Radboud University

How Capacity Matters –

Understanding Lobby and Advocacy for Inclusive

Education in Cameroon

Sebastian Potthof

Photo on Cover by Author: Integrated School for the Deaf in Mbingo, Cameroon.

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Master Thesis Development Studies

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Preface

With this thesis an intense year of integral, multidisciplinary and focused learning comes to an end. Coming from a historical, philosophical and geographical background this year of development studies at the Radboud University Nijmegen appropriately rounded up my existing interests and knowledge in development matters.

Despite my earlier inter-cultural experiences, these past month in the Netherlands with fellow students from all over the world and the field research in Cameroon enhanced that ability profoundly.

The topic of my field research and thesis as such, moreover extended my understanding and dedication to issues of people with disabilities and their rights. Working as a caretaker for more than five years and being involved with an association promoting the empowerment of people with disabilities in developing countries, this research was a great chance to combine personal and academic interests.

Therefore, I want to thank my supervisor Dr. Willem Elbers, the Liliane Foundation and the African Studies Centre Leiden, who gave me the opportunity to be part of this research project. Willem I want to thank additionally and especially for his critical but valuable feedback, support and guidance during the whole process of preparing for field work, the field work itself and the writing period.

An enormous gratitude goes to all the good people I had the chance to meet in Cameroon. Everybody who were so open to talk to us and supported us in our research. Stéphane and Mike who persistently helped me to keep my Motorcycle running. A special thank goes to the great people of the Cameroon Baptist Convention Health Services, specifically the staff of the SEEPD and EDID programme and here in particular Mr. Tangem Julius, who became a good friend and who was always willing to share his office with us.

When I talk of 'us', I mean, apart from myself, my research partner Zuleikha Mohammed from the University of Amsterdam, who deserves a special thank as well. Without her it would surely not have been the same time, research and thesis. It was of

great help to have her to discuss about the research and in general sharing this experience being a researcher in Cameroon.

I want to thank also my fellow students of this year of the master's programme development studies at the Radboud University Nijmegen, who were partners in crime during this intensive but great period of studying. Especially I want to thank at this point Alexander and Benjamin who were not only peers but became great friends, always there to discuss about technical matters at stake but also beyond.

Last but not least, I want to thank my family and closest friends in Cologne, Berlin and everywhere else, who always support me unconditionally.

Sebastian Potthof

Nijmegen, July 2016

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Abbreviations and Local Vocabulary

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Abbreviations

APWDs	Association of People with Disabilities
CBC	Cameroon Baptist Convention
CBCHS	Cameroon Baptist Convention Health Services
CBM	Christoffel Blinden Mission/Christian Blind Mission
CBR	Community Based Rehabilitation
GCE Board	General Certificate of Education
CIS	Centre for Inclusive Studies
CPDM	Cameroon People's Democratic Movement
CWDs	Children with Disabilities
GTTC	Government Teacher Training College
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
PWDs	People with Disabilities
SDF	Social Democratic Front
SEEPD	Socio-economic Empowerment for People with Disabilities
SENTTI	Special Education Needs Teacher Training Institute
SMO	Social Movement Organisation

Local Vocabulary

Fon	Traditional Leader in the North-West Region
Pidgin	Creole English spoken in the Anglophone part of Cameroon

1 Introduction

People with disabilities (PWDs) are the largest minority group worldwide. While they make up approximately 15% of the world's population, they had to wait until the year 2008 to receive recognition under the new UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and its Optional Protocol (UNCRPD 2006). According to the UN Development Program (UNDP 2006), 80% of PWDs live in developing countries. The World Bank estimates that 20% of the world´s poorest people have some kind of disability, and tend to be regarded in their own communities as the most disadvantaged (World bank 2006). Furthermore, comparative studies on disability legislation shows that only 45 countries have anti-discrimination and other disability-specific laws (WHO 2011). Children among people with disabilities are the most vulnerable, considering that they can not raise their voice themselves and depend on their family and caretakers.

Despite an increased welfare in developing countries, large numbers of Children With Disabilities (CWDs) remain excluded and their caretakers face severe difficulties. In most countries, CWDs are confronted with many obstacles which prevent them from claiming their rights and sustain their marginalization.

Marginalization and discrimination faced by some disabled children and people in general are rooted in prejudices such as the underestimation of the potential of the individual, inaccurate understandings, and the lack of knowledge or simply fear of disability. In many developing countries, different cultural beliefs additionally enforce the production of stigma, exclusion and neglect (particularly if they are hidden or put into institutions), as well as physical abuse and violence.

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) can play an important role in promoting the rights of CWDs and their caretakers through lobby and advocacy. In dialogue with governments and other 'power-holders', they can lobby for inclusive policies and practices and put the rights of CWDs on the agenda. Also, CSOs may act as watchdogs to make sure that government and private parties follow up on agreements and commitments. In most African countries respect and deference to authority and leadership are pervasive and therefore a quieter way of political influence through lobby and advocacy seems strategically wiser (Bukenya and Hickey 2014, 321).

Effective engagement in lobby and advocacy requires a clear understanding of the factors that determine its success. Currently, the success factors of lobby and advocacy, regarding CWDs in the context of development countries, remain poorly understood. Additionally, there is much uncertainty about how international CSOs can support their local partners in grass-roots lobby and advocacy work in the best way.

Based on an extensive literature review, Almog-Bar and Schmid (2014, 26-27) identify a range of research gaps concerning lobby and advocacy. Amongst other things, they find that most studies have dealt with various methods, strategies and tactics of organisations. Few studies, however, have examined how organisational strengths and weaknesses affect lobby and advocacy work. As such, it is important to ask how lobby and advocacy activities, strategies and tactics and their outcomes relate to organisationa characteristics and capacities (ibid.).

From Social Movement Theory, it is known that organisational capacity and the ability to mobilize resources are crucial to achieve lobby and advocacy outcomes (Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans 2009, 22-23). This thesis therefore seeks to enhance our understanding of the role that organisational capacity plays in lobby and advocacy.

This study is part of a research partnership between the African Studies Centre (ASC) in Leiden and the Liliane-Foundation, a Dutch Non-Governmental Organisation engaged in promoting the rights of CWDs worldwide. 'Breaking down Barriers to Inclusion – Building Capacity for Lobby and Advocacy for CWDs' is a project, that seeks an understanding of the factors that determine the success of lobby and advocacy. This

project focuses on the capacity strengthening of local partners of the Liliane-Foundation and of Liliane Foundation itself. Over the next four years several Master students will collect data and try to shed light on various relevant aspects related to lobby and advocacy for CWDs. Cameroon is one of the countries of the project.

The Cameroon Baptist Convention Health Services (CBCHS), as a local partner of the Liliane-Foundation, is involved in different activities related to lobby and advocacy for CWDs. Whilst Cameroon passed a law in 2010 which promoted the protection of disabled people, it has been acknowledged that 'the biggest challenge is at the level of implementing those policies' (COE). Although the government of Cameroon has signed the mentioned UN convention, it is still to ratify it, forcing organisations like the CBCHS to advocate for the cause of CWDs. One particular set of advocacy activities carried out by the CBCHS is the 'Socio Economic Empowerment of Persons with Disabilities Programme' (SEEPD), aimed at promoting inclusive education in the Northwest Region and beyond. Here the CBCHS is working together with government schools, the General Certificate of Education Board and teacher training colleges while involving parents of learners with disabilities. In terms of the overall objective to shed light on the success-factors of lobby and advocacy, it would be relevant to see how successful the SEEPD programme has been in the recent six years and which organizational capacities have played a key role in this success.

Hence, the aim of this study is to analyse and assess the organizational capacity of the CBCHS in order to understand the nature of outcomes achieved as a result of their lobby and advocacy strategy. Thus, the central research question of this thesis is:

How has the organisational capacity of the 'Cameroon Baptist Convention Health Services' shaped the outcomes of their lobby and advocacy strategy for CWDs in the SEEPD Programme during the period 2010-present?

The research for this study took place in Cameroon between January 11th and April 10th 2016 and the main research site was the Northwest Region of Cameroon (see table 4 and Map 1 below) where the CBCHS is carrying out the aforementioned SEEPD programme with its inclusive education initiative.

The content of this thesis is as follows. First, the theoretical- and analytical framework will explain and visualise the different concepts used in this study. After presenting the sub-questions underlying the central research question, the methodology applied during the fieldwork is presented. Here the research approach, units of analysis and sampling strategy are clarified. The next contextual chapter provides a contextual understanding of disability in Cameroon, the Cameroon Baptist Convention Health Services and the SEEPD programme. The subsequent empirical chapters will analyse the data that was collected to shed light on how the organisational capacity of the CBCHS shaped their outcomes regarding inclusive education in the last six years. This thesis ends with a conclusion where an overview of the major findings is presented and limitations and unexpected results are considered and debated. An epilogue will finally discuss self-reflections of the researcher.

2 Theory and Analytical Framework

In the literature there is much uncertainty regarding the factors that explain the success of lobby and advocacy strategies. This study focuses on one of the key factors that seem to be crucial: organisational capacity. Specifically, the research tries to clarify how organisational resources shape the ability of organisations to achieve lobby and advocacy outcomes.

To study how organisational capacity shapes the ability of the CBCHS to achieve grass-roots lobby and advocacy outcomes, certain concepts and factors need to be clarified beforehand. For the purpose of this study, an analytical model has been constructed that visually depicts how lobby & advocacy creates outcomes (see figure 2.1 below). The theoretical framework discusses all the key concepts mentioned in this model and discusses how the various concepts are interrelated.
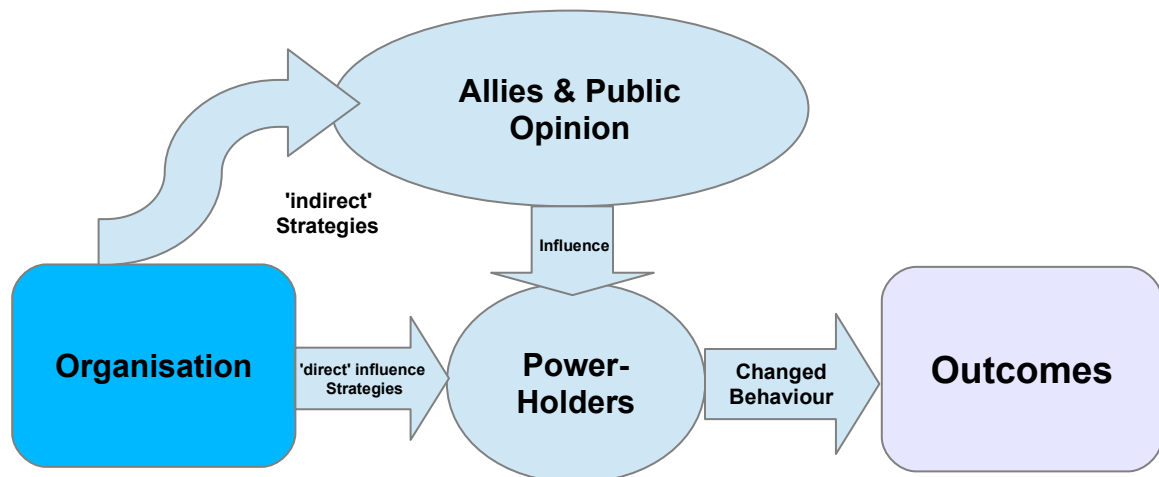

Figure 2.1: Analytic Model. How Organisations achieve lobby and advocacy outcomes.

2.1 Social Movement Theory: A Brief Overview

Due to a lack of theory in NGO literature regarding success factors concerning lobby and advocacy efforts for CWD of CSOs, social movement theory (Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans 2009, 22-23) seems to be the most promising and well-developed theoretical approach to understand and explain the success of lobby and advocacy.

While classical approaches in social movement theory focused on "spontaneous outbursts of collective action", new approaches that emerged in the late 1970s and 1980s, changed the perspective, shifting the attention on political opportunities, mobilizing structures and the availability of resources (Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans 2009, 22-23). These approaches, in particular political opportunity structure, framing theory and resource mobilisation approach can help to describe and understand the (lack of) success of social movements and thus advocacy.

Political opportunity structure theory focuses on the external environment in which organisations operate. The main premise underlying this theory is that organisations rely on the political environment being 'favourable' before they are able to influence power holders. The degree to whether there are 'political opportunities' to influence power holders depends to a number of more or less durable (structural) characteristics of the political regime of a country. These relate to the institutional access-points available to power-holders, the presence of allies, the prevailing political culture towards contenders (e.g. whether the state has the tendency to repress or cooperate with challengers) and the capacity of the state to meet movement demands.

Framing theory focuses on how social movements make and frame their claims. One of the main premises of this theory is that for social movements to be successful, claims need to 'resonate' with target audiences (power holders, constituents and allies). A well-resonating frame has the ability to change the thinking and practices of power holders and mobilize supporters and allies. Research into framing typically involves looking at the maker of the frame (to what extent is the frame maker perceived as credible and legitimate by target audiences?), the frame itself (what is the problem and who is to 'blame', what is the solution and why should one do something about it?) and

the frame receivers (to what extent does the content of a frame 'resonate' with the beliefs, norms and values of target audiences?).

The resource mobilisation approach focuses on the variety of resources that must be mobilised to make action possible (McCarthy and Zald 1987, 153). Resources in this scenario can mean anything from material, income, services to non-tangible resources like authority, leadership or commitment. The main premise underlying resource mobilisation theory is that social movements must be able to mobilize the 'right' mix of resources at the right time to achieve outcomes. This study adopts the resource mobilization approach as the theoretical lens to understand the outcomes that the SEEPD programme has managed to achieved. The resource mobilisation approach is discussed further in section 2.4.

2.2 Lobby and Advocacy Outcomes

In order to define how organisational capacity is related to outcomes, it is first necessary to define lobby and advocacy outcomes. This study will use the work of Kolb (2006) to understand and define the lobby and advocacy outcomes of CBCHS.

The work of Kolb (2006) first of all shows that assessing lobby and advocacy outcomes is difficult because of at least three reasons:

1. Power-holders may engage in symbolic politics or 'cheap talk'. They can make promises to take the energy out of a Social Movement Organisation (SMO) without having the intention to implement policies. An example is the US Civil Rights Act of 1957 of the African American Civil Rights Movement. This act was ultimately a 'paper victory' and did not provide the assumed policy changes of desegregating schools.

2. There can be a time lag between an SMO's lobby and advocacy work and actual change in policy. Kolb argues that time-lag may cause SMOs to 'ultimately lose whatever political change they had achieved' (Kolb 2006, 22) as the daily context may no longer be relevant to what the SMO was lobbying for.

3. Demonstrating causality between the lobby & advocacy work of a SMO and policy change is difficult. If power holders change their policy, this may be the result of a variety of other factors and actors. It is usually impossible to state with 100% certainty that a policy change was the result of SMO grass-roots lobby & advocacy intervention.

Researchers should be aware of the above issues when researching lobby and advocacy outcomes.

Kolb (2006) argues, that there are two types of lobby and advocacy outcomes: substantive outcomes and institutional outcomes. Substantive political outcomes may consist of agenda impact, alternatives impact, policy impact, implementation impact and goods impact.

1) *Agenda setting:* SMOs attempt to bring greater attention and create urgency around their aims and objectives. Kolb outlines that the agenda impact is the initial political outcome gained and it is typically the most achievable outcome for SMOs.

2) *Alternative outcomes:* This refers to what Kolb (2006, 28) describes as 'the extent to which movements are able to influence the content of policy proposals'.

3) *Policy outcomes:* This outcome concerns adoption of new legislation or other form of binding political decisions due to the efforts of a SMO (see also (Burstein and Linton, 2002, 382).

4) *Implementation outcomes:* refers to a SMO's influence in accelerating, stopping, of slowing down the process of policy implementation.

5) *Target Group outcomes:* for Kolb goods impact is about the positive changes resulting from the actual implementation of policies.

In addition, institutional impacts refer to three distinct outcomes which are as follows:

1) *Relational outcomes* are achieved when a power holder changes its relation with the disadvantaged group in question. Such a group may gain acceptance in the

eyes of the power holder in question or even formal recognition as a legitimate spokesman for a certain disadvantaged people.

2) *Institutional changes* occur when an SMO succeeds in ensuring that a disadvantaged group becomes part of the <u>procedures of formal decision-making</u>. SMOs may succeed, for example in ensuring that it becomes standard practice to involve disabled people and their organizations during policy design, invite them to formal meetings, giving them voting rights etc.

3) S*tate transformation* is the most demand form of institutional outcome. This impact occurs when SMOs succeed in creating <u>new political institutions</u> such as the referendum or government departments for disability rights.

2.3 Advocacy, Strategy and Power-Holders

Before elaborating on lobby and advocacy strategies and tactics, the terms lobby and advocacy and the distinction between them need to be clarified beforehand. The approach and general aim of Social Movement Organisations like CBCHS is to make effort in lobbying and advocacy, getting the government more actively involved in matters of their concerns.

Advocacy

Whilst advocacy, generally and referring to the roots of the word 'advocare' (coming to someone's aid), means supporting and promoting a certain cause and an attempt to change laws, policies practices and attitudes, lobbying on the other hand has a legal definition and can be seen as specific form of advocacy. Lobbying in this string of thought is defined as an advocacy effort to influence specific legislation through appeals to policy-makers and involves promoting a position on specific pieces of legislation (Almog-Bar and Schmid 2014, 13-15). In a broader sense the literature expands the notion of advocacy beyond that of providing assistance, to activities in the political arena and a focus of attempts to change policies and influence the decisions of elite government and state institutions through enhancement of civic participation, in order

to promote a collective goal or interest (ibid.).

A distinction can be made between direct and indirect advocacy (Almog-Bar and Schmid 2014, 14, Giugni and Passy, 2001, 47). Whereas direct advocacy is about direct engagement with power-holders (e.g. government officials, Principles), indirect advocacy is about achieving goals through allies and public opinion which can influence the power-holder indirectly (e.g. influential stakeholder, other CSOs, the media).

Strategy

Strategy, as a key phrase in this research and among scholars commonly seen as, involving one or more action in pursuit of one or more goals, Maney et al. (2012, xi) define strategy as "a plan of collective action intended to accomplish goals within a particular context." In this definition strategy entails defining, interpreting, communicating and implementing a plan of collective action that is believed to be a promising way to achieve a desired alternative future in the light of circumstances (ibid.).

Although most studies identify no clear separation between strategy and tactic, Almog-Bar and Schmid (2014, 20) view strategy as a general, long-range approach to advocacy, while tactic is an immediate action or activity. For Kolb (2006, 38) the core components of a social movement strategy are their goals and tactics, which determine their outcomes. This study adopts Kolb's definition and defines strategy as the way in which organisations pursue their lobby and advocacy goals with certain tactics (Kolb 2006, 45-46).

Power-Holders

As explained above, lobby and advocacy is about changing certain policies and practices by influencing power holders or decision makers, who are able to enable, block or at least delay the proposed policy change (Busby 2010, 56). As illustrated in the analytical model, power-holders need to change their behaviour for lobby and advocacy to achieve the desired outcomes. Whether they will change their behaviour or not depends on

various factors. Busby (2010) distinguishes between state interests and an individual interests when discussing motives that affects a power-holder's behaviour. A state power-holder is often bound to a simple metric of costs. How high or low the costs of a certain policy change is, can determine the possibility of its implementation. But also personal and individual interests and capacities of power-holders have an impact on their decision-making and behaviour. For example, a state power-holder's action could primary be based on the desire to be re-elected (Busby 2010, 47). Whilst the susceptibility of the power-holder plays a role as well, his own values and beliefs about what is right and wrong can affect his behaviour too. However, even if the desired policy change match the beliefs of the power-holder and also the costs are low, it might be that the capacity and capability of the decision maker itself prohibits the implementation.

In sum, three key factors can be differentiated. The change of behaviour of a power-holder and an accompanied outcome depend therefore either on certain self-intended reasons, on the alignment with his values or his limited capabilities to implement the outcome.

2.4 Capacity and Resources

As mentioned before, we know from social movement theory that the capacity of a SMO is a crucial factor explaining its ability to change the behaviour of power-holders and therefore achieve desired outcomes (McCarthy and Zald 1977, 1226). But although the resources an organisation is able to mobilise determines its course and success, there is little research within social movement studies that, focuses on that issue (Cress and Snow 1996, 1089). This study seeks to clarify how organisational capacity shapes the ability of the CBCHS, to achieve outcomes in the field of lobby and advocacy. Further it tries to understand which resources or resource types are more crucial and relevant than others (ibid.).

Capacity as an overall ability of an organisation to create outcomes, involves a balanced integration of certain capabilities (Engel et al. 2007, 5). A way to conceptualize these capabilities is by the means of the concept of resource mobilization. The resource

mobilization approach focuses on the variety of resources that an SMO is able to mobilize or control to make action (and therefore success) possible (McCarthy and Zald 1977, 1226). The term resources in this approach can mean anything from material, income, services, to non-tangible resources like authority, leadership or commitment.

Although there has been different attempts in the literature to analyse capacity (Opp 2009, 138), the conceptualisation offered by Edwards and Kane (2014) seems to be the most appropriate to conceptualise resources for the study at hand. While Cress and Snow (1996, 1090) brought first attention to the challenge of conceptualising resources, Edwards and Kane (2014, 207) offer a feasible conceptualisation. They identify five types of resources (see also table 2.1):

1) *Material Resources*. This combines what economists would call financial and physical capital, including monetary resources, property, premises, equipment and supplies (Edwards and Kane 2014, 212).

2) *Human Resources*. Human resources includes labour, experience, skills expertise and leadership. This category is about the individuals and human capital that a SMO has command over. It also involves access to outside experts, like lawyers, designers or organizers for instance.

3) *Social-organisational Resources*. The social-organisational category is less tangible than the former two. In essence, this refers to the ability of an SMO to organize the activities (tactics) to achieve its goals. It refers to organizational infrastructure, social ties, networks and coalitions.

4) *Cultural Resources.* These are conceptualized as the symbols, beliefs, values and behavioural norms upon which the SMO draws (Edwards and Kane 2014, 215). But this category can be complemented by cultural productions such as music, literature, web pages- and blogs and videos/films, which are also able to support and enable the recruitment of new adherents (ibid.).

5) *Moral Resources*. This category refers to the legitimacy, authenticity as well as solidarity and sympathetic support of a social movement organisation. An emphasis lays here on legitimacy, which can originate from diverse sources. A

prize won by the organisation or the open endorsement of a key stakeholder, like a respected public figure for instance, can increase the legitimacy of an organisation in the general public but also in the eyes of a power-holder (Edwards and Kane 2014, 217).

Table 2.1: Types of Resources and indicators

Resource	Indicators
1. Material	funds property equipment supplies
2. Human	labour experience expertise leadership
3. Social-organisational	infrastructures social ties networks coalitions
4. Cultural	beliefs values identity cultural productions
5. Moral	legitimacy authenticity solidarity sympathetic support

Besides the relevance of conceptualising different types of resources, Cress and Snow (1996) also brought attention to other important but often neglected issues concerning resource mobilisation. In research on resources, there is often a missing link between certain outcomes and the essential resource for it. Moreover, the priority of particular resources compared to others is not considered as well as the importance of external resources and endorsement (Cress and Snow 1996, 1090). A further issue concerns the resource derivation, 'particularly the relative importance of externally derived and versus internally derived resources' (Cress and Snow 1996, 1089). Based on data gathered in chapter six, this study tries to link the strategies and outcomes of the CBCHS in the SEEPD programme regarding inclusive education, with the central resource types mobilised for it. Amongst other things, this study will clarify which resource types were

mobilised internally and which ones externally and to what extent the funding partners of the organisation and the programme as the benefactors could influence or control goals and tactics (ibid.).

2.5 Summary and Respective Sub-Questions

To summarize, for the study at hand, the social movement theory and here especially the resource mobilisation approach are the relevant theoretical concepts to understand how the organisational capacity of the CBCHS has shaped their outcomes of their lobby and advocacy activities in the last three years.

Figure 2.2 is an extended version of the analytical model that was introduced earlier, taking the above theoretical discussions into account and is followed by the central research question with the respective sub-questions of this thesis which will help to answer the central research question.
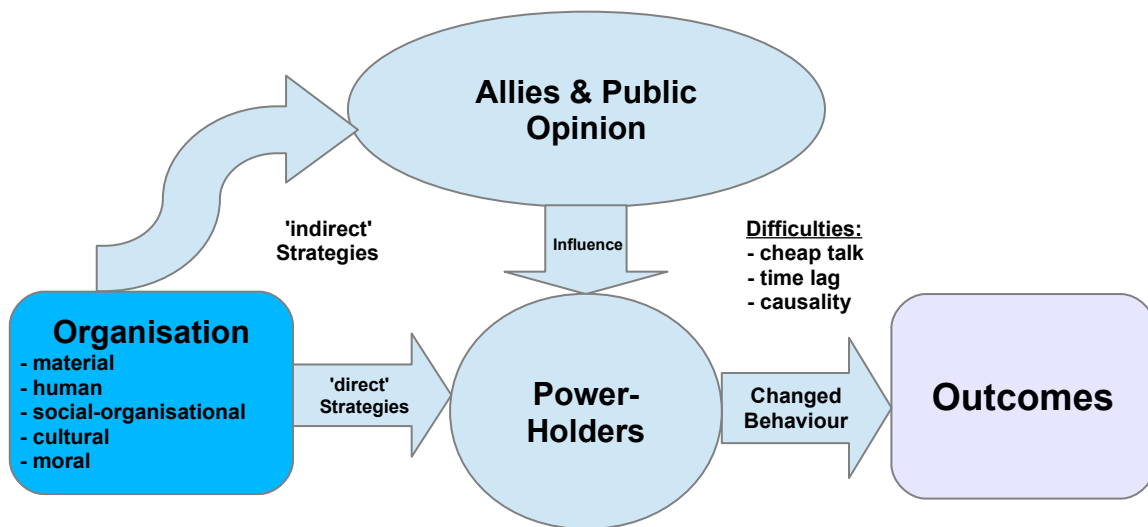
Figure 2.2: Extended Analytical Model. How Organisations achieve lobby and advocacy outcomes.

The central question of this research is:

How has the organisational capacity of the 'Cameroon Baptist Convention Health Services' shaped the outcomes of their lobby and advocacy strategy for CWDs in the SEEPD Programme during the period 2010-present?

Based on the above analytical model, this study uses three sub-questions:

1) **What lobby and advocacy strategy did CBCHS employ in the SEEPD Programme?**

2) **What outcomes for CDW has CBCHS realised through its lobby and advocacy strategy in the SEEPD Programme?**

3) **Which organizational resources did CBCHS mobilise in its lobby and advocacy strategy to achieve outcomes in the SEEPD Programme?**

3 Methodology

The following section clarifies the research approach and units of analysis of the fieldwork period. The different phases of the fieldwork are further described and at the end of this section levels of triangulation, challenges and limitations are discussed.

3.1 Research Approach: Qualitative Case Study from Post-Positivist Perspective

This study at hand used the case study as an approach. A case study is a research strategy that is associated with different data-gathering methods and procedures. For this study, social reality was deemed to be too complex and multifaceted to be adequately grasped by any single method (Snow and Trom 2002, 150). This research strategy generated data and an understanding of the phenomenon of organisational capacity through the triangulation of multiple methods of qualitative procedures.

Furthermore, was the research for this study approached from a post-positivist perspective. This perspective, rejects the idea that a universal truth that can be discovered. By researching a multitude of actors there will be varied perspectives on this issue. All stakeholders' experiences and opinions were relevant in the research. The way in which a stakeholder formulates their viewpoint is of particular interest, and differences between stakeholders' perceptions of reality were welcomed and crucial for this study.

The methodology of this research was of a qualitative nature, using observations, informal conversations or small talks, field notes, report study, semi-structured- and in-depth interviews as well as focus-group discussions with different stakeholders. These included CBCHS staff members, partner NGOs, head of missions, school-headmasters, teachers, government officials, caretakers and family members. A local academic partner of the research project 'Breaking Barriers to Inclusion', provided valuable local knowledge, in terms of cultural, geographical and historical guidance. Dr. Walter Nkwi is a Professor at the University of Buea who also facilitated the learning event that was organised at the end of the fieldwork period (see below). The research was conducted

with a research partner. Zuleikha Mohammed is a student in International Development Studies of the University of Amsterdam. The focus of her research was on the political opportunity structure in Cameroon and how it enables or constrains the lobby and advocacy work of the CBCHS in the SEEPD programme. Although this study focuses on the analysis of the organisational capacity of the CBCHS, we conducted the interviews together due to overlapping sub-questions.

3.2 Units of Analysis and Sampling Strategy

The units of analysis of this study were the elements illustrated in the analytical model (Figure 2.1). The first unit of analysis were the direct and indirect strategies of CBCHS in the SEEPD programme for inclusive education. This was assessed by researching the work of CBCHS through speaking to staff, beneficiaries of CBCHS and analysing their documentations, workshops and reports. Data collected was of help to see how CBCHS used certain tactics. The second unit of analysis concerned the outcomes of CBCHS. In order to engage this, it was necessary to collect data from those impacted by the lobby and advocacy of CBCHS which included: local politicians, Cameroon's civil service, partner NGOs, teachers, CWDs and their caretakers. Data collected from this group showed how outcomes are perceived and how CBCHS challenges or influences power-holders. The third unit of analysis was the CBCHS and the resources it mobilized to achieve lobby and advocacy outcomes. Again CBCHS staff was a source of data in this case. Further, stakeholders of the SEEPD programme, donors and other allies were approached. A fourth unit of analysis were power-holders. The power-holders on grass-roots level themselves were a source of data in this case but also those who are directly engaged with them.

Starting with CBCHS staff, the study initially used a purposive sampling method. After that, snowball sampling was applied, finding relevant local power- and stakeholders through information of CBCHS staff. These power- and stakeholders included, government officials on a regional level, local politicians, partner NGOs, teachers, headmasters and CWDs and their caretakers. Data from CBCHS staff gave

already an insight in how and what resources the CBCHS mobilised in order to achieve outcomes.

To get a sense of the actual implementation of inclusive education as promoted by SEEPD, the study also visited schools. Due to the limitation of time during the field work, the research concentrated on two pilot schools that participated in SEEPD. A school where CBCHS has been successful in implementing inclusive education was compared with a schools where CBCHS's efforts have (thus far) failed, at least to a certain extend. To select these schools semi-structured interviews with relevant stakeholders of SEEPD, SEEPD staff and focus-group discussions were held. Eventually GBHS (Government Bilingual High-school) Bamenda was identified as the positive example and GBHS Mbengwi served as the negative one (see Map 1 below). Both schools are of the same size and structure. Through comparison it was possible to see whether and how the differences in outcomes are related to strategy and organisational capacity.
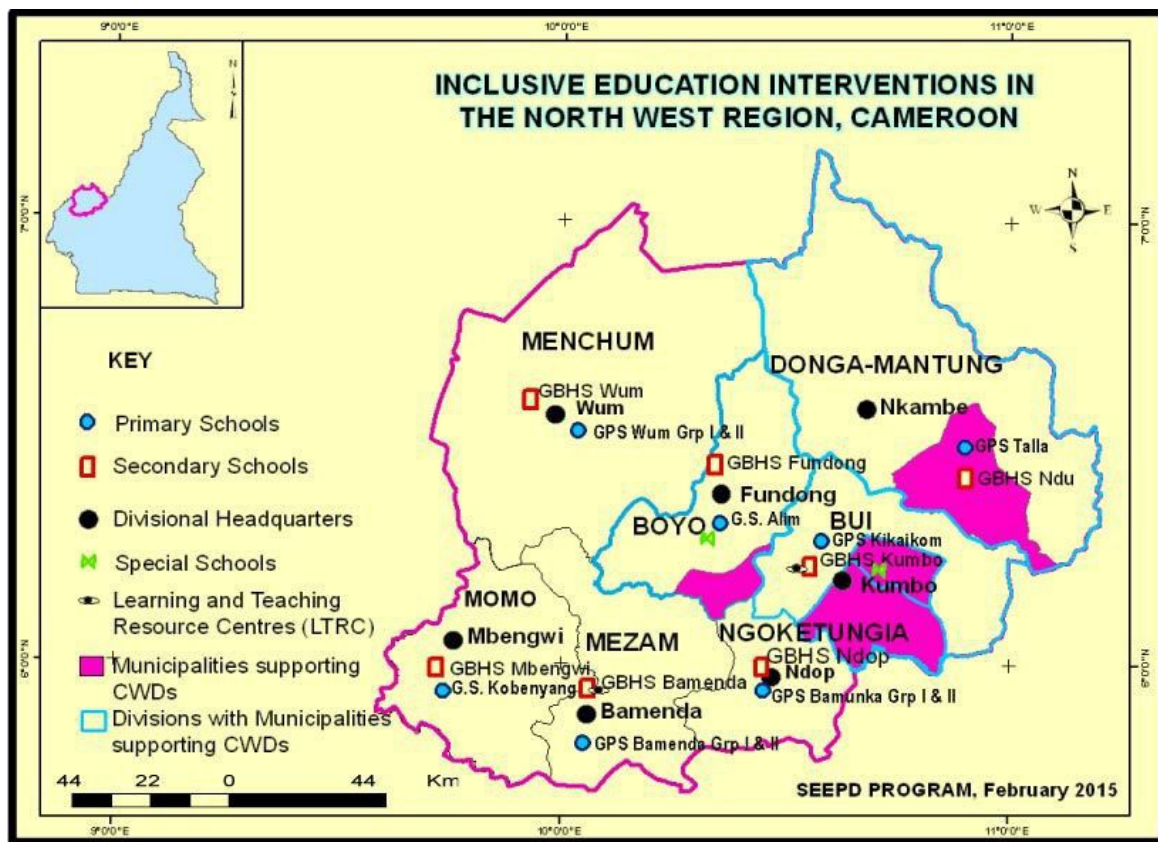
Map 3.1: Integrated map of SEEPD Interventions in Inclusive Education in the Northwest Region
Source: CBCHS Report on SEEPD Programme on inclusive education in the Northwest Region

In hindsight, the study took place in three subsequent phases which are summarized in table 3.1 below. Each phase had a different emphasis in terms of methods, data sources and locations.

Table 3.1 Phase Chart

Phase	Methods and Data Sources	Location
Exploration Phase	- observations/field notes - gather data about CBCHS from other NGOs - describe and assess CBCHS's organisational structures (organogram) - report study - project documentation (SEEPD) - PA-Methods with CBCHS staff (H-Diagrams) - identify power-holders and other key actors (Power and Stakeholder-mapping) - secure key documents	Bamenda (Mezam), Northwest Region
In-depth Phase	- mapping strategies, outcomes and capacities - focus-group discussion with teachers of example schools - PA-Methods with teachers (H-Diagrams) - in-depth interviews with power-holders and other stakeholders: Government Officials Media Partners Teachers Principles Caretakers Families with CWD	Bamenda, Mbenwi, Buea and Yaounde
Wrap-up Phase	- document study - data analysis - linking mapped strategies, outcomes and capacity to former defined typology - triangulation of data - learning event/workshop (World Café)	Bamenda (Mezam

3.3 Exploration Phase

The exploration phase gave a general overview, of both the area and the Cameroon Baptist Convention Health Services as the organisation of inquiry. Contacts with CBCHS staff and the local academic partners were established. We started by introducing ourselves to the CBCHS and the SEEPD Programme staff in particular and gave a presentation of our research proposal in the first week of arrival. Informal conversations,

observations and field notes were made as well as a general description of the CBCHS. An 'organogramme' of the CBCHS helped to visualize the structure of the organisation. The study of documents and reports of the SEEPD programme provided a global overview of what strategies the CBCHS had employed, what outcomes they realized and what resources they mobilized, during the last six years. Further on, participatory appraisal methods like a Power and stakeholder-mapping were applied among CBCHS staff. Also H-diagrams done with SEEPD staff members concerning how well certain resources were mobilized for particular strategies and outcomes, provided a first understanding of CBCHS's capacity (Inglis and Guy 1999, 84).

This was followed by collecting data from CBCHS staff. Through conducting semi-structured interviews, focus-group discussions and, stakeholder-mapping exercises we were able to identify important power-holders and other significant stakeholders who could provide valuable data on the capacity and strategy of CBCHS and their outcomes (Bryson 2004, 29). An interview list was established based on that information.

The semi-structured interviews with SEEPD staff provided qualitative data through an authentic dialogue and can be seen in this context as key informant interviewing (Blee and Taylor 2002, 105). Certain CBCHS staff members could offer insight in the organisational structures and strategies as well as information on significant power- and stakeholders. Focus-group discussions were as well a tool for generating data, studying outcomes and understanding practices, ideas and identities of CBCHS as a Social Movement Organisations (Blee and Taylor 2002, 109). It was necessary though to separate senior staff and officers for the focus-group discussions to make sure that nobody felt reluctant to speak. The composition of the group required a mixture of homogeneity and diversity to encourage discussion (Della Porta 2002, 296).

The focus-group discussions with CBCHS staff also entailed H-Diagrams exercises to ensure that everybody gave their own opinion on certain questions and not just agreeing with others. This study distinguishes between stake- and power-holder. A power-holder, as aforementioned, is an actor who has the decision-making authority to enable, block or at least delay a desired policy change (Busby 2010, 560). A stakeholder

on the other hand, can be 'any person, group or organisation that can place a claim on the organisations attention, resources or output, or is affected by that output (Bryson 2004, 22). A power-holder, for example, was therefore identified as a government official or a principle of a school, whereas a stakeholders are for instance implementing partners of the SEEPD programme, a donor or CWDs and their caretakers.

3.4 In-depth Phase

After the general phase of orientation and exploration the in-depth phase followed with a mapping of strategies used by the CBCHS to achieve lobby and advocacy goals and the capacities used to directly or indirectly influence power-holders.

In-depth interviews with power-holders and important stakeholders were conducted to hear their views on strategies, outcomes and capacities of the CBCHS and the SEEPD programme concerning inclusive education. For this reason, it was also necessary to travel to Buea in the South-West Region to talk to the Director of the GCE Board as well as to Yaounde for an interview with the General Secretary of the Ministry of Secondary Education. Furthermore, in-depth interviews   were continuously conducted with particular CBCHS members as possible key informants, to get insight on their view of strategies, outcomes and capacity as well. Similarly, focus-group discussions with a group of teachers from the two example schools were organized to hear their point of view why or why not, certain outcomes were achieved and what strategy and resources played a role in this process.

All power- and stakeholders opinions and experiences were relevant and provided an insight in the organisational capacity of CBCHS, for instance the Parent Teacher Association (PTA) of the example schools as well as the "lead person" of these schools. The "lead person" is a teacher installed by the SEEPD Programme as the link between the programme and the school, and is supposed to be the contact person concerning all matters of inclusive education in these schools. Moreover, the mayors and "focal persons" of Bamenda and Mbenwi as the two locations of the example schools were interviewed. The "focal person" is also installed by the SEEPD programme in the councils

as the link between the programme and the council. The role of the focal person is to remind the council about matters of disability in all takes of discussion and action.

Other relevant stake- and power-holders interviewed were the funding and implementing partners of SEEPD (CBM/AusAID); former SEEPD staff; traditional leaders (Fons); pastors and imams from the example school towns; media partners of the SEEPD programme; other education authorities (regional- and divisional delegate for secondary education) as well as students with impairments and their parents. In the chart below (Table 3.2) the different methods used during the fieldwork are shown in relation to the respective data-source and sub-question.

Table 3.2: Method Chart
(DS = Data Source)

Method	Sub-question 1 (Strategy)	Sub-question 2 (Outcomes)	Sub-question 3 (Resources)
Document and Report Study	DS:Reports/Documents	DS:Reports/Documents	DS:Reports/Documents
PA-Methods (**2** Power-Mappings, **3** H-diagram exercises and **1** World Café session)	DS: CBCHS and SENTTI staff/teachers	DS: CBCHS and SENTTI staff/teachers	DS: CBCHS and SENTTI staff/teachers
Informal conversations/Small talk	DS: CBCHS staff, Stake- and Power-holder	DS: CBCHS staff, Stake- and Power-holder	DS: CBCHS staff, Stake- and Power-holder
Focus-group Discussions (**5**)	DS: CBCHS staff/teachers of example schools	DS: CBCHS staff/teachers of example schools	DS: CBCHS staff/teachers of example schools
In-depth and Semi-structured Interviews (**48**)	DS: Stake- and Power-holder	DS: Stake- and Power-holder	DS: Stake- and Power-holder

3.5 Wrap-up Phase

In the final phase of the field research the findings were evaluated and the inner consistency of the findings assessed. Central guidelines for this assessment were the central research question, the respective sub-questions and the analytical model. The findings concerning the capacities of the CBCHS were linked to the former established resources typology.

At the end of the field work a learning event with the academic partners and the CBCHS took place where the preliminary findings were shared and discussed with invited SEEPD staff and stakeholders and interviewees. The presentation summarised CBCHS's main lobby and advocacy strategies for inclusive education along with the subsequent outcomes. This was followed by a brief explanation of how the political opportunity structure and the organisation's capacity can prohibit or support CBCHS's lobby and advocacy work for inclusive education in Cameroon.

This was followed by an interactive participatory activity called the World Café where participants were asked to answer two questions related to the preliminary findings. The purpose was to tackle future opportunities and challenges of the CBCHS and the SEEPD programme. It was decided by the hosts of the workshop that the World Café would be the best way to encourage a group dialogue among participants and SEEPD staff. Participants were divided into groups of four (with one table leader in charge of noting ideas) and asked to answer a question proposed by Professor Nkwi, our local supervisor from the University of Buea. After twenty minutes of discussion, all participants (except table leaders) were asked to move to another table and answer the same question with their new group. Table leaders were then asked to present and discuss their answers, the following text provides a breakdown of the responses for both questions.

3.6 Levels of Triangulation and Data Analysis

It was important and essential for this study to triangulate the data of the focus-group discussions, in-depth- and semi-structured interviews with CBCHS staff members (of high and low rank) with the data collected through other power- and stakeholders. The view of non-members on the capacity of the CBCHS with regard to outcomes provided valuable insight and were also crucial for this study.

Open, axial and selective coding with Atlas Ti helped to structure the data of the different interview techniques. Open coding helped to fragment, compare and contextualize the gathered data. Axial coding allows data to be recomposed and

integrated into categories, whilst selective coding allows the researcher to decide into, which phenomenon of the study the categories will be integrated (Della Porta 2002, 302).

3.7 Challenges and Limitations

Some challenges the researchers faced during the field work were that at the beginning of the research the staff of the SEEPD programme wanted to present the programme in the best possible way and sell it as a complete success story. It had to be made clear that SEEPD staff had to be honest about all problems and constrains they face in their work to see where is space for improvement, while guaranteeing complete confidentiality.

Moreover, we encountered possible briefed students in the positive example schools. It seemed as if some of the children just cited a text they learnt beforehand. We could overcome this limitation by talking to other students and triangulation with the students from the other example school. This particular limitation is somehow connected to another one, namely that our gatekeepers to get to many of our interviewees were firstly limited and secondly from CBCHS. Apart from that, they turned out to be indeed good gatekeepers though and we were able to talk to every person we wanted to.

Furthermore, we noticed some tension between SEEPD staff and particular, in the inclusive education section, which also had to do with status and hierarchy. Tension between certain stakeholders and supposedly implementing partners of SEEPD lead further, in our eyes, to a limitation of the full capacity of the programme as a cluster.

During the first Focus-group discussion with senior staff the researchers realised that the participants were reluctant to have a real discussion, just agreeing to each other. Eventually this problem was overcome for the other Focus-group discussions by using the H-diagram approach so that everyone had to give their own opinion which resulted in a real discussion (Inglis and Guy 1999, 84).

Finally, it was not possible to assess if the change of mentality and a greater

awareness as far as disability is concerned (especially in the Northwest Region), that many interviewees had noticed and mentioned, is a result of awareness campaigns of the SEEPD programme. To measure that, an extensive survey would have been necessary.

4 Cameroon, Disability, Inclusive Education and the CBCHS

As mentioned earlier, CWDs face severe discrimination and marginalisation in many developing countries. For a better understanding of the situation in Cameroon in relation to the research questions, the following chapter provides a rough overview of the historical and socio-economic background of Cameroon as well as the political structure relevant to the lobby and advocacy efforts of the CBCHS. Furthermore, the situation of disability in Cameroon and inclusive education will be explained. Finally, the Cameroon Baptist Convention, in particular the Health Services and the SEEPD programme will be clarified.

4.1 Historical, Political and Socio-economic Background

The Republic of Cameroon, often referred to as 'Africa in Miniature' due to its diversity, is a state in West Africa with its coastline at the Gulf of Guinea and with today roughly more than 20 million inhabitants. Sharing a boarder with six countries, from Nigeria in the west, Chad in the North-East, the Central African Republic in the West and the Republic of Congo, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea in the South, Cameroon is extremely divers in terms of topography and culture (ICG 2010, 1).

The countries area of approximately 475.000m² is organised as a presidential republic with a dominant party system and divided into ten semi-autonomous regions with a by the president appointed governor. The regions are Extreme North; North; Adamawa; Central; East; South; Littoral; West; South-west and North-West. The latter two are the official Anglophone regions while the other eight are Francophone, making Cameroon a bilingual country with English and French as the official languages. Additionally, regions are further subdivided into 58 divisions, each division further into subdivisions and each subdivision into districts as the smallest administrative unit. The

fact that Cameroon is a bilingual country, with an Anglophone and Francophone part, has to do with its colonial history and affects Cameroon's political reality and some problems up till today. The following sections lays therefore out the colonial history with its implications for the 'post colonial order' (Fonchingong 2004, 35).

The Portuguese were the first Europeans arriving at the coast of today Cameroon, giving the country its later name, referring to shrimps in the Wouri river (Rio dos Camaroes) which became Cameroon in English. The first, relatively short, colonial rule though was under Germany, from 1884 to 1915. It gave the country its basic shape and first economic geography. Furthermore, institutions of modern administration were set up and the idea of belonging or being Cameroonian among the various ethnic groups and traditional states was born (Fanso 1999, 282). The time of German colonial rule was characterised by on one side the development of basic infrastructure, Doula became for instance a major port in the region in order to exploit the countries resources. On the other side was it a period of brutality directed towards the indigenous population (ICG 2010, 2). Before the German Baptist missionary period between 1886 and 1941, the English Baptist missionary had already established themselves in the North-West Region from 1841. The North American Baptist Conference joined the German mission and eventually took over in 1941, coordinating its work from Bamenda.

In the First World War, Germany tried to expand the territory of Cameroon but was defeated and pushed out of the country by British and French forces in 1915. In the aftermath of World War One and the Treaty of Versailles, Cameroon was divided among French and British into mandates of the new established League of Nations in 1922. Initially the British wanted to integrate their part of Cameroon in the west into their protectorate of Nigeria next door. The mandate of the League of Nations was replaced by the United Nations and its trusteeship scheme after the Second World War in 1945. The division of the country left the British with approximately with 20 percent of the territory and population while the rest was under French Equatorial Africa but as a separate administrative unit (ICG 2010, 2). Further, the English part was divided into Southern and Northern British Cameroons and the northern part even "subdivided and

fused with the administrations of three separate provinces of Northern Nigeria (ibid.). These fabricated borders would lead subsequently to the development of distinct economic and political cultures and according to Fanso (1999) to Anglophone and Francophone nationalist identities.

The period of British and French colonial rule was as well accompanied by violence and oppression against the indigenous population but at the same time brought some advantages to a minority of Cameroonian society. Colonial development policies laid further the ground for the political consciousness of the country and Christian churches were a 'focal point' for it and "brought questions of political autonomy to the fore" (ICG 2010, 3).

After the Second World War it came to a political awaking in Cameroon. Increasing poverty, a broken aura of French power and de Gaulle's 'relatively liberate position' at the Brazzaville Conference in 1944 had an impact on Cameroon's political development. Nationalist movements emerged in both Cameroons and lead to a guerrilla war against the colonial administration in the French part. But the more moderate Ahmadou Ahidjo from the northern part became eventually prime minister of the of French Cameroon and lead this part of the country to its independence of France in 1960 (ICG 2010, 5). For the British part, a UN organised plebiscite in 1961 should settle the form of independence. The population of the Anglophone Cameroon, "which at no time was treated as a single territory" (Fanso 1999, 282), had to decide between an independence as part of Nigeria or a unification with French Cameroon. While the northern Cameroonians voted for Nigeria, the inhabitants of southern Cameroon choose to unify with the French part (ibid.). In an institutional conference in Foumban five months after the plebiscite Ahidjo and John Foncha, the leader of the Anglophone minority met to settle the terms of unification.

What was supposed to be a real federation ended with a more centralised state in a French manner imposed by a well prepared and French-backed delegation under Ahidjo (ICG 2010, 6). Fanso (1999,290) brings forward the argument that all dreams of the anglophones were shattered in Foumban. Fonchingong (2004, 43) goes a step

further and argues with regard to other studies that the "Anglophone minority deeply regrets its vote for the reunification with the Francophone majority in 1961, feeling marginalised, exploited and assimilated by the Francophone-dominated state and Francophone as a whole." This shows that the cut between the Anglophone and Francophone population is one of the main cleavages that cut across Cameroonian society today (ibid.).

Indeed, the first two decades of the post-colonial period were characterised by Ahidjos growing power and a gradually more centralised state. With the Anglophone politicians divided among each other, the president deposed of Foncha as prime minister and changed the constitution to a centralised state in 1972, changing the name from the Federal Republic of Cameroon to the United Republic of Cameroon (Fanso 1999, 293).

Beside the language itself as the main unifying factor, Fanso (1999) sees four other factors playing a role for the development of a Anglophone nationalism during that time: the Anglophone culture, a certain freedom enjoyed under the British rule, the influence from Nigeria and the faith and confidence they had in their dreams.

The neglect of the Anglophones continued and even intensified after the change of presidency, from Ahidjo to Paul Biya in 1982, when the new president changed the country's name again in 1984 from United Republic to simply republic and unleashed the army to attack on an Anglophone political rally in 1990. Paul Biya from the Beti tribe of the central region is still president today. In 1984 he overcame a coup attempt led by northerners, backing Ahidjo. Some observers see in that fact a cause for Biya's subsequent regime security and a reason for the failure of political liberalisation under his rule (ICG 2010, 11). Despite a constitutional debate on decentralisation and the emergence of democratic movements and new parties in the nineties, Paul Biya restored his authoritarian regime. "Ethnocentrism, clientelism, corruption, bribery, regionalism, nepotism, sloganeering, patronage and neopatrimonialism" are in Fonchingong's (2004, 53) eyes the reasons for failing development of democracy in Cameroon since the nineties.

Although there was an upcoming of an real opposition in the 1990s, mainly in form of the Social Democratic Front (SDF) who has its origin and main support in the Anglophone regions, today's opposition is fairly disorganised (Fonchingong 2004, 35). Paul Biya created a Beti hegemony , giving a great amount of influential positions to people from his own tribe while forcing a division between other tribes and even the Anglophone population (Fonchingong 2004, 43). The constitutional debate in 1996 agreed up on a process of decentralisation with ten regions and the Senate as a new legislative chamber. Although formally passed in the same year, it took until 2008 to enact into law and remains fairly bad implemented (ICG 2010, 22).

The bad governance practice has implications as well for the economy of Cameroon. Despite sufficient resources and labour force, the country's economy is characterised by an unequal contribution of wealth and a significant brain drain. Many well educated Cameroonians rather live and work abroad than to deal with the economic situation at home, where the growth rate of 2.8 percent cannot cope with a population growth rate of about 7.5 percent (Nsom 2011, 4). This has further implications for the development of a civil society. Although, Nkwi (2006, 95) states that, civil society in Cameroon "became quite vocal in the 1990s", the aforementioned problems like clientism and patronage stand as great drawbacks for any way forward. For civil society, as it consists of "individuals who have an interest in redressing political, economic and social abnormalities in society", religious groups and organisations became important elements in the Cameroonian context (ibid.). Due to the fact that most Cameroonians live in the countryside, Nkwi (2006) sees the need of a bottom-up approach towards an empowerment and strengthen of the civil society.

4.2 Disability and Inclusive Education in Cameroon

The following sections focuses on concerns of disability and inclusive education in Cameroon and the role of religious civil society organisations like CBCHS in promoting it.

Almost ten percent of Cameroon's population lives with some sort of disability. For children the rate is even higher as UNICEF (Opoku et al. 2015) estimates, that about 23

percent of the 2 to 9 year old in Cameroon live with a disability. Yet the government has not succeeded to integrate that marginalised group within the society nor have they provided equal and fair education opportunities for CWDs.

Statistics of the government have shown as well, that the unemployment rate is significantly higher within the population living with a disability. The connection to education cannot be doubted. Limited access to education for children with disabilities makes it difficult for them to acquire the basic skills required to compete for employment in most sectors of economy and sustains therefore the cycle of disability and poverty (Opoku et al. 2015). Although certain measures have been taken by the government, they seem to be poorly implemented, starting from the signing of the UN convention but not yet ratifying it. On the other side, there are national laws concerning people with disabilities which did not have an impact yet. The inception of the 'Act of Person with Disabilities' dates back to 1983 and was modified in 1990 and 2011 as 'the Act of Protection and Promotion of the Disabled' (Mbibeh 2013, 57).

All matters of disability in Cameroon are handled by the Ministry of Social Affairs (MINAS). Other legislative texts of this ministry regarding Disability are: the appropriation of the National Employment Pact by the Cameroon on July 27, 2010, the enactment of Law N°2011/018 of July 15, 2011 on the organisation and promotion of sport and physical activities, which mandates the practice of physical and sporting activities including in institutions for the re-adaptation of persons with disabilities and transformation of Cardinal Paul Emile LEGER National Rehabilitation Centre for Persons With Disabilities (CNRPH) in Public Administrative Establishment by Decree N°2009/096 of March 15, 2009 (MINAS 2016). The Ministry of Social Affairs defines disability as a "limitation of the opportunities of a person with impairment to full take part in an activity in a given environment" and a person with disabilities as a "person unable to ensure by himself all or part of the necessities of a normal individual or social life, due to a physical, mental or not congenital impairment" (ibid.).

The same as for general legislation for disability rights goes for international legal frameworks concerning inclusive education. Cameroon signed various text like the UN

convention on the 'Rights of the Child' (1989) and the UNESCO conference text on 'Education for All' (1990/94) but has no structures in place to practical implement those ratifications (Mbibeh 2013, 57). Governments in developing countries often lack commitment to invest in the education of persons with disabilities and the mostly high costs of education makes it difficult for persons with disabilities to access (WHO 2011). Inclusive education as a full inclusion of children with divers abilities in all aspects of schooling, though the government of Cameroon has done very little in terms of providing educational facilities for instance. Only two out of ten special schools in the country are government schools (Opoku et al. 2015, 6).

Although there have been some positive outcomes of national policies, such as the exemption for CWDs from paying school fees (Mbibeh 2013), there are several challenging factors for inclusive education in Cameroon today. Beside a problem of general attitude and awareness, a poor infrastructure, missing learning and teaching material also the fact that there are not enough qualified teachers to teach inclusively. The fact that the Higher Teacher Training College Bambili of the University of Bamenda initiated a module within their curriculum for inclusive education can be seen as a first step. Beside this, the 'Special Education Need Teacher Training Institute' (SENTTI) is the only private teacher training college authorised by the ministry of education to train teachers in inclusive education. The realisation of inclusive education lacks therefore manpower in form of specially trained teachers.

Despite the shortcomings on policy level, Mbibeh (2013, 63) argues that the best strategy is more about practice than policy. Instead of "clamouring for policy, practice should take precedence and policy will surely follow suit" (ibid.). Opoku et al. (2015, 7) demands more commitment of the government to provide financial resources as well as a policy framework for a successful implementation of inclusive education in the future.

4.3 CBC, CBCHS and the SEEPD Programme

According to Mbibeh (2013, 53), the CBCHS became pioneers in promoting and implementing inclusive education in Cameroon. The organisation and their programme

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for promoting the rights of people with disabilities are further introduced below.

As aforementioned, the Northern American Baptist Conference took over the work of the German mission in 1941. In December 1954 the Conference handed over the work and its management to the Cameroonians, marking the birth of the Cameroon Baptist Convention. The Convention today comprises of 31 administrative Units, 3 Missionary Areas and 1,028 organized churches with a membership of about 105,000 registered Christians. Further it is organised in five departments: Evangelism and Mission; Christian Education; Finance and Development; Education and Health (see Figure 4.1 below).

Figure 4.1: Organogramme of the Cameroon Baptist Convention respective to SEEPD (by Author).

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Cameroon Baptist Convention

| Evangelism & Mission | Christian Education | **Health Board** | Finance & Development | Education |

Health Services

Services for People with Disabilities → EDID (Empowerment & Disability Inclusive Development)

SEEPD

Different Components:
- Health and Rehabilitation
- Gender
- Communication
- Club-foot
- Child Protection
- Community Outreach
- **Inclusive Education**
- Social/Livelihood
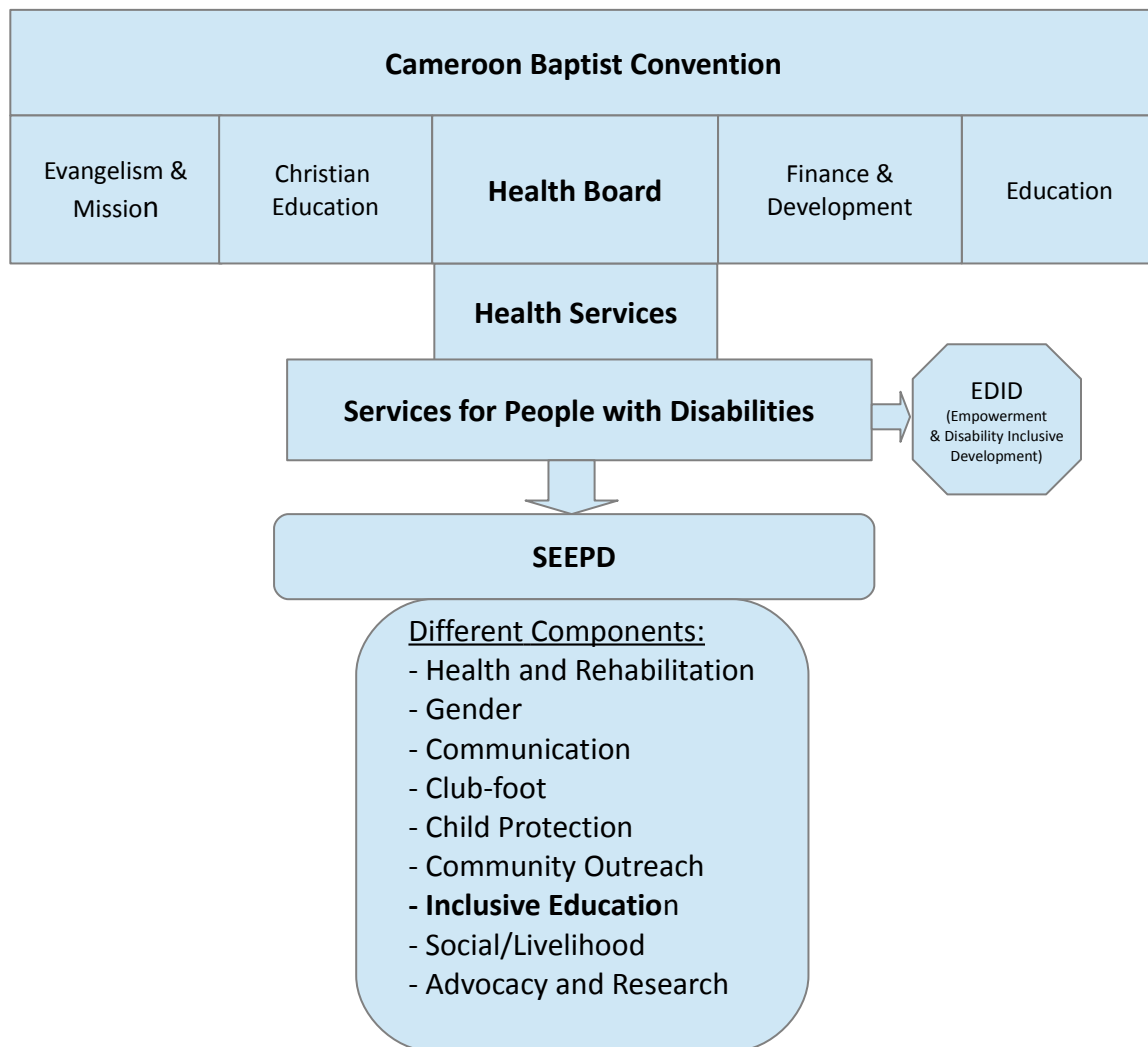- Advocacy and Research

Figure 4.1: Organogramme of the Cameroon Baptist Convention respective to SEEPD (by Author).

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The department which carries out the 'Socio-economic Empowerment of Persons with Disabilities' programme, short SEEPD, is the CBC Health Services. CBCHS can be seen as an own entity under the CBC and is as a non-profit, faith-based health organisation. They are active in six of the ten regions of Cameroon, having 6 Hospitals, 25 integrated Health Centres, 50 primary Health Centres, Pharmaceutical procurement and distribution department, a Baptist Training School for Health Personnel (BTSHP) and a Centre for Clinical Pastoral Education and Social Services (CECPES). Their scope entails further a programme to fight against HIV and AIDS and a micro loan project for women for poverty alleviation. Service of high quality medical care for all, regardless of their religious background or confession, gave the organisation countrywide a great reputation and establishes a kind of 'brand' (Interview Former SEEPD Programme Manager).

The commitment and history of CBCHS for people with disabilities goes decades back. Starting from treatment and prevention of leprosy already in the 1950s, the Banso Hospital eye department is involved in consultation and prevention of blindness since 1981. In the same year the integrated school for the blind in Kumbo was established, providing primary and secondary education for children with visual impairment. In 2001 the counterpart, the integrated school for the deaf in Mbingo, was created. Beside this, the Mbingo Baptist Hospital provides therapy for people with physical impairments since 1990, rehabilitative surgery since 2006 and is completed by a community based rehabilitation programme. Due to this long experience in services for people with disabilities, the organisation became a partner for international organisation in that field. The Christian Blind Mission Australia (CBM) is working with and supporting CBCHS for several years. More strategic approaches were established with those partners, one of which is the SEEPD programme funded by CBM and Australian Aid (AUSAID).

SEEPD came about by a desire of CBM and CBCHS changing its approach in the field to a more strategic one, involving more stakeholders to improve on the quality of life of people with disabilities (Interview Country Coordinator CBM). After discussions

between CBM, CBCHS and other disability stakeholders in the North-West Region, SEEPD was established as a 'cluster', whose activities included prevention of disabilities, treatment of disabilities, advocacy and also increase community awareness and participation as far as disability is concerned. As CBM was restructuring their strategy at the time, they developed additional clusters similar too SEEPD with partner organisation in other parts of the country. With the help of an external facilitator, the 'Management for Development Foundation (MDF) Training & Consultancy' from the Netherlands, the concept of SEEPD was created and the first phase implemented in 2009. Researchers from Canada were involved in the process.

The overall objective of the programme was to improve the quality of life of persons with disabilities, using a twin track approach. The first phase of the programme ran until 2011 and had an emphasis on inclusive education. To advocate for inclusive education, the programme established a pilot school scheme with inclusive primary and secondary schools in each of the seven divisions of the North-West Region. At that time the number of personnel working on the programme was rather small as the former programme manager stated, 'Looking at the staffing arrangement, initially it wasn't this team that you see today with this many people. We started of with, it was just me and a driver.'

After having identified and partnered with the main stakeholders for disability in the region, the second phase of the programme ran from 2012 to 2014. With the same overall objective, this phase had the purpose of access to quality health, education, livelihood and an increase of social participation for people with disabilities. The third and current phase is suppose to run until 2018 and is about main-streaming at policy level and sustaining the gains of the programme achieved so far, making sure that matters of disability are considered in all development activities (SEEPD reports). At the time of research the programme entailsed various components with cross-cutting issues. The components are health and rehabilitation; Gender; Club-foot; Child protection; Community outreach; Livelihood; Communication; Advocacy and Research and finally Inclusive education.

The next chapter provides a more detailed narrative of the strategies applied and outcomes achieved in the SEEPD programme as far as inclusive education is concerned as this is the part of SEEPD with the strongest focus on advocacy.

5 Lobby and Advocacy for Inclusive Education in the SEEPD Programme

This first empirical chapter elaborates in a descriptive manner on the strategy employed and outcomes achieved in the SEEPD programme in the period 2010-2016, as far as inclusive education is concerned and therefore answering the first two sub-questions.

5.1 Outcomes Achieved and Strategy Applied

As categorised in the theoretical framework, there are different kind of outcomes a CSO can achieve with their lobby and advocacy effort. In the table below (see table 5.1) the outcomes of the SEEPD programme in recent years are chronologically listed and set in relation with the type of outcome, respective strategy used and power-holder targeted. The sections below discuss the contents of the table in greater detail, following the chronological order of the SEEPD programme and its three Phases.

Table 5.1: Outcomes in the SEEPD Programme for Inclusive Education.

Time	Outcome	Type	Strategy	Power-Holder
2010	17 Pilot schools for IE in NWR	Implementation	*Direct:* MoU; Workshops for Teachers/Principle	Regional Delegate and Principles
2011	Resource Centre in GBHS Bamenda	Target Group	*Direct:* Meetings and Workshops	PTAs and Principle
2013	Brailed and more time in exams / MoU + Recognition of visual impaired	Policy/ Relational and Target Group	*Direct:* Meetings/ Conversations; MoU	GCE Board (Director)
2013	Change of the curriculum of the GTTC	Implementation	*Direct:* Meeting with Education Advisor	Director GTTC
2015	Meeting and sensitization of Power-holders	Agenda Setting	*Direct:* Meetings; Workshops	Prime Minister; Ministry of Education
2015	Policy for accessible buildings in Jakirir/Belo/ Kumbo	Policy	*Direct:* Workshops; Sensitization through radio, MoU	Mayors
2015	Partnership/MoU Action Plans with councils	Policy	*Direct:* Workshops; MoU	Councils/Mayors

5.1.1 SEEPD Programme Phase 1

As mentioned earlier, the overall objective of the programme was to improve upon the lives of PWDs using a "twin track" approach with an emphasis on inclusive education in the first phase. In the first phase this was also the general strategy and the 'infrastructure' of SEEPD was established as a 'cluster'.

The outcomes achieved by the SEEPD Programme were mainly a result of 'direct' strategy that influenced and changed the opinion of power-holders. Nonetheless, 'indirect' strategy played a crucial part of the SEEPD Programme's ability to sensitize allies and the general public on matters regarding disability rights and inclusive education in particular. This takes into account the self claimed "twin track" approach of the programme by trying to main-stream policy (advocacy) and empower PWD on a grass-roots level .

In fact, although the SEEPD programme followed a twin track strategy, first and foremost the approach was a self claimed bottom-up one, using different research partnerships, having CBR teams in the field, using radio and television programmes as well as religious and traditional authorities for sensitisation and organising workshops for various allies. The majority of the SEEPD staff members were convinced of that approach to be the best:

> SEEPD is successful because of this approach. The top down will not succeed, you must ensure people at the base level, the learners with disabilities accept their conditions and buy the idea, then they target their parents and then they join you to target the teachers and the PTA, the network is growing and its going up. When they buy the idea, they join, they target the school administration and then we target the regional level and then you go to national level. But top down approach comes in the form of decision and enforcing things on people without knowing whether they like decisions or not. (Interview with SEEPD Staff)

The first phase of the programme aimed to identify all important disability actors in the region on a grass-roots level, empower and link them. One of the crucial tactics utilised to find those stakeholders was the work with different research partners. Part of that research collaboration was the aforementioned work with the 'Management for Development Foundation' from the Netherlands during the conception of the programme as well as with Canadian researchers at the time of implementation. On a local level the programme works together with the 'Centre for Inclusive Studies' (CIS) which is also part of the stakeholder committee (Interview CIS).

Another important tactic of the indirect strategy on the grass-roots level was the work of a Community Based Rehabilitation (CBR) Team within the SEEPD programme. There are currently 11 fieldworkers and a network of 94 volunteers working in the North-West Region to 'promote inclusive education through educating communities on the need for children to learn in the same setting' (Interview SEEPD Staff, CBR Team). Also the team identified challenges for children with disabilities within their families and

to access education. The activities of the Community Based Rehabilitation team is further connected to other crucial tactics of the programme, one of which is the sensitisation of the public through radio and television shows, documentaries, newsletters and the website of SEEPD. According to the majority of respondents the radio is the most crucial medium to spread the message among people and raise awareness in the communities. It is more likely that people in rural places have a radio than a TV. Additionally, the CBR team find at times success stories of children with disabilities for radio documentaries: 'For the first six years of the program, we did advocacy with the use of role models, so they can demonstrate the potential of people with disabilities and their potential in inclusive settings' (Interview Supervisor CBR Team).

The collaboration with external radio stations across the North-West Region started with initially 2 partners and reached 14 partners in the third phase of the programme (see map appendix no. 2). One particular tactic in the radio sensitisation is using local dialects or 'pidgin' English to reach more people. Pidgin English is a creole language spoken as a lingua franca across the Anglophone part of Cameroon and especially in rural areas and among less educated people of society who are more dominant. The partner radio stations also report particularly about the inclusive education effort of the SEEPD programme. A journalist of one partner radio answered when asked about it: 'We have been to the school to Bingo, to Mbanso to all these schools that the CBC have put up. So we talk with these people suffering with various disabilities and incorporate this into the programme'.

Apart from that a crucial strategy for sensitisation of the public as groundwork of the programme for their bottom-up approach, was the work with the already mentioned influential religious and traditional authorities. Although they are unable to block or delay policy, religious and traditional leaders like pastors, imams and *Fons* quite important in Cameroonian society. A majority of the respondents mentioned in the interviews these authorities as very crucial to have on their side. As the country coordinator from CBM stated, 'Oh its very critical. Because the Northwest especially its a

cultural sensitive environment where traditional authorities are strong and religious authorities also very strong, because also the people are very religious and I think, once you are able to wrap a programme around those two, traditional authorities and religious leaders, you have a very strong likelihood that it will pass. That is really where the social authority lays.' Also here the work of the CBR team is intertwined as they keep in touch with these authorities across the North-West Region. The CBCHS used here as well their own network of Baptist churches and pastors across the North-West Region and whole Cameroon to get their message across. The CBC pastor from Bafut said, 'We do that and we are thinking to do even more, some of those far off in the villages and get the information to them to see how they can help.'

The role and influence of the *Fons* especially in the North-West Region cannot be underestimated because people believe and respect traditional structures in place, according to the vast majority of interviewees: 'It's very important. It's very because these are people who hold power, they can influence a lot within their communities. I think we just have not used that power enough. We should be able to have these leaders come up with policies... and I think they are very key stakeholders for that. Very strategic' (Interview Former SEEPD Programme Manager).

As of yet however, the SEEPD programme at the time of research had no specific workshops for these traditional rulers, although workshops were from the first phase on an imminent part of SEEPD's strategy, both for power-holders and allies.

From Phase 1, organising and conducting workshops was indeed a tactic of the SEEPD programme. The workshops at times could be where indirect and direct strategies met as it depended for whom these workshops were set up for. On the one hand the programme continuously organised workshops for journalist from their partner radio and TV stations. This had the intention to deliberately and persistently sensitise the journalists about the use of language regarding disabilities, as language itself can significantly stigmatise and exclude. As journalists are not considered as power-holders, these workshops can be seen as part of an indirect strategy to influence allies and the public opinion. The partner journalists as well continuously report about other

workshops, such as for teachers for instance: 'Teachers too have been able to participate even on the level program [...] A good example is GBHS Bamenda where the senior prefect is a person with a visual disability and I think the mentality of that institution has changed because of the workshops' (Interview with Radio Journalist).

The workshop for teachers can be seen as kind of a 'grey-zone' between indirect and direct strategy, as teachers can indeed on a lower scale influence the implementation of policy for inclusive education for example. This leads over to the direct strategies of SEEPD but takes into consideration the bottom-up approach of the programme. What to do with policy for inclusive education when the teachers on the ground are not even sensitised, aware or even willing to teach inclusively? A SEEPD staff member put it like this, 'I think if someone use top bottom approach and the ministry got convinced about inclusive education, a decree was passed to select schools but if you go to those schools the teachers have no idea about what inclusive education is. They don't have resources or capacity. They don't have what it takes to practice inclusion. The people at the grass-roots are not prepared for this' (Interview CBCHS Staff).

The programme believed that when targeting structures at the grass-roots level and prove that it works at that level then it is easy to convince government institutions to intervene, even though most interviewees considered that both approaches should actually go together and should not be seen isolated.

The pilot school scheme consisting of ten primary and seven secondary schools in each division of the North-West Region as the first real outcome, put in place in 2010, was also a crucial part of a direct strategy. It was a tactic to show the government that inclusive education is possible and feasible in its own settings. The idea was to take intentionally government schools instead schools of the Cameroon Baptist Convention as pilot schools, to show to the government education authorities that inclusive education is possible and feasible in their own structures. 'I say, the only way to show government that this is working is if you can demonstrate it in their own setting [...] To show the government it is feasible! So that if we do it with government schools in

collaboration with the PTA, the school authorities, the local education authorities, then we can show something' (Interview CBM Country Coordinator).

The realisation of the pilot schools can be simultaneously seen as a agenda setting, an implementation and a relational outcome. It is about agenda setting because these schools raised awareness and brought a greater attention to different parts of society. The director of the teacher training college in Bambili stated: 'Most important one is sensitizing the public, so the family know that having a disability is not a disaster because there are facilities. There is a way to make progress in school'.

Hence, the pilot school scheme of the SEEPD programme can be seen also as a strategy to lobby and advocate for inclusive education at a higher level by showing results and creating awareness. Part of that strategy were continuous workshops at the grass-roots level to sensitise the principles and headmasters as well as the teachers of these pilot schools and further to install a so called 'lead person' in each of the schools. The lead person is a teacher at the pilot schools who is supposed to function as the link between the SEEPD programme and the school. Further, he is the contact person for all matters of disabilities at his or her school.

The pilot schools had at the same time an implementation impact as far as the CBCHS can influence the acceleration of a policy implementation for inclusive education with it. At the same time it can be defined as a relational outcome, as the power-holder, here in form of the regional delegates of education, authorised the pilot schools in the North-West Region and the workshops for principles, headmasters and teachers, changing therefore its relation with the disadvantaged group in question. It was a crucial tactic to convince those power-holders to come to sensitisation workshops at the CBCHS headquarters, especially regional delegates as they are important decision-makers when it comes to inclusive education. The regional delegates for education represent one possible routes to influence legislation and make policy for inclusive education. Another route is via the local councils and parliamentarians, which was actually done in a later phase of the programme.

For SEEPD, it was of key importance to also get power holders at the grass-roots

level on board. Principles and Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs), for example, hold certain power as well, albeit on a lower scale perhaps. PTAs were named by various interviewees to have power indeed when it comes to policy implementation. Also the PTAs themselves saw it like that: 'Aha yea, like today eh the PTA is a force. A PTA is a force. If the government for instance takes a decision which not really match with the parents, we will stand up and say no, we don't like this." (Interview Director PTA, GBHS Bamenda)

On the other side, if a principle of a given school is not really dedicated and engaged for inclusive education at his or her school, the implementation will be difficult as well, as a SEEPD staff member stated: 'There are some schools where it is not working very well because of the attitude of some of the administrators. Because they just feel that eh.. they just have a deficit outlook. They just feel like they are not sure it can work and so they are not ready to commit themselves by admitting students with disability.'

For the second outcome, the resource centre in one of the pilot schools, exactly the just mentioned PTA had to be approached by the programme. On one hand to sensitise them about the issue of inclusive education in their schools and getting the message across to the parents. On the other hand to convince them to allocate financial resources for it as they have means at their disposal. The contact person for these meetings was the education advisor of the SEEPD programme. The key role of that influential figure will be discussed at later point of this study in chapter 6. In order to make inclusive education more sufficient, the SEEPD programme convinced the PTA of the pilot school in Bamenda indeed to provide money to build a 'Regional Inclusive Education Resource Centre' (RIERC) as the second outcome in 2011. It was officially handed over to the regional delegation of secondary and basic education in 2015. The director of the PTA of GBHS Bamenda remembered: 'After the building now they came in with equipment, you know that with this eh..It is a technical it is eh specific domain. They came in with machine computers all the appropriate materials now for all of that. We went and visited the place, we were so impressed. I want to tell you that the parents

of GBHS was so impressed that I was asked to write the CBC and congratulate them and thank them for this.'

The centre was already built and equipped in 2011. It contains computers and technical machinery to help students with visual and hearing impairments to study, and adequately support the teachers in their work with students with disabilities. Although the room itself was built by the PTA of GBHS Bamenda, the equipment on the other side was funded by the Bamanda-Dordrecht Foundation who raised money for it in the Netherlands (Interview Bamenda-Dordrecht Foundation). The social tie of the CBCHS to that Foundation from the Netherlands will be addressed further in chapter 6 of this study.

Whether this kind of resource centre, which only exist in GBHS Bamenda, is a crucial factor or even indispensable to successfully implement inclusive education, was differently assessed by the respondents of the interviews. Most interviewees argued that it would definitely help, but is not absolute necessary to make inclusive education feasible. Ideally there should be such a centre in each inclusive school but one of the size of the one in GBHS Bamenda in each division, and a smaller one in every school would be more realistic due to the costs involved (Interviews Former SEEPD Manager and CBM Country Coordinator).

Overall, a lot of groundwork was already done in the first phase of the SEEPD programme. Stakeholders were identified, the work with the CBR team and the radio stations established and workshops for allies and certain power-holders, as a continuous tactic, were organised and executed. The establishment of the pilot schools with the resource centre in one of them, was the first major outcome of SEEPD and at the same time part of a strategy targeting higher scale power-holders.

5.1.2 SEEPD Programme Phase 2

The second phase of the programme from 2012 to 2014 with the same overall objective widened the scope including access to quality health, livelihood and social participation

of PWD. Still the efforts to advocate for inclusive education remained an integral part of SEEPD.

A further power-holder when it comes to inclusive education that was targeted by the SEEPD programme already in Phase one and more concerted during that phase, was the General Certificate of Education (GCE) Board. As Cameroon is a bilingual country, it has subsequently two education systems working at the same time, one following the French and the other the English example. The GCE Board is supervising all exams of the Anglophone system and is an influential partner for the implementation of inclusive education.

It was again the education advisor of the SEEPD programme who was the key contact to the GCE Board, advocating in the name of the programme for brailing all exams. Eventually the SEEPD programme would provide the GCE Board with the teachers from the integrated school for the blind in Kumbo, one of their special schools. The teachers would help with the brailing while SEEPD advocating for of inclusive education with a rights based argument: 'We kept knocking at their doors and ignoring the fact that they were turning their noses in the air and kept making appointments. We've got to work together. They are Cameroonians, they have got a right to education. We are working from a rights based attitude, it's not charity' (Interview SEEPD Education Advisor).

A next step of the tactic was to donate an embosser, to braille all examination scripts, provide experienced staff to handle it and show the GCE Board that it is feasible. The GCE Board director told us: 'No, we had been brailing before as I told you. This machine they offered us was to alleviate my fears'.

These efforts resulted in the third outcome and one of the biggest achievements of the programme. After the initiative to braille all exams and donating the embosser to make it technical more feasible, the GCE Board allowed students with impairments to have more time during their exams. The SEEPD programme moreover signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the GCE Board in which students with visual impairments were recognised in their General Regulations. Before SEEPD's

intervention, the GCE Board would first not at all braille the exams for visually impaired students at, and then only manually after the envelops would be officially opened, giving the other students a head start while the one with impairments had to wait. Due to SEEPD, the exams are now brailled beforehand and the students with impairments are given extra time because of their condition. This can be categorised as a target group outcome since it is a positive change resulting from an actual implementation of policy. The Memorandum of Understanding with the GCE Board can be seen as a policy outcome since it binds the board to certain new legislation concerning visually impaired students. Whilst the recognition of visually impaired students in their official regulations is a policy outcome it can be as well seen as a relational outcome. Visually impaired students gained acceptance from the GCE Board and were formally recognised. A quotation from the current SEEPD programme manager underpins the importance of these achievements with that national education authority:

> The board is now on inclusion and understood the need to organise inclusive exams. Which do benefit not only candidates for the exams in the North-West Region, but it helps with improvements of life for all English speaking candidates, all Cameroonians who would ever sit for the GCE exam. They would never have to go through the drama [...] Yes that achievement, that to me makes it the best success we have. That of GBCHS Bamenda and accession of the resource centre and everything is more or less in the region. But the board is a national organ. Getting that national body to understand the real benefit of inclusion [...] and to revise the examination policies, so it would be more inclusive, in its orientation, I think benefits the wider scale (Interview SEEPD Programme Manager).

As important as the sensitisation of teachers was for the pilot school scheme, the programme realised further on, that sensitised teachers cannot make up for inclusively trained teachers. If SEEPD wished inclusive education to be sustainable, then it would be necessary to employ special trained teachers in the pilot schools. Therefore, there was another complementary tactic to convince government teacher training colleges to train

their students in inclusive education. The education advisor of the SEEPD programme had subsequent meetings with the director of the teacher training college of the University of Bamenda in Bambili and invited him to the sensitisation workshops. Staff of SEEPD were also sent to the University to conduct capacity building workshops in inclusive education for the students. Beside this government teacher training college, SENTTI, as a private teacher training college, has been officially authorised by the government to teach inclusive modules.

Therefore, the fourth outcome resulted out of the relation with one of the government teacher training colleges. Although there is no Memorandum of Understanding with the teacher training college in Bambili yet, a change in the curriculum and a module for inclusive education was established nonetheless. There could have been a Memorandum of Understanding indeed already, but due to the absence of the director of CBCHS and the change of director at the university at one moment, it was postponed and is still to sign (Interview Director Teacher Training College Bambili). Nevertheless, the change in the college's curriculum can be seen as an implementation outcome, since it can influence to accelerate the process of policy implementation.

In sum, the second phase of the SEEPD programme represented a general widening of scope and a shift to influence power-holders on national level (GCE Board) as far as inclusive education is concerned. Previous collaborators and allies like radio stations, stakeholders and traditional and religious authorities were continuously included.

5.1.3 SEEPD Programme Phase 3

Preserving the overall objective of the SEEPD programme, the third and current running phase was about main-streaming at policy level and sustaining the gains of the programme achieved so far, making sure that matters of disability are considered in all development activities.

One of the aforementioned routes to influence legislation and make policy for inclusive education was via the regional delegates to reach ultimately the Ministry for Education. Although, usually the Ministry of Social Affairs is concerned with all matters regarding disability, for inclusive education the Ministries of Basic and Secondary Education were named by almost all interviewees as key decision-makers, 'No you go to the Minister and once the Minister makes policy the rest of the people will follow.' (Interview Former SEEPD Programme Manager). The SEEPD programme managed indeed to have an audience with the ministry of education and even with the prime minister, which was quite relevant according to the SEEPD education advisor, 'The fact they received us after booking audience is important for us and I would say the Prime minister was very impressed and said what we're doing is the responsibility of the government.'

The meeting with the Ministry of Education and the Prime Minister can be seen as the agenda setting and the fifth outcome of SEEPD. It brought greater attention and created urgency at a high scale power-holder. But there are some problems that come along with it. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, there are some difficulties when assessing lobby and advocacy outcomes. The Prime Minster may have only gave 'cheap talk' to the education advisor of SEEPD during their meeting, pretending he would care but has in fact no intention to change his behaviour. On the other side, if he really would change his opinion and behaviour, this could happen with a 'time-lag' and it would be even hard to demonstrate 'causality' to the meeting.

A sixth, somehow unexpected policy outcome came about in 2015 when the mayors of the councils in Belo, Kumbo and Jakiri (see map appendix no. 3) decided to pass a municipal decision, 'bearing on architectural accessibility in all buildings opened to the public (e. g. Hotel, Commercial Building, public buildings),' in their respective municipalities. All public building plans in theses municipalities 'should make provision for easy access to buildings for persons with disabilities, for example the construction ramps at the principle entrance into the buildings etc.'. This would consequently also include school buildings in these municipalities. Interviewees of the SEEPD staff stated,

that the change of the Mayor's behaviour towards that municipal decision resulted from the sensitisation workshops they attended at CBCHS and from the awareness raising radio programmes of SEEPD (Interview SEEPD Staff).

Municipal councils in fact started to play a major role in the SEEPD programme from 2015 onwards. Following the advise of the Centre for Inclusive Studies (CIS), the municipal Councils were identified as important development actors and crucial power-holders for inclusive education in the third phase of SEEPD (Interview CIS). Subsequently, the programme tried to sensitise them and by inviting Council members and mayors to awareness raising workshops at the headquarters of CBCHS. Although the process of decentralisation was enacted in 2008, the programme initiated to target the Councils only from the third phase on, starting 2015 (see map appendix no. 1). The respondents' opinions on whether this process is actually having an impact were quite divided and some were reluctant to answer due to the political nature of the topic. Similarly participants were reluctant to answer whether councils have the capacity (financially and in terms of expertise), to implement inclusive education after 2018 when SEEPD's effort for it would probably come to an end. As a teacher in one of the pilot schools said, 'There is a decentralisation in Cameroon so with this decentralisation the government has given some budget to the councils. Saying this is for education, especially for social affairs and education. So I think they could have. I'm talking like an outsider anyway. They could have. Because of government allocations. Which is directed to education.'

A majority agreed, though, Councils have other problems and not only issues of disability rights and inclusive education. Nonetheless the workshops for council-members and Mayors were a crucial strategy to influence local development actors and resulted in the seventh and most recent outcome.

The outcome resulted from this work with the Councils came about due to the shift in strategy in the third phase of the programme, seeking sustainability in the future for the gains achieved so far. The SEEPD programme would from 2015 systematically target the local councils in the North-West Region. Because of the aforementioned process of decentralisation, they were identified by the local research partner CIS as the

crucial government body to work with. In the future they would gain gradually more power from the central government and could possibly execute inclusive education. The North West region has 34 councils and by March 2016 SEEPD had successfully signed Memorandums of Understanding with 18 of them, which can be defined as policy outcomes. SEEPD further provided formal training in workshops regarding disability and inclusive development to 15 focal persons in each council. This focal person can be defined as an implementation outcome and is suppose to function as the link between the council and the programme and therefore to make sure that every topic discussed in the council takes into account matters of disability. The supervisor of the CBR team who played a key role in establishing the relation to the councils, explained the relation with the councils as follows:

> So we proposed memorandums of understanding with the councils to mainstream disability and we mean all across, adults and children [...] most of the councils have already approved that they will mainstream disabilities within their actions [...] The memorandum of understanding was signed and one of the provisions is that we as SEEPD would provide support in disability action plans. The provisions of the Memorandum of Understanding became goals on the action plans and helped the councils achieve steps. The Action Plan will inform their policy. We will also support them to develop disabilities in their policies so all of this will be reflected in their policies (Interview Supervisor CBR Team).

The Director of the CBCHS concluded about the work with the councils and municipalities, 'The way they have taken ownership of the project, is more than we thought. They pay fees for children in their municipalities. They are actually voluntarily paying fees for children with disabilities. They follow them to whether they are in school. And this was very little effort on our part, but just talking to them about the importance of education and children being self-sustaining, so to us it's a very unexpected result'. Moreover, the partner journalists who were trained and sensitised in SEEPD's workshops, do follow up visits at council sessions, for instance, to act as watch-dogs and

make sure whether these government institutions stick to agreements and commitments they made.

The Councils represent the second route to influence legislation and make policy for inclusive education, as they are in contact and can influence parliamentarians and senators. Parliamentarians and Senators were seen as less influential by the majority of the respondents. Parliamentarians as members of the national assembly or the senate can also propose laws as private member bills, but so far a bill proposed by Parliamentarians has never been made law yet. Commonly a law in Cameroon is proposed by a Ministry, debated and approved by the parliament and finally authorised and signed by the President.

In summary, the third phase of the SEEPD programme is characterised by a shift to target local councils, continuously trying to influence higher scale power-holders and sustain the work on grass-roots level.

5.2 Summary

Indeed, the findings showed that the efforts of the CBCHS and their SEEPD programme resulted in significant outcomes for inclusive education in the last years, although, mainly limited to the North-West Region, mostly achieved by direct strategy.

The outcomes followed by targeting the GCE Board, as confirmed by the majority of interviewees, can be seen as the programmes biggest achievement. It improved up on the life of students with visual impairments not only in the North-West Region but across the country. Nonetheless was the work on the grass-roots level in the North-West Region of great success and at the same time a key strategy to show power-holders also on the national level that inclusive education is quite feasible and not something utopian. The other success on national level were the meetings with the ministry of education and the Prime Minister.

If we recall categories of outcomes according to Kolb (2006), there are two institutional outcomes that the SEEPD programme didn't achieve so far. On the one hand institutional changes, that occur when a civil society or social movement organisation

succeeds in ensuring that a disadvantaged group becomes part of the procedures of formal decision-making. On the other hand, state transformation as the greatest impact an organisation can cause by succeed in creating a new political institution. The SEEPD programme did not seek yet to achieve these institutional changes though, and state transformation is really the last and most demanding one for an organisation to accomplish.

The chart below (see table 5.2) depicts and summarizes the phases of the SEEPD programme. It recaps the problem seen at the time and the advocacy goal formulated, the activities and collaborations established as well as the power-holder targeted and the outcomes achieved.

Table 5.2: Overview of Phases in the SEEPD Programme.

	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3
How was the problem seen?	Low quality of life of PWD/ Not enough CWD in schools	No adequately trained teachers	No binding policy for inclusive education
Advocacy goals formulated?	Improve upon Lives of PWD Inclusive Education	Access to health; education; livelihood increase of social participation	Main-streaming at Policy level/ Sustain gains achieved
What activities undertaken? (Tactics/direct and indirect strategy)	Pilot school Scheme Workshops Lead Persons	MoU GCE Board Collaboration GTTC	MoU and Action Plans with Councils
Where were the activities undertaken? (Arena/Space/Level)	Regional Level	Education Authorities National Level	Regional and National Level
Which Power-holders targeted?	Regional Delegates/Principles /PTAs/ Ministry (Government)	GCE Board GTTC Bambili	Prime Minister Ministry of Education Councils/Mayors
Who were the collaborators and what role did they play?	Traditional and Religious Authorities/Radio Stations/ Stakeholders/CBR	GCE Board GTTC Bambili	Radio Stations Focal Persons Research Partner

What outcomes were achieved?	Pilot Schools Resource Centre	GCE Board (More time and brailled exams GTTC (Changed Cirriculm)	Meeting wit PM and Ministry Policy for accessibility in buildings Partnership with councils
	2009 - 2012	**2012 - 2014**	**2014 - 2018**

6 Resources Mobilized in the SEEPD Programme for Inclusive Education

This chapter examines the resources CBCHS mobilized to achieve advocacy outcomes in the SEEPD programme. It uses the different conceptual resource categories identified in the theoretical chapter and links these to the outcomes identified in the previous chapter. The main aim is to clarify how different resource types contributed to SEEPD's achievement of advocacy outcomes.

The chapter uses the following outline. Section 6.1 recalls and summarises the different resource types conceptualised by Edwards and Kane (2014,207). Section 6.2 and its sub-sections links the resources mobilised and the respective competencies applied to the achieved outcomes, strategies and power-holders.

6.1 Types of Resources and Indicators

Following the conceptualisation of Edwards and Kane (2014,207), this study uses the five resource types to structure the capacity of the CBCHS in the SEEPD programme for inclusive education. It identifies material; human; social-organisational; cultural and moral resources with different indicators. Whilst material resource concerns property and supplies, human resources refers to experience and leadership of the staff. Social-organisational resources refers to the infrastructure and social ties of the organisation. The cultural resource is about the beliefs and values in a society that an organisation can draw up on and the moral resources refers to authenticity and sympathetic support.

The chapter shows, that the CBCHS was indeed able to mobilise all types of resources to a certain extent. All outcomes achieved appeared to require a mix of all resource types, although some have been more important than others to particular outcomes. Indeed the findings converge therefore with the presumption of the resource mobilisation approach, that an SMO must be able to mobilise or control a variety of resources to make outcomes possible (McCarthy and Zald 1977, 1226).

6.2 Types of Resources Linked to Outcomes, Strategies and Power-Holders

6.2.1 Pilot Schools and Resource Centre

The pilot school scheme as the first outcome for inclusive education in the SEEPD programme required first of all material resources in order to conduct workshops for the delegates, principles and teachers at the CBCHS headquarters in Bamenda. To organise and execute these kind of workshops it was necessary to have property, premises and equipment, which requires sufficient funding. Having this base in terms of funding and facilities was emphasised by a senior SEEPD staff member, when he stated:

> I want you to understand that whenever we organise workshops with those
> teachers, lead persons, schools authorities, we pay their transport, we pay
> their accommodation, we pay their feeding, we provide them with writing
> materials, right? All that money comes from where? CBM. Whenever we
> organise workshops for parents of children with disabilities we pay their

transport, we pay their lodging, we give them food, we provide them with writing materials. All that funding comes from where? From the SEEPD programme. And all of those things, you understand?

The material resources in form of sufficient funding, premises and equipment together with human resources, can indeed be seen as the base for all strategies, outcomes and other results of the programme.

Human resources though were stressed by most of the respondents, conceding the SEEPD programme to have a fairly experienced, competent and dedicated staff especially as far as matters of disability are concerned. Asked about the resource strength, the Director of the CBCHS, emphasised 'I think it is the human resources, we prepared our staff very carefully, tailoring their skills to specific job tasks and because of that they were able to achieve objective for SEEPD and health activities in the county. We select and train them carefully and we assign responsibilities very carefully'. The staff was also lauded from various sides. A journalist stated for instance, 'Oh the staff are very, very apt because each time you work with them some have learnt sign language, they are the best and well trained to go about the task' (Interview Radio Journalist). The current programme manager stated however, that there is space for improvement on experience and skills of staff for conducting lobby and advocacy.

Funding was not only an essential component for workshops but it was also necessary for capacity building activities. This was especially important for the education advisor and it showed the link between material and human resources: 'The SEEPD program trained the [Education Advisor]. She has attended workshops in Australia, in Kenya, in England. If CBM did not sponsor these workshops, [...] if CBM did not fund these activities, those trips that she made abroad, we would not have succeeded. Other programme staff have attended workshops in Kenya, in Yaoundé, in other places. It would have not been possible without funding' (Interview SEEPD Staff).

The education advisor also played a key role when it came to establishing the pilot school scheme and the respective workshops. This key role of the education advisor who is at the same time a teacher in one of the pilot schools, namely GBHS Bamenda, was

also confirmed by the former programme manager, when he said, 'She is highly motivated, really really, she has a lot of energy for that and so I remember the very first workshop, she would call all the participants till they came. She called and called and called. So she has personality, she had that personality that was required to influence change at the time [...] And also the fact that the husband has been a regional delegate helps significantly because once they knew this was that, this was that, okay people wanted to identify with this as well.' The opinion of the country coordinator of CBM regarding her key role goes in the same direction: 'I think it took personal motivation and commitment of [the education advisor] [...] The programme was very lucky that in the very first sensitisation programme she caught the fire [...] And honestly I would tell you that has made complete difference to that approach. Not that I'm trying to over-praise her but [...] Yes she has been very key. And because of her personal qualities also her background, that helped a lot in able to approach this, because her husband was one time regional delegate.' Although the education advisor is an outside expert for the CBCHS, she gave leadership to the programme which is a crucial factor for a human resource strength.

The husband of the education advisor is a traditional leader, which makes her a Queen and therefore a respected figure in Cameroonian society, especially in the North-West Region. Moreover the fact that the husband used to be a regional delegate for education points to the social-organisational resource component. The programme made use of that social tie to convince first the delegates and use them to invite teachers and other education authorities to the workshops: 'We started with the regional delegates and from the regional delegates we came to the divisional delegates and the sub-divisional delegates and now the schools. The strategy was that, unless something comes from the top. I mean its difficult to start engage here' (CBM Country Coordinator). The education advisor also remembered, 'But in all of these we were getting authorisation from the regional delegate for basic and secondary education. So if teachers had to come to our workshops they were invited by the delegates. Once you have a letter saying the delegate is inviting you to a workshop, there is no way you can

turn it down. It is compulsory, it is mandatory for you to attend, because it is the delegate inviting you.'

In terms of social-organisational resources, CBCHS made good use of its network of the special schools in Kumbo and Mbingo and stakeholders like SENTTI. In the special schools teachers were already dealing with children with impairments and could therefore help to sensitise other teachers in the workshops regarding inclusive education. Hence, the already existing infrastructure and network enabled the programme to organise and successfully execute those workshops which were crucial to realise the pilot school scheme. The CBM country coordinator told me, 'So we had SENTTI. It was one of the resources in demonstrating inclusion in the training. We had also the special education teachers. They were also demonstrating how we can learn them.'

Cultural resources were mobilised at the same time in the form of issuing brochures in the workshops and creating a website for the programme. Arguing with a rights based approach, that every Cameroonian child has the right to access education was a further use of that resource as it draws up on certain values and norms of the Cameroonian society.

A crucial resource mobilised in the context of the set up the pilot schools, was also the moral component, more specifically the reputation of the CBCHS and the aforementioned endorsement of the regional delegates. The endorsement of these key stakeholders regarding inclusive education was a good use of that resource. But to convince the regional delegates for basic and secondary education, the reputation of the CBC and the CBCHS in particular was a decisive factor. The former programme manager recapitulated that, 'trying to persuade and trying to convince and trying to demonstrate, this is what was going on. The advantage, there were two advantages maybe. One was the image of the organisation already. Yea, knowing oh this is coming from the CBC, is working with CBM it must be something you want to be interested to finding out about.'

The mobilisation of the moral resource component is a recurrent theme also for other outcomes achieved in the SEEPD programme for inclusive education. Especially

the reputation of the organisation in the North-West Region in particular but even on national level it was a crucial factor. A quotation from a journalist indicates a link between reputation and premises: 'This is one of things that is counting for their success. If you go to Mbingo, people are sleeping on the floor to get treatment because they believe in Mbingo you´ll get well and it will be effective […] The CBC were the first people to work on leprosy and that's why the Fon [traditional authority] gave the hill to them and today they see that status if people believe if they take on any mission they will succeed' (Interview Radio Journalist). The CBM country coordinator concluded, 'I think that is also one of the things which gave the SEEPD programme an urge. You know when you tag yourself to a winning brand, you make use of that brand and I think when you go to the Northwest, especially in terms of health care, the CBC is a brand [...] Yea in health care we have to admit that. And so when you come in the name of the CBC, yea so I would not separate the successes of SEEPD from this CBC background'.

Taking into account that material and human resources are the base for all programme activities, the second outcome, the resource centre in the pilot school GBHS Bamenda, required first of all the persuasion of the PTA at that school. As the PTA has influence and financial means they had to be convinced to allocate some amount of money and build the structure for the resource centre at their school. 'Yes, they have money. And so with the PTA also it is a gradual process. You have to bring people to realize the added value of something before they can fully commit into it' (CBM Country Coordinator).

Again the education advisor of the SEEPD programme played a significant role as she is also a teacher at that school. The education advisor was aware of the power the PTA has: 'There was no way we could walk into a school and set up a centre without the PTA. Although they are government created and run schools the community has a lot of influence.' Eventually the PTA was convinced by the education advisor in the name of the programme. The director of the PTA stated, 'We the PTA, we do not have maybe foreseen this far. But CBC helped us to understand that handicapped students are also human beings like every other person. Let us give them their chance. It is not because it

is a public school that we will not insert them in this milieu.' Moreover, he stressed that the education advisor had the necessary skills required to persuade the PTA: 'Yea, the person who are really approached me [the Education Advisor]. She was the one. And even she was the one who choose our school, like the pilot centre with all welcomes. Everything we are thankful to [the Education Advisor]' (Director PTA, GBHS Bamenda). Once the PTA was sensitised, convinced and on board, they even took more responsibilities. Referring to the planed lead person at the school, the director of the PTA further stated: 'Its where the PTA came in. We say don't bother yourself, you have already provide something, we are going to take care of the teachers. And we are paying the teachers at that level.'

In order to convince the principle of GBHS Bamenda in favour of the resource centre it also took the effort of the education advisor and the fact that he had personal interest and nothing to loose. She stated, 'I would say well the first thing was he agreed because we are not asking for money from the school. Secondly, he has a soft spot with children with impairments. He thought if we work with the PTA, there is no law to not accept children with disabilities. It's a blank cheque and the school can manage them. So it's up to the school to take that decision. So it's lucky we have a proactive principle with an open door policy' (Education Advisor SEEPD Programme). These examples show how crucial the education advisor was for the process of the realisation of the resource centre at the pilot school GBHS Bamenda. It pays credit to the human and social-organisational resource component as the leadership qualities as well as the network of the education advisor, as an external expert of the programme, played a deciding role. Also the contact person of the Bamenda-Dordecht Foundation complimented the leadership and therefore the human resource component a well as the network and infrastructure of the organisation:

> Now I can always work with [the programme manager]. I can mail him, he
> wants me to skype with him […] I can be here and then he has time for me
> and then he helps me. But when I'm in Holland, he is also supervisor of the
> project, because it's a part of the health service. When I have an NGO I

depend on what that man will do for me and I can control nothing. But [the programme manager] is controlling for me and he writes very good proposals so I can use them. So when I have a good proposal I can use for the fund raising. Because he knows, he had learnt how to write a good proposal and that's also something you must know but then you are honest and you can show a lot. So also that capacity is very good.

Another important tie and coalition of CBCHS is the one to its former employee and now current CBM country coordinator. He was in fact the one who initiated the partnership with the Bamenda-Dordrecht Foundation at the time. He said, 'I think that was really the entrance to all of this work. We just met during one breakfast at the Baptist centre so many years ago and we started talking about the work and I was also sharing what we were doing [...] So when this was happening I was like okay this is already a development actor with the municipality of Bamenda. And the idea was to let even the school authorities know that you can use that' (CBM Country Coordinator).

The Bamenda-Dordrecht Foundation who participated in financing the equipment of the resource centre was already working with the municipality of Bamenda. The foundation which was founded in 1996 and its partnership with Bamenda is based on a town twinning initiative from 1993 between the two cities. In 2003 a speech therapist of the foundation visited Bamenda and made contact with the CBCHS. Since the integrated school for the deaf in Mbingo was working since 2000, the speech therapist and the foundation got engaged to raise funds for dormitories, classrooms, kitchen and dining hall at the school. Based on that already established partnership, the Bamnda-Dordrecht Foundation did fund raising in the Netherlands for the resource centre at the pilot school in Bamenda. Personal friendships made between the speech therapist and education advisor as well as with the former SEEPD programme manager helped to make further use of that coalitions and is a good example of mobilising social-organisational resources (Interview Bamenda-Dordrecht Foundation).

The religious background of the organisation and again the reputation of the CBC and CBCHS in particular played a role as well in that established partnership. This points

to the mobilisation of the moral resource component. The speech therapist and contact person of the Bamenda-Dordrecht Foundation told me when asked about the CBCHS as a partner organisation:

> For me it's very important to work with a church organisation because people here are honest. When I work with an NGO, the director needs his car, the director needs his laptop, the director needs his camera and when I give a lot of money for funding then they say well, some of that, some of that some of that, because I want a nice car, because I'm a big man. Here they have that from another side. So my money is safe and foundations in Holland prefer to work with organisations like this because they know, the health service are used to work with a lot of money and they have their income. […] So it's more safe for us to work with people like that and for a lot of organisations it's better.

In sum, the resource centre as a target group outcome was made possible through the ability of the CBCHS and the SEEPD programme to convince the principle and the PTA of the school and relate with funding partners like CBM and the Bamenda-Dordrecht Foundation. It required the mobilisation of human resources and importantly social-organisational and moral resources. Without the social ties and network of the especially the education advisor and the reputation of the organisation as such, the resource centre at GBHS Bamenda would have been difficult to realise.

6.2.2 GCE Board and GTTC

Considering the biggest achievement of the SEEPD programme concerning inclusive education so far, the results with of the work with the GCE Board has a similar pattern of mobilisation of resources. Besides, that the director of the GCE Board is a Baptist himself and therefore knew the convention, it was again the education advisor of the programme who was the person that established contact as she knew the director personally. She remembered the first approach with the board: 'Within this time we visited the GCE Board and we talked about the challenges that candidates with

impairments were facing these challenges do not only include the content but the way it is organised, delivered and collected. From the start the GCE Board was very resistant but we kept pushing and so let's give them something' (Interview Education Advisor SEEPD Programme).

Moreover, the director of the GCE Board lauded the education advisor and the staff she brought in: 'Our focal point is [the education advisor], we haven't seen the others, those who she has given have proven their integrity. This is examinations we don't want to many people who aren't reliable to handle exams. Our worries are different to the rest of the public. We want people of certain standing, who are morally upright' (Interview Director GCE Board).

The programme again made use of their network of the special schools and the experienced teachers there to train the staff of the GCE Board in brailing with the embosser. The financial resources the CBCHS mobilised enabled them to donate that embosser though in the first place. Whilst pushing for extra time in the exams of the board for students with impairments the SEEPD programme used rights based argumentation (cultural resource): 'We've got to work together. They are Cameroonians, they have got a right to education. We are working from a rights based attitude, it's not charity' (Interview Education Advisor SEEPD Programme).

Again, the base of sufficient funding to donate the embosser, an experienced staff, the network to the special schools and their teachers and a dedicated education advisor were the foundation of this outcome. Further the social ties, the use of a rights based argument and the reputation and legitimacy of the organisation made it possible to braille examinations, the students with disabilities were entitled to extra time and the visual impaired were recognised in the general regulations of the GCE board.

When targeting the higher teacher training college of the University of Bamenda in Bambili, again we can observe similarities in the mobilisation of resources and the competencies of CBCHS. First of all, because of personal experience, the director of the teacher training college was quite receptive:

Because of my training as a psychologist and teacher or councillor and my

field and experience even in classrooms, in fact I was in my PhD programme with a visually challenged person, a totally blind person, who was my classmate, in Nigeria far back as 1981 [...] Yes, so I saw the need and even my family, not immediate family but extended, we have people with disabilities and we have seen people dropped from school because of attitudes and because there is no support for their education [...] And now you see them clambering to get to university to come to take exams (Interview Director Teacher Training College Bambili).

Another entrance point was once more a personal acquaintance between the education advisor and the Director of the teacher training college. After the SEEPD programme invited teachers and students from the college to sensitisation workshops at the CBCHS headquarters, they continue working together: 'Then having invited the higher teacher training college, they were really interested and we started lobbying with them to start teaching a module on inclusive education [...] They accepted and I taught a module for one semester and then the administration changes and because I don't have a Phd, I only have an MA [...] that was suspended. However, they were still very interested' (Interview SEEPD Education Advisor).

Furthermore the CBCHS has funding to set up a resource centre at the college in Bambili as the education advisor mentioned when talking about her engagement there: 'So they always invite me to do a presentation on teaching and inclusion. We have funds from CBM to set up a resource room for the University of Bamenda so that the student of the college can familiarise themselves with equipment.' To pay credit to the reoccurring element, the director of the teacher training college stated about the work with the CBCHS and their reputation: 'First they have demonstrated a track record. Second, they are quite resourceful. Third I think they have people who have contacts. Additionally, that background of efficiency and competency is known, so they present to funders their experience with results.'

In sum, having sufficient resources on the material and human level to organise and conduct workshops was once more the base that enabled CBCHS to achieve results

with the GCE Board. Further, the use of external experts and their social ties as well as the reputation of the organisation and their experience established the foundation of the outcome with the teacher training college in Bambili.

6.2.3 Prime Minister and Ministry of Education

Having moral resources in form of legitimacy and reputation was key getting access to the Prime Minister or the Ministry of Education. But again, at least for the meeting with the Ministry of Education, a social tie of the education advisor who personally knows the permanent Secretary General of the Ministry of Secondary Education proved helpful. The Secretary General who used to hold the position for the Ministry of Basic Education said in the interview: 'Well, she [the education advisor] convinced me that something very good was happening, and almost in pioneer form, in the North-West. There is that programme, the school centre that they have trained people.' This shows already the agenda setting achievement on that level and the education advisor stated about that meeting: 'I talked specifically about education when we have met with the Secretary State for Basic Education and he promised to send someone to the field [..] The fact they received us after booking audience is important for us and I would say the Prime Minister was very impressed and said what we're doing is the responsibility of the government.'

Besides the name of the CBCHS it might have helped that the Secretary General is an Anglophone and originates from the North-West Region. The same counts for the Prime Minister at the time and he even shares the same denomination as the organisation: 'It is not very easy to meet the minsters [...]. The Prime Minister happens to be a Baptist Christian' (Interview SEEPD Programme Manager). The religious background and reputation of the CBCHS was also mentioned by the Secretary General: 'The CBC cannot do things without bringing that background of religion and faith into it. Because they are a faith organisation and that does not disturb the government because the school system in Cameroon, the formal education system in Cameroon was planted by the churches, especially the Baptist who were the pioneers [...].'

Though everyone can request an audience with the Ministry of Education and with the Prime Minister, the fact that CBCHS is a well-known and respected organisation that could show also results regarding the topic at stake, might have helped getting time and attention. For the agenda setting with those national level power-holders, the experience, legitimacy and standing of CBCHS were seemingly quite important. Besides having results to show, it also required the mentioned mix of resources and, consequently this outcome is supported by the organisation's moral resource.

6.2.4 Councils and Mayors

Finally, the outcomes yielded from sensitisation and working with the local councils in the North-West Region were again achieved by mobilising a mix of resources. Starting with the policy outcomes for the accessibility of all public buildings in the municipalities of Belo, Kumbo and Jakiri, that would consequently counts also for school buildings, were achieved by the sensitisation of the Mayors local Councils. SEEPD staff members stated that the mayors in question attended the sensitisation workshops at the CBCHS headquarters and changed their opinion also due to the awareness raising radio shows of the programme. Although the outcomes are not the result of a concerted lobby and advocacy effort, it came along because the CBCHS was able to mobilise, material, human and in this case especially cultural resources. The programme did not directly target Mayors and Councils for accessible buildings but nonetheless general sensitisation efforts yielded results.

The other outcomes with Councils started with the mobilisation of the social-organisational resource component as the research partner CIS identified the local councils as the development actor to work with in the first place. According to CIS the councils would gain competencies due to the aforementioned process of decentralisation. The CIS research partner confirmed the key role when talking about the education advisor and underscored the importance of workshops and media sensitisation when it comes to inclusive education:

Yes, she [the education advisor] is the instrument of this programme and

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everywhere they [SEEPD] are going they are talking about inclusive education. She is a part of the team, she is the head of the trainings and now they are trying to make the activities more visible. They were on the national television, on the national radio [...]. They have some community radio stations around the region, where they are trying to talk about what SEEPD is doing and which also includes the area of inclusive education (Interview CIS).

Additionally, for the established partnerships with the Council, workshops acted as a starting point for further collaboration. Prior to these workshops however, the human resource component was mobilised to visit the councils and convince them to come to the workshops in the first place, as the Mayor of the Bamenda II council indicated: 'They came here again and again and I saw what they were out for was for the good of the community and I thought it was good for us to put our hands together for the good of the community. I got staff here who were trained and now they want to carry out another person for a focal person. We have nominated that person and Monday they will attend the training for the focal persons'.

Alongside a Memorandum of Understanding that was signed with the Councils, an action plan was compiled and the appointed focal person acted as a link between the SEEPD programme and the Council. The focal person of the Bamenda II council lauded the staff and the workshops of the SEEPD programme: 'The people are very experienced and they have the knowledge of everything, it's very high. I enjoyed the program, it was wonderful.' This indicates once more a good mobilisation of material and human resources to organise and conduct those workshops.

Another factor of the human resource component that can be seen as crucial resource is leadership. The director of the CBCHS is a well respected figure and was involved in the sensitisation of the mayors and councils himself: 'The director of medical services [CBCHS Director], there was a seminar in GBHS Bamenda and when I came there I saw in practical terms what was inclusive education [...] and that particular day taught me a lesson' (Interview Mayor Bamenda II).

Also the supervisor of the CBR team provided the programme leadership in this context and was crucial for establishing the relationship to the councils. Besides human resource mobilisation in form of experienced staff and leadership, again the reputation of the CBCHS was ostensibly helpful, as the Mayor stated, 'I know them very well, since childhood, because I have attended for health service there when I was child and even when I grew up I have tooth, eye problems, health problems in general and I go to the Baptist health services and I know them well. I think they have a very wide spectrum of service as and not just for me, for Cameroonians in general' (Interview Mayor Bamenda II).

An external ally of the organisation confirmed the positive standing of the CBCHS: 'It is only the SEEPD program that has succeeded to bring Mayors together, the CBC has a status that people respect and believe. So when they call the Mayors they are there and most of them react to the CBC' (Interview Radio Journalist). This reputation is strengthen by their Christian background as it gives the organisation legitimacy and credibility. Both are indicators of the moral resource component that the CBCHS was able to mobilise. The supervisor of the CBR team concluded in this context: 'It is very important, CBC is a Christian body with all of the departments, but then you have the CBCHS is credible but it is already a Christian organisation, so it attracts people' (Supervisor CBR Team).

Anew the variety of resources the CBCHS was able to mobilise, enabled the SEEPD programme to first identify the councils, then target them, working with them and eventually convince them by continuously visiting them, organising and conducting workshops and broadcasting sensitisation programmes on radio and television. At the same time played the name and standing of the organisation as well as the religious background an important and enabling role for achieving the outcomes.

6.3 Summary

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the CBCHS was able to mobilise all types of resources according to the conceptualisation by Edwards and Kane (2014,207). Table

6.1 summarizes the role that different kinds of resources played in achieving outcomes. Material and human resources served as the base for all activities, outcomes and results. Therefore, the combination of resources included for all outcomes was material and human resources.

The monetary resources from their funding partners enabled the CBCHS' indeed to carry out that programme in the first place. This includes, besides having premises and supplies, hiring and paying adequate staff in order to organise and execute workshops for instance, as one of the programmes crucial tactic.

In terms of human capital, CBCHS's strong expertise in the field of disability proved to be pivotal. The issue of leadership also proved to be of key importance. Different people in the organisation gave the programme that element of leadership through expertise and prestige. The director is a respected figure as well as the education advisor and other staff members in key positions such as the CBR supervisor that have that element of leadership too. Having an external expert such as the education advisor is another indicator of a human resource strength that was indeed used and crucial for almost all outcomes achieved. While some interviewees said that also another person with the same expertise could have done the same job, it seems that her standing, social ties and network were quite important as well to open some doors.

Network and social ties are also the key words for the social-organisational resource component. Due to the long history and experience of the convention and the health services in particular the service for people with disabilities, the infrastructure of the organisation is quite pronounced. The SEEPD programme as a cluster created a network of stakeholders they could use for different activities. With some stakeholders the programme could have worked though closer together and make more use of. SENTTI for instance as the only private teacher training college with a certificate from the government was not well integrated in the organisations effort for inclusive education. The work with associations of people with disabilities (APWD) on the other side gave the programme legitimacy and ownership to people with disabilities.

The cultural resource component was made use of in various ways. SEEPD drew

upon the rights based argument that every Cameroonian child has the right to education. This resource component is completed by the cultural productions of the programme. The various radio and television programmes as well as the brochures and the website enabled CBCHS to sensitise both allies and the general public and certain power-holders.

The first four resource types are quite regular for an organisation to have or mobilise. What probably made the difference in case of the CBCHS was their reputation and standing in the North-West Region in particular but also beyond. As mentioned earlier, the CBC and CBCHS in particular can bee seen as a 'brand' especially in the North-West Region.

Looking closely, this reputation of the CBCHS as the re-occurring element works on different layers. First of all the organisation is seen as Baptists including their long history in the country. Secondly it is about the convention as an organisation and finally, it involves the self-contained standing and repute of the health service as an own entity in the convention. All three layers gave the CBCHS and consequently the SEEPD programme legitimacy and credibility.

Concerning the derivation of the resources mobilised, it is only the material resource in form of funding which truly derives externally. The question that is raised by Cress and Snow (1996, 1091), to what extent this external support could possibly lead to a certain co-option or control by the external sponsor, can be also proposed to the case of the CBCHS and the SEEPD programme. The CBM created SEEPD together with the CBCHS and other stakeholders as part of their strategy in the whole country and therefore influenced goals and tactics within the programme and the organisation, to a certain extent.

Table 6.1 : Outcomes Linked to Resources Mobilised and Competences Applied.

Outcomes Achieved	Resources Mobilised	Competences Applied
Pilot School Scheme	Material Resource	⏰ organise/conduct workshops ⏰ pay/provide for

	Human Resource	material 🕐 demonstrate feasibility 🕐 access outside experts 🕐 convince delegates 🕐 set up website 🕐 convince delegates using reputation
	Cultural Resource Moral Resource	
Resource Centre	HR/SOR	🕐 establish and use social tie
	Human Resource Moral Resource	🕐 convince PTA 🕐 give credibility
Brailled and More Time in Exams/ MoU + Recognition of Visual Impaired by GCE	Material Resource HR/SOR HR/CR Moral Resource	🕐 donate embosser 🕐 provide staff 🕐 convince GCE Board 🕐 give credibility
Change of Curriculum GTTC	Material Resource	🕐 provide for resource centre
	Human Resource	🕐 use external experts 🕐 use social tie
	Moral Resource	🕐 demonstrate track record and use reputation
Meeting and Sensitisation of Power-Holders	Human Resource SOR Cultural Resource Moral Resource	🕐 use of social tie 🕐 show feasibility 🕐 sensitise 🕐 establish meeting
Policy for Accessibility	Material Resource Human Resource Cultural Resource	🕐 organise workshops 🕐 conduct workshops 🕐 broadcast radio shows
Partnership/Action-plans/MoU with Councils	MaR HR/CR/MoR	🕐 organise workshops 🕐 conduct workshops 🕐 convince councils 🕐 give leadership
	SOR Moral Resource	🕐 identify councils 🕐 give credibility

(MaR=Material Resource; HR=Human Resource; SOR= Social-organisational Resource; CR=Cultural Resource; MoR=Moral Resource)

7 Conclusions

PWDs are one of the largest minority groups worldwide that face discrimination and marginalisation within society. The UN Development Program (UNDP 2006), estimates that 80% of PWDs live in developing countries. Despite an increased welfare in these developing countries, large numbers of CWDs, who are the most vulnerable among PWDs, remain excluded and their caretakers face severe difficulties. In most countries, CWDs are confronted with many obstacles which prevent them from claiming their rights and sustain their marginalization.

To promote the rights of CWDs and their caretakers through lobby and advocacy, CSOs can play an important role. Efficient lobby and advocacy efforts requires a clear understanding of the factors that determine its success. Currently, the success factors of lobby and advocacy, regarding CWDs in the context of development countries, remain poorly understood.

This study focuses on the SEEPD programme for inclusive education in Cameroon which is implemented by the Cameroon Baptist Convention Health Services (CBCHS). The efforts of the CBCHS in the North-West Region in Cameroon in promoting the rights and the quality of life of PWD through lobby and advocacy can be seen as part of a larger movement in the country towards the same cause. Due to the lack in the NGO literature regarding success factors of lobby and advocacy especially for PWD, social movement theory seems to be the best developed approach to explain lobby and advocacy efforts of an organisation such as CBCHS. From the resource mobilization approach in social movement theory, it is known that organisational capacity is a crucial factor to achieve lobby and advocacy outcomes (Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans 2009, 22-23). This thesis therefore seeks to enhance our understanding of the role that organisational capacity plays in lobby and advocacy. As such, the main question of this study is as follows:

How has the organisational capacity of the 'Cameroon Baptist Convention Health Services' shaped the outcomes of their lobby and advocacy strategy for CWDs in the SEEPD Programme during the period 2010-present?

As this study focuses on the organisational capacity and how the mobilisation of resources shape lobby and advocacy outcomes of a SMO, it is important to clearly conceptualise these resources. The resource mobilization approach focuses on the variety of resources that a SMO must be able to mobilize or control to make action (and therefore success) possible (McCarthy and Zald 1977, 1226). The term resources in this approach can mean anything from material, income, services, to non-tangible resources like authority, leadership or credibility.

To answer the central research question of this study of how the organisational capacity of the CBCHS shaped the outcomes of their lobby and advocacy strategy for CWD in the SEEPD programme from 2010 to present, three respective sub-questions were formulated. These questions refer to the strategies applied, outcomes achieved and resources mobilised in the last six years.

7.1 Overview of Major Findings

The CBCHS with its SEEPD programme managed to achieve seven different outcomes concerning inclusive education in the period between 2010-2016. In its first phase of the programme the CBCHS realised that there are not enough CWDs in main-stream schools. To show the government that inclusive education is possible within their own setting, they set up seventeen pilot schools for inclusive education in the North-West Region. In one of the schools a resource centre was established. It shows a positive change of an actual implementation. To achieve these outcomes SEEPD targeted Regional Delegates of Education, Principles and the Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs). They organised workshops on inclusive education and installed a lead person in each pilot school.

Indirect tactics were at the same time a crucial part of the SEEPD programme to sensitise allies and the public opinion on matters of disability rights and inclusive

education in particular. The programme worked together in different research partnerships, had Community Based Rehabilitation (CBR) teams in the field, used radio and television programmes as well as religious and traditional authorities for sensitisation of various allies.

The second phase of the programme targeted power-holders on a higher level and achieved agreements with the General Certificate of Education (GCE) Board and the Government Teacher Training College (GTTC) in Bambili of the University of Bamenda. A Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed with the GCE Board and they further agreed to braille exams for visually impaired students, give them more time during the exams and recognise them in their general regulations. The agreement with the GTTC in Bambili entailed a change of curriculum and a module for inclusive education.

In the third and current phase of SEEPD the CBCHS reached out to high scale power-holders like the Ministry of Education and even the Prime Minister. The main focus was, however, on working with Councils to achieve disability inclusive policies at the municipal level. Action-plans plans were established, MoUs signed and a 'focal person' installed in each council.

To achieve these outcomes, the CBCHS did mobilise a variety of resources. Edwards and Kane (2014, 207) offer a feasible conceptualisation with five types of resources which turned out to be suitable for this study. They distinguish between, material; human; social-organisational; cultural and moral resources. This study shows that the CBCHS able to mobilise all types of resources to a certain extent.

Material Resources

The mobilisation of material resources in form of sufficient funding, premises and equipment together with human resources functioned as a base for all outcomes and results of the SEEPD programme. It enabled the CBCHS to carry out the SEEPD programme in the first place. Further it permitted the CBCHS hiring and paying adequate staff in order to organise and execute workshops, as one of the programme's crucial tactic.

Human Resources

Certainly, the human resource or capital was a central factor to all achievements of the programme. Especially the dedication of the staff, moments of leadership and the access to the education advisor as an external expert were essential elements.

Social-organisational Resources

From the start, SEEPD could build upon the network of CBCHS. Over time, however, this network was expanded depending on the programme's needs and direction. Particularly useful were also the networks and social ties of key individuals in SEEPD. As mentioned earlier, it seems that the standing of the education advisor as well as her social ties and network were quite important to almost all the outcomes achieved.

Cultural Resources

SEEPD drew upon various societal values and beliefs. Two sets of values and beliefs proved particularly useful. First, the CBCHS used a rights based argument, that every Cameroonian Child has the right to education. Second, in its communication SEEPD made the religious argument, that every child is a child of god. These arguments were complemented by various cultural productions of SEEPD. Radio and television programmes as well as brochures and a website enabled CBCHS to sensitise both, allies and the general public and certain power-holders.

Moral Resources

Finally, the credibility and reputation of the CBCHS in Cameroon and in the North-West Region in particular, and therefore the moral resource component, was a crucial factor for strategies and outcomes in the SEEPD programme. This standing and reputation arrives first of all from CBCHS' Baptist background and their work as a convention. Further, the decades of experience in health service and service for PWDs in particular gave the SEEPD programme credibility and legitimacy.

Overall, it can be argued that certain resources and the accompanied competences were more important than others to certain outcomes. Although important for sensitising the general public, the cultural productions were probably less important to realise meetings and convince high scale power-holders than the right social ties and the reputation of the CBCHS. Sufficient material and adequate human resources (especially including access to outside experts) as a base together with a right network and the reputation and standing of CBCH as a 'brand' was the crucial resource combination to shape the outcomes in the SEEPD programme for inclusive education in the last six years.

Furthermore were the outcomes shaped to a certain extend due to the fact that the material resources have an external derivation. The CBM as the funding partner had influence during the set up of the programme and therefore as well on tactics, goals and subsequently outcomes (Cress and Snow 1996, 1091).

7.2 Limitations

Some limitations of this research and study have to be addressed at this point as well. As this research is a case study, there is a missing comparison with another, similar organisation with analogue efforts and in favour of the same goals to draw broader conclusions on the mobilisation and importance of resources. This leaves room tough for further research.

7.3 Final Reflections

This study has shown that certain resource strength of lobby and advocacy organisations can help to achieve their goals and make desired outcomes possible. It seems that the network of an organisation and their reputation and standing are crucial factors for lobby and advocacy work.

Furthermore, are the access and endorsement of influential, external experts with already existing social ties helpful in these efforts. Partnering with other organisations with similar goals is recommended to benefit from each others expertise and influence.

Finally, is the substantive expertise of the staff concerning the topic at stake important but selective expertise in lobby and advocacy enables an organisation to be more concerted in their approach.

8 Epilogue

Although the courses before the field work are also supposed to prepare you for life as a researcher in a developing country with a profoundly different cultural and a foreign environment, you only realise what it means to do field work, once you are really there and experience it. As a tall blond guy in Cameroon you realise also very quick that nothing in a foreign place is more exotic than the foreigner himself. A little song, sung by children on the streets whenever they saw me, always reminded me about that fact. 'White man with the long nose' was the song that were on there lips when they saw me and looked at me with their huge eyes and a big smile on their faces.

I tried to keep that in mind whenever we were 'in the field' doing research, as it is always important how people, especially interview respondents see you as a foreign researcher and therefore an outsider. It has also consequences for the data you gather. On the other side, no matter how open minded you approach a new country or situations in it, you can not escape your years of socialisation in Europe and certain standpoints that come along with that. This fact is something a researcher should be aware of as well.

Cameroonians, as far as I experienced it, are very hospitable, open and sociable people and they make it easy for you to feel comfortable and even home. We encountered always a warm welcome and people were really open to talk, which was a great advantage for our research. Moreover, as my interest is really in qualitative methods of data collection, this research gave me a great opportunity to apply and widen these skills.

This research taught me also a lot about the topic of our case study. I did not know much about inclusive education before, also not about the situation in Europe. It was truly interesting to find out that also the situation in Europe is far from being great, as far as inclusive education is concerned. At the beginning of the research I was kind of sceptic though what we could possibly offer to the organisation, as they saw us as kind of assessors of their programme. It was really nice to hear though, especially after the

learning event with the 'World Café' session, that many staff members told me in person how valuable our new and fresh outside perspective was for their future work.

As aforementioned in the preface and the methodological chapter, when I continuously talk about 'us' I mean, beside me, my research partner Zuleikha Mohammed from the University of Amsterdam. Without her it would surely not have been the same time and research. I would consider myself as a true team player and for me it was of great importance having always the chance to discuss persistently with her about the research, problems that we faced and in general about our experiences in Cameroon. Although at the beginning we probably needed both time to adapt, eventually we complemented each other and were, at least in my opinion, a great research team. This research team was completed by the motorcycle that I bought at the beginning of our time. It made us quite mobile and independent from public transportation. It was a great advantage for the research, since we could go to places that public transport would have never reached.

The time in Cameroon was also accompanied by certain situations you would call challenging or rather interesting. One of which was the when I was stopped with my motorcycle by the police and had to bribe the officer. It was truly an uncomfortable situation since I did not know how to behave and because of the attitude of the gendarme. Apparently I was missing a vignette for the roads in the North-West Region and the officer was really upset about me not knowing about this fact. It was really interesting at the same time, since I experienced first hand what Anglophone friends told me about Francophone Gendarme in the North-West Region, who did not know how to speak a word in English. Anglophones often feel mistreated by these authorities in their own region. Eventually the unfriendly gendarme let me go after quite obviously telling me what was the price for it.

Another very interesting, inter-cultural experience was the interaction with the traditional authorities, the 'Fons' in Cameroon. Especially in the North-West Region these traditional rulers are quite important figures of society and there are certain customs to follow when interacting with them. You are not suppose to shake their

hands, unless they offer it. At times it requires clapping your hands three times and go to your knees a bit. You are also not suppose to shake the hand of a Queen, one of the several wives a Fon usual has. A bracelet made of shells usually indicates if someone is the wife of a Fon. An inter-cultural trap I stepped in more than once.

All in all, was the time in Cameroon as a field researcher rewarding on many layers. First of all, I think I grew as a researcher. I really enjoyed moreover being in the field and talking with the people. Coming from a historical background it was nice to change my sources from books to human beings. Apart from that, it was really exiting and interesting to get to know a new country and culture, especially one as divers as Cameroon. Despite my broad inter-cultural experiences that I made already, this time in Cameroon was something really special to me. I made good friends, have good memories and it was surely not the last time for me in Cameroon.

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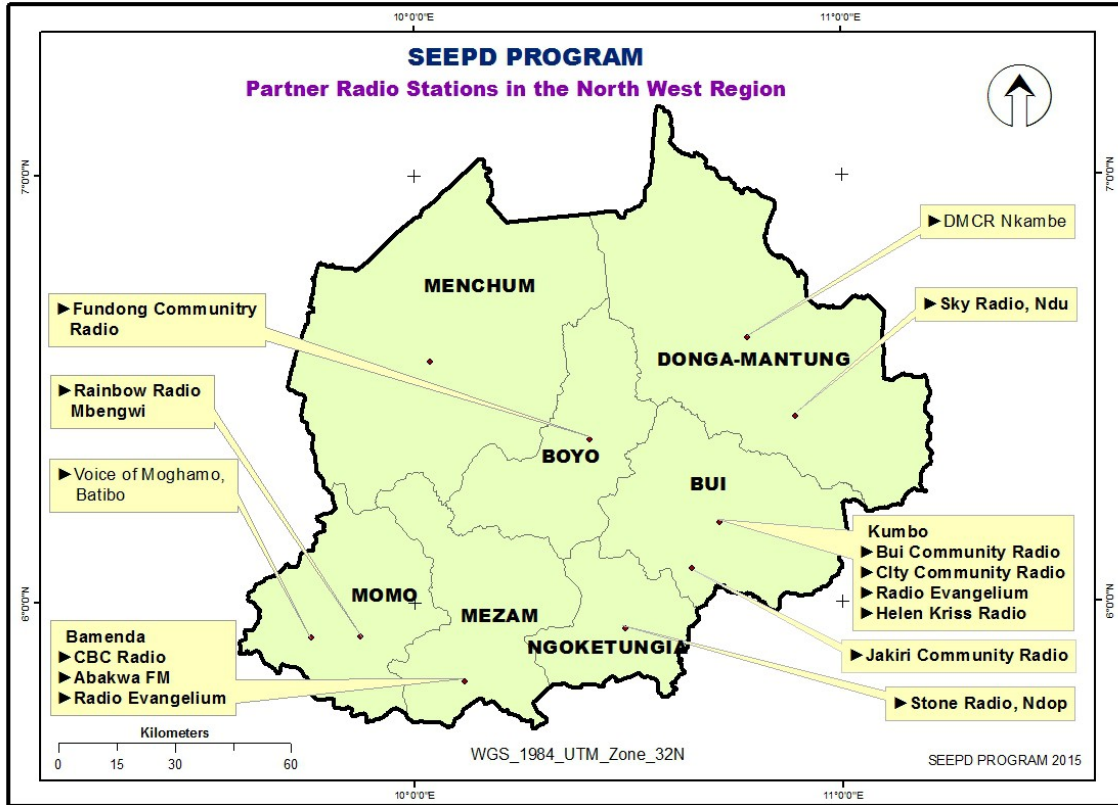
https://www.un.org/development/desa/disabilities/

http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/disability

Appendix No. 1: Councils implementing inclusive development in the North-West Region, Cameroon.

Source: SEEPD Programme 2015
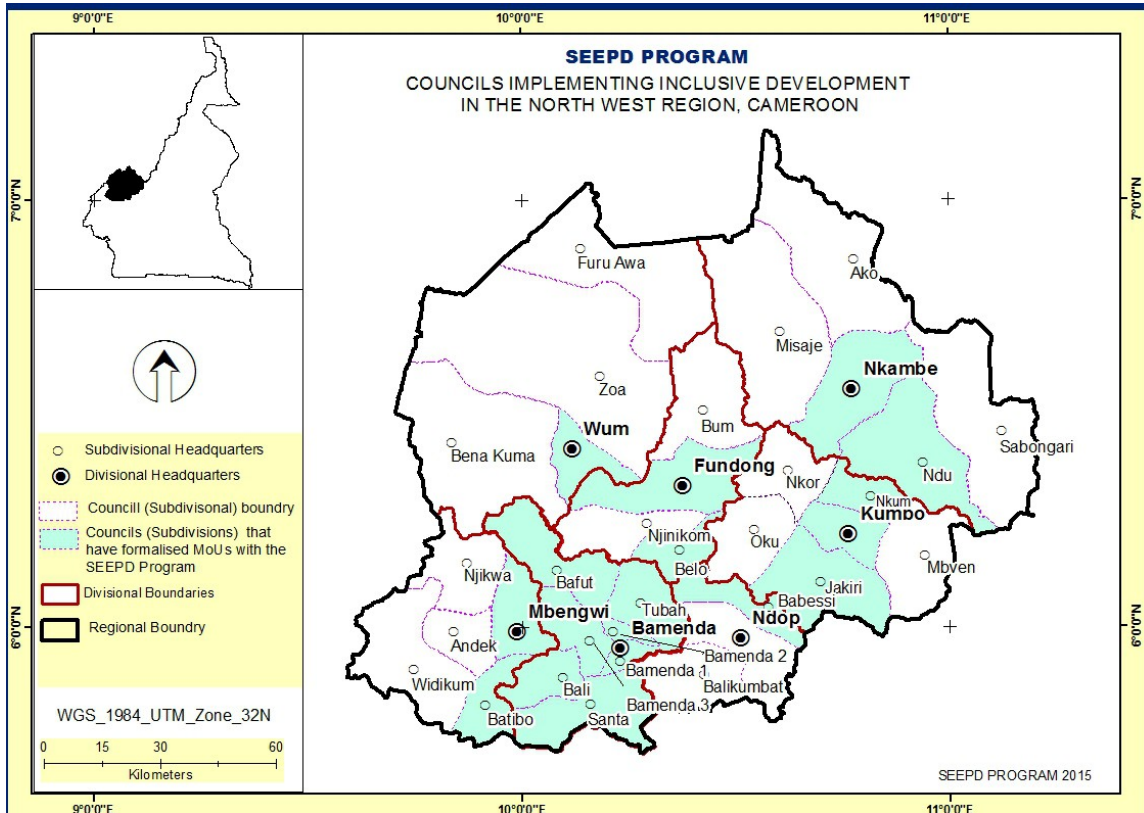
Appendix No. 2: SEEPD Programme's Partner Radio Staions in the North-West Region, Cameroon.

Source: SEEPD Programme 2015

Appendix No. 3: Municipalities supporting CWDs in the North-West Region, Cameroon. January – June 2015.

Source: SEEPD Programme 2015.