I am also being sponsored by the Commonwealth Scholarship Commission. I am here to carry-out my research by interviewing you on the factors, problems and prospects of adopting foreign educational policies within the framework of African universities. I would also like you to provide your consent by reading and signing the consent form. I wish to immensely thank you for agreeing to participate in this educational exercise.

A) Demographic Information

- 1) How would you like me to refer to you in my thesis? Can I identify you as....government official,multilateral official,university official etc.
Or
- b) Would you like me to be anonymous or call you by your real name?
 - 2) Where were you before you came here?
 - 3) Is your former position different from your present position? (*probe*)
 - 4) What position do you presently hold?
 - 5) How long have you served in this position?

B) Conceptualizing HE

- 1) What do you think the roles of university education in Africa should be?
- 2) Do you believe universities in Africa are playing these roles? *Why do you say so?*
- 3) What strategies have universities put in place to realize these roles?
- 4) Are there any similarities/differences between Public and Private universities in Africa? If yes/No, give reasons and example.
- 5) Are there any similarities/differences between French-speaking and English-speaking universities in Africa? If yes, give reasons and examples..... (*probe for elaboration*)(*Can you also elaborate based on the following indicators: language of instruction; courses/programmes offered; missions/goals; admission or entry requirements; graduation requirements; mode of assessment; educational policies; reforms; funding opportunities;*
- 6) Are there any similarities/differences between universities in the CEMAC region? If yes, give reasons and examples... ..(*probe for elaboration*))(Can you also elaborate based on the following indicators: language of instruction; courses/programmes offered; missions/goals; admission or entry requirements; graduation requirements; mode of assessment; educational policies; reforms; funding opportunities;
- 7) Are there any similarities/differences between university education in Africa and those of the world at large? If yes, give reasons and examples..... (*probe for elaboration*))(Can you also elaborate based on the following indicators: language of instruction; courses/programmes offered; missions/goals; admission or entry requirements; graduation requirements; mode of assessment; educational policies; reforms; funding opportunities;

C) Types of Higher Education Policies

- 1) What higher education reforms/policies are you aware of in Africa?
- 2) Why do you think these reforms/policies adopted?
- 3) Do you think these reforms developed in Africa or were they influenced by foreign ideas?

- 4) What do you think the impacts of these reforms have been? (*probe*)
- 5) Have these reforms diminished the quality of university education in Africa? If yes, how?
- 6) Have there been any problems encountered as a result of adopting these educational policies?
- 7) What strategies have been put in place to redress these problems?
- 8) According to your own opinion, what educational policies do you think is needed in African universities?
- 9) What do you think the influence of former colonial powers is on African university education?
- 10) Does the French government pursue its foreign educational policies in the same way as the British government? (*Hint: brings out comparative issues/explores different actors & their impacts on Cameroon universities*).
- 12) Do Francophone universities pursue its educational policies in the same way as Anglophone universities in Africa?

D) Factors that trigger external policy appropriation

1. Why do higher education administrators in Africa engage in adopting HE policies from abroad?
2. Which individuals or organizations do they engage with?
3. Why are these individuals or organizations involved in this process?
4. What factors facilitate foreign policy adoption in Africa?
5. What factors inhibit foreign policy adoption in Africa?

E) Problems encountered

- 1) What do you think are the advantages and disadvantages of adopting foreign educational policies in Africa universities?
- 2) What are the problems encountered as a result of foreign policy adoption in Africa?

F) Prospects (*Obstacles and Opportunities*)

- 1) What changes can be made to improve foreign policy adoption in Africa universities?
- 2) Are there obstacles to these proposed changes? If yes, what are they?
- 3) Are there opportunities to these proposed changes? If yes, what are they?

G) Impact

- 1) How impactful is foreign policy adoption in Africa's higher education?
- or**
- 2) How important are foreign educational policies over African-made educational policies?

H) Models of Policy Transfer

Now I'd like to ask you a final question to sum up what you think about the different ways HE policies are developed in Africa. I have been doing a lot of reading about how policies are adopted or created in different countries. Some scholars argue that when new policies are implemented which are similar to those from foreign countries, this is a process of "Policy Convergence Model" (policy convergence hold that because educational institutions across the globe have the same problems, they tend to have the same solutions). Others disagree and say it is "Information and Communication Model" (This model holds that educational systems simply communicate information on educational matters with one another). Others disagree and say it is 'Policy Transfer' (This deals with the transfer of information and best practices from one educational institution to another). Others disagree and say it is "Policy Learning" (PL is a situation which involves educational institutions learning from educational experiences from each other). Others disagree

and say it is “Policy Borrowing” (PB deals with adopting foreign educational policies with intentions of contributing something in return).

1. Do you think either of these ideas explains how this works in Africa? (Probe). If yes why do you say so? Give examples.
2. Do you think there are other different processes that work in Africa? If yes, what are they? Give examples?

Thank you very much for granting this interview. I am going to present a transcript of the interview to you for validation and in case you want to adjust anything, feel free to do so. Can you also kindly link me up with other people whom you know will be of help, to have an interview with? Do you have any documents that are relevant to this study?

Appendix L: Interview Guide Plan-B

Demographic Information

1. How would you like me to refer to you in this thesis? Can I anonymously identify you or call you by your real name?
2. Where were you before you came here?
3. Is your former position different from your present position?
4. What position do you presently hold?
5. How long have you served in this position?

Section B

- 1) What do you think the roles of university education in Cameroon are or should be?
- 2) What strategies have universities put in place to realize these roles?
- 3) What higher education reforms/policies are you aware of in Cameroon?
- 4) Why do you think these reforms/policies were adopted?
- 5) Do you think these reforms/policies were developed in Cameroon or were they influenced by foreign ideas?
- 6) Why do higher education managers/administrators in Cameroon engage in adopting HE policies from abroad?
- 7) What factors facilitate/inhibit foreign policy adoption in Cameroon universities?
- 8) What are the problems encountered as a result of foreign policy adoption in Cameroon universities?
- 9) What do you think are the prospects of foreign policy adoption in Cameroon universities?
- 10) How impactful is foreign policy adoption in Cameroon's higher education?
- 11) Among policy convergence, Information and Communication; Policy learning; policy transfer; and policy borrowing (*I will explain these*); which model do you think best describes the situation of policy adoption in Cameroonian universities?

Thank you very much!!! Can you also kindly link me up with other people to have an interview with? Do you have any documents that can buttress this study?

Appendix M: Interview Guide - Plan C

What are the roles of universities?

- human capital formation
- economic growth and development
- reduce poverty
- foster knowledge creation via research
- global integration
- Conflict resolution
- Human right
- Capacity building
- Teaching
- Professional training
- Reacting to the needs of the society

Types of HE Policies (Place of origin?) (Year of adoption?)

- Bologna
- Internationalization
- Regionalization
- Governance
- Quality Assurance

Etc

Factors that trigger external policy appropriation

Do you thinkis a factor that trigger the adoption of foreign HE policies? Give reason(s)

1. Globalization
2. Cross-national attraction
3. Internal dissatisfaction of the educational system
4. Education is a system from a global perspective, what affects one HE system affects others.
5. Negative external evaluation by multinationals
6. Need for change
7. Political reasons
8. Enhance general development
9. Improvement of domestic educational systems.
10. Imposed policies by multinationals
11. Dependency
12. External pressures
13. Observation of what other educational systems and making use of such experiences in domestic contexts.
14. Sameness of problems leads to sameness of solutions.
15. Leaders' motivation to adopt external policies.
16. The nature of institutional frameworks.
17. Need to harmonize university education systems world-wide.
18. Establish world class universities
19. Advancement in technology

20. Influence/pressure/conditions from multinationals
21. Interest in foreign policies
22. Credentialism which has placed highly accredited universities on the advantage.
23. Colonization causing heavy reliance on ex-colonial masters.
24. dictatorship
25. To draw lessons on the workability or failure of policies;
26. To disseminate ideas about practices that work best in solving problems;
27. To generate quick and new ideas;
28. To reinforce the implementation of policies that proved successful in a given country in other countries as a result of the affinity that exist between nations as they interact.

Problems encountered

Do you think is a barrier to external policy appropriation? Give reason(s)

1. Contextualization of research
2. Neoliberalism
3. Dependency
4. Poor Leadership
5. Lack of cultural consideration/ Neglect of local culture
6. Contexts are not the same worldwide
7. Semantics or understanding of policy borrowing (and the educational policies).
8. Political reasons that do not have educational bearing.
9. Lack of understanding of imposed policies
10. Lack of analytical framework about external policies to enhance understanding.
11. Lack of resources: time, experts,
12. Lack of explanation and analysis of processes involved in policy transfer.
13. Inadequate information about the transferred policies in domestic institutions.
14. Lack of transfer of vital elements of the transferred policies by home institutions.
15. Political unrest and insecurity
16. Excessive government control
17. Lack of funds to carry-out research to test the feasibility of the transferred policies in local context.
18. Lack of clear reforms and policies reflecting our local realities
19. The problem of HIV/AIDS
20. Brain drain
21. Poor technology
22. Women marginalization
23. Lack of adequate support
24. Re-colonization
25. Increased dictatorship

Prospects

Do you think is a solution to the problems faced by appropriating foreign educational policies in domestic contexts? Give reason(s)

1. Repositioning' of actors.
2. Networking
3. Participatory decision-making
4. Individual states should coin HE policies for use in their home countries.
5. Critical appropriation of external policies
6. Good strategies
7. Enabling structures
8. Proper and periodic evaluation of external policies; relationships local contexts/universal trends.
9. Consider universities world over as a system
10. Research should be done on a universal note to find out how workable educational policies can meet respective domestic needs.
11. Context should be given a place when policies are transferred.
12. Proper guidelines to aid common understanding of transferred policies
13. Form good partnerships
14. Proper communication of policies
15. Provision of loans without conditions
16. Need for partnership

Appendix N: Demographic information of the main study

The information provided below presents demographic information of the participants in terms of gender, type of participant (job description), years of experience and type of organization.

Table : Distribution of gender

Gender	Frequency	Proportion
Male	53	82.81% (>three quarters)
Female	11	17.18%(<one quarter)
Total	64	

The findings indicate that there are more males than females occupying administrative and teaching positions in university education as well as more males occupying leadership positions in multinational organizations that participate in HE in Cameroon. Next, I present distribution of types of participants/job description.

Table: Distribution of types of participants/job description

Type of Participants	Frequency	Proportion
State University Official	19	NA
State Lecturers	4	NA
Students	4	NA
Total of State Participants	27	42.19% (appr. Half)
Private University Official	19	29.68% (slightly above one quarter)
MINESUP Officials	10	15.63% (slightly below one quarter)
NGOs		
Commonwealth Officials	6	NA
AfDB Official	1	NA
AUF Official	1	NA
Total of NGO Participants	8	12.5% (Slightly below one quarter)

Findings indicate that there are more ‘state participants’ comprising of students, lecturers and university officials relative to the other types of participants. This is followed by private university officials, then MINESUP officials and lastly by NGO (comprising of the Commonwealth, AfDB and AUF) officials.

Other than the population size of stakeholders in these institutions, the findings indicate that it is easier to access participants in universities than in MINESUP and NGOs. The sections having NA (not applicable) is because I paid attention to the grand total of each type of participants that has been used for analysis. Next I present distribution of years of experience.

Table: Distribution of years of experience

Type of Years of Experience	Frequency	Proportion
Not Given	3	4.68% (Less than one quarter)
0 months - 2 years	26	40.63% (Slightly half)
3 Years – 5 Years	24	37.5% (Less than half)
6 Years – 8 Years	8	12.5% (Less than one quarter)
9 Years and above	3	4.69% (Less than one quarter)

Findings indicate that slightly half the population of the participants have two years and below experiences in administration meaning that they are newly appointed. Less than half the population of the participants have between three and five years experiences in administration, teaching. Less than one quarter of the population have between six and eight years experiences and constitutes very senior officials such as secretary generals of universities and directors of the Commonwealth. Less than one quarter the population have more than nine years of administrative experiences. This indicates that it is not so easy to attain very senior administrative positions in Cameroon. Secondly, years of experience does not really matter when conducting research as participants regardless of their job descriptions seem to be knowledgeable about the state of HE in Cameroon as most participants have background knowledge in HE either because they were once students of HE in Cameroon, or lecturers before becoming administrators or ex-teachers of Cameroonian secondary and high schools. Next, I present distribution of type of organization.

Table: Distribution of type of organization

Type of Organization	Frequency	Proportion
University	8	66.67% (More than half)
MINESUP	1	8.33% (Less than one quarter)
NGOs	3	25% (one quarter)

Findings indicate that the institutions or organizations which the study made use of constituted of mainly universities. These universities were both public and private including: CCU, CATUC, UB, UBa, UYI, BUST, SMU and UCAC. One quarter of the population of the organization constituted NGOs viz Commonwealth, African Development Bank and L'Agence Universitaire de la Francophonie. I now present data collection sampling techniques.

Glossary

AAU – Association of African Universities

ADEA - Association for the Development of Education in Africa

ADEA-WGHE - Association for the Development of Education in Africa Working Group on Higher Education

AHERS – African Higher Education Research Space

ANIE - African Network for the Internationalisation of Education

AU – African Union

AUC – African Union Commission

BFUG – Bologna Follow Up Group

BMP – Bachelor’s-Masters-PhD (Also known as BMD – Bachelor’s-Masters-Doctorate)

BP – Bologna Process

CAMES - African and Malagasy Council for Higher Education

CEMAC - Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa

COMEDAF - Conference of Ministers of Education of the African Union

DAAD - German Academic Exchange Service

DEA - Diplôme d’Études Approfondies

DEUG - Diplôme d’études Générales

EC – European Commission

ECTS - European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System

EHEA – European Higher Education Area

ESU - European Student Union

EU – European Union

GEP – Global Education Policy

GESP – Growth and Employment Strategy Paper

HE – Higher Education

HEI – Higher Education Institution

HIPC - Heavily Indebted Poor Country Initiative

ICT – Information and Communication Technology

IEG-WB – Independent Evaluation Group – World Bank

ILO - International Labour Organization

IMF - International Monetary Fund

IO - International Organizations

IOM - International Organization for Migration

JAES - Joint Strategy between Africa and European Union

LMD - License-Master-Doctorat

MDG - Millennium Development Goal

MDRI - Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative

MINESUP – Ministry of Higher Education

NQFs – National Qualification Framework

OECD - Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

OMC - Open Method of Communication

PRSP - Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

QA – Quality Assurance

QF - Qualification Frameworks

REESAO - Network for Excellence of Higher Education in Western Africa

SADC – South African Development Community

SAP - Structural Adjustment Programme

SDG - Sustainable Development Goal

UN – United Nation

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNESCO BREDA - UNESCO Regional Office in Dakar

UNESCO-GEMR - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation – Global Education
Monitoring Report

UNICE - European Employer's Association

WB - World Bank

WENR - World Education News + Reviews

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