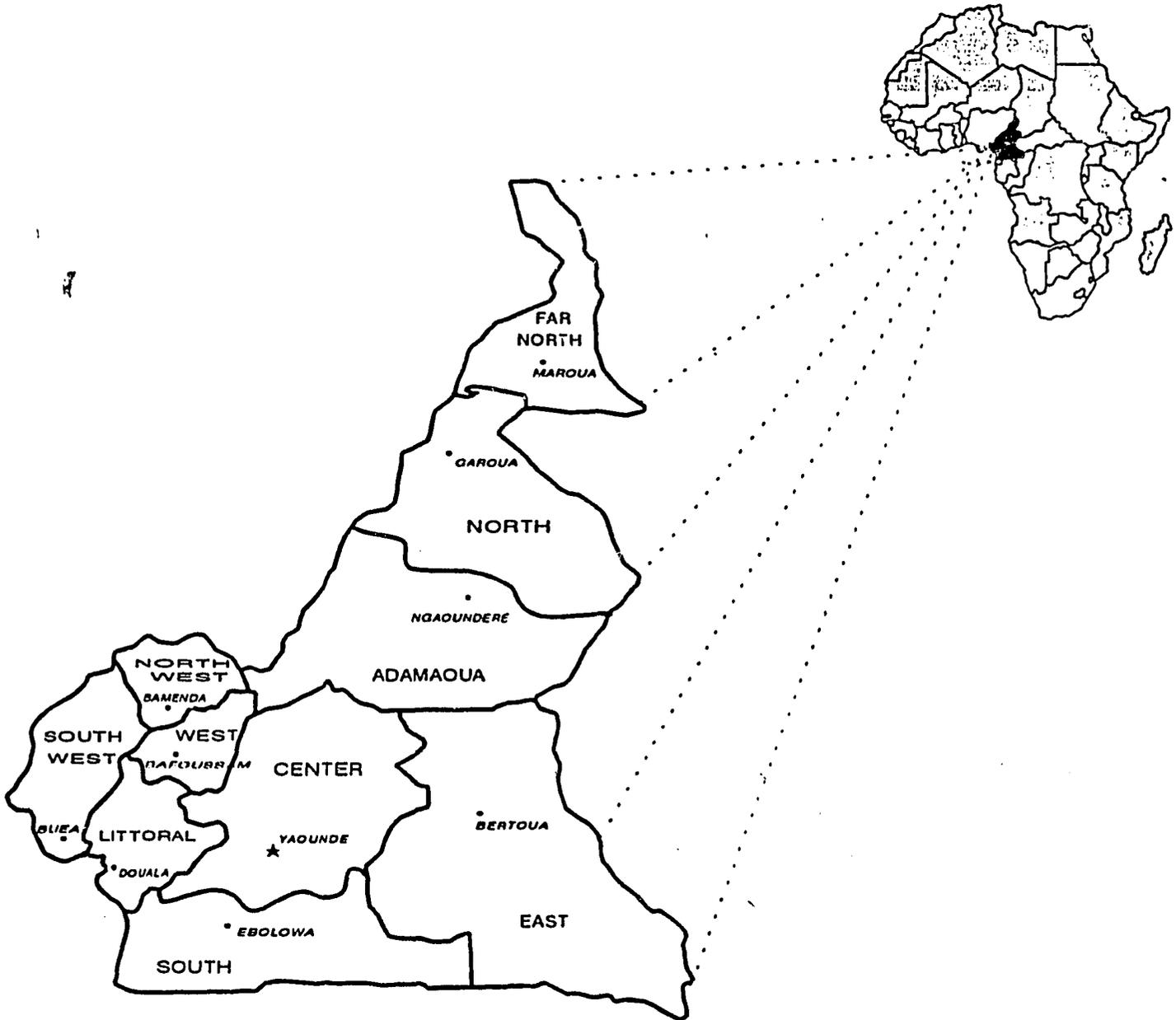


**A Synthesis of Four  
Legacy/Impact Studies of  
USAID Assistance to  
Cameroon**



**U. S. Agency for  
International Development  
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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

<b>AEP</b>	<b>Agricultural Education Project</b>
<b>AFGRAD</b>	<b>African Graduate Fellowship Program</b>
<b>AIDS</b>	<b>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</b>
<b>AIDSCAP</b>	<b>AIDS Control and Prevention Project</b>
<b>AIDSTECH</b>	<b>AIDS Technical Support</b>
<b>ASPAU</b>	<b>African Scholarship Program of American University</b>
<b>CDSS</b>	<b>Country Development Strategy Statement</b>
<b>CFAF</b>	<b>Franc de la Communauté Financière Africaine (Cameroon currency)</b>
<b>CRSP</b>	<b>Collaborative Research Support Program</b>
<b>DFA</b>	<b>Development Fund for Africa</b>
<b>FAA</b>	<b>Foreign Assistance Act</b>
<b>FSSRP</b>	<b>Fertilizer Sub-Sector Reform Program</b>
<b>GDP</b>	<b>Gross Domestic Product</b>
<b>GRC</b>	<b>Government of the Republic of Cameroon</b>
<b>HRD</b>	<b>Human Resource Development</b>
<b>IMF</b>	<b>International Monetary Fund</b>
<b>INTERAF</b>	<b>Inter-African Scholarship Program</b>
<b>MOPH</b>	<b>Ministry of Public Health</b>
<b>NCRE</b>	<b>National Cereals Research and Extension</b>
<b>NGO</b>	<b>Non-Governmental Organization</b>
<b>NPA</b>	<b>Non-Project Assistance</b>
<b>NRMS</b>	<b>Natural Resources Management Support</b>
<b>PHC</b>	<b>Primary Health Care</b>
<b>PRAMS</b>	<b>Program of Reform in the Agricultural Marketing Sector</b>
<b>PREPS</b>	<b>Policy Reform in the Export Processing Sector</b>
<b>PTMS</b>	<b>Participant Training Management System</b>
<b>PVO</b>	<b>Private Voluntary Organization</b>
<b>ROTREP</b>	<b>Tropical Roots and Tubers Research Project</b>
<b>RPHC</b>	<b>Reorientation of Primary Health Care</b>
<b>SAP</b>	<b>Structural Adjustment Program</b>
<b>USAID</b>	<b>United States Agency for International Development</b>

## **I. BACKGROUND**

### **A. GEOGRAPHIC/HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

Cameroon is a middle-sized African country with an area of 475,000 square kilometers, roughly equivalent to the combined area of the New England and Middle Atlantic states. Located on the "hinge" between West and Central Africa, it incorporates the physical and human features of both. It contains tremendous ecological and climatic diversity. The south is primarily tropical rain forest. Moving north, the terrain changes to grasslands and, finally, to Sahelian semi-desert. The west and northwest are hilly and mountainous, including Mount Cameroon at 4100 meters, the highest peak in West Africa.

Cameroon is blessed with a very strong natural and human resource base - fertile soils, abundant rainfall, sunshine and a relatively well-educated population. The human population is estimated at twelve million and has a growth rate of approximately 3 percent. As in many African countries, high rural-urban migration is typical. However, rural population densities vary considerably. Ethnic diversity is an extremely important characteristic of Cameroon's population. There are over 200 different ethnic groups with different languages, customs and social systems. There are two official languages, French and English. The majority of the population is francophone.

Cameroon was first colonized by the Germans. After World War I, it was divided by the League of Nations between the French and the British. Cameroon achieved independence from France on January 1, 1960. In October of 1961, French Cameroon united with British Cameroon to establish a federal republic. The country was governed as a federation until 1972, when under the rule of its first president, Amadou Ahidjo, the United Republic of Cameroon was formed. In 1984, the official name was changed back to the Republic of Cameroon.

### **B. ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SETTING**

Until the mid-1980s, Cameroon stood out as a relative success story on the African continent. Two key factors to this success were the discovery and exploitation of oil reserves and the country's tremendous agricultural diversity and potential. Advances in living standards and capital accumulation were dramatic during the 1970s and accelerated markedly to the mid-1980s when offshore petroleum was discovered. Beginning in 1986/87, however, export earnings fell sharply, the result of both a fall in world coffee and cocoa prices and of reduced production and lower prices for petroleum. Since its peak in 1985/86, Cameroon's GDP has been contracting in nominal as well as real terms. The contraction of the Cameroonian economy was partly a result of heavy-handedness, mismanagement and inefficiency on the part of the public sector. Rather than cut public expenditure in the face of external shocks, the Government of the Republic of Cameroon (GRC) continued to expand public and para-public entities, financing their expansion and maintenance with a combination of external borrowing and petroleum funds. As revenues dwindled and debt

service grew, arrears mounted leading ultimately to default and failure to comply with World Bank structural adjustment conditionality. Suspension of the World Bank structural adjustment and IMF stabilization programs followed in 1992. The resumption of the World Bank structural adjustment program, a 50 percent devaluation of the currency (CFAF) in January 1994, and a new agreement with the IMF in March offer hope for slow recovery. Yet, sustained economic growth cannot be assumed in the near future.

From 1960-1968, President Ahidjo consolidated the country's myriad political parties into one. Ahidjo resigned in 1982 with the smooth accession to power of his successor, Paul Biya. President Biya maintained the one party system until the early 1990s when opposition parties began to organize and were finally given legal status. The first multi-party election was held in March 1992 for the National Assembly. However, progress on democratization in Cameroon was set back during the presidential election of October 1992. Billed as the first "multi-party" presidential election, the results were called into question by major opposition parties, and a report by the U. S. National Democratic Institute concluded that the process had been "seriously flawed". Political difficulties continue to plague the country. Despite debates held in 1993, a new constitution with more representative and democratic structures has not been adopted. Municipal elections have been postponed, leaving the ruling party in control of local councils until 1995. Also, there are continuing reports of human rights abuses. The prospects for full political freedom and popular participation are bleak.

## **II. PURPOSE, USE AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDIES**

### **A. WHY THESE STUDIES?**

#### **1. USAID Mission Closure**

In November 1993, a decision was made to close the U. S. Agency for International Development (USAID) Mission in Yaounde, along with twenty other missions worldwide. Reasons given for the closure were: 1) the need to respond to the new realities of the post-cold war world, entailing a narrower focus of USAID's development priorities, concentrated in fewer countries; 2) the need to devote increasingly scarce resources to those countries which demonstrate significant progress towards political and economic reforms; 3) Cameroon's economic performance and lack of progress on democratization had, regrettably, failed to match those of many other African countries; and 4) political reform following the flawed presidential elections in late 1992 had advanced very little.

## **2. Need to Document Program Legacy/Impact**

Following the decision to close the Mission, USAID Cameroon decided to conduct assessments that would: 1) describe program accomplishments, 2) assess development impact, 3) document the legacy of the USAID assistance program, and 4) highlight key lessons learned. These assessments were carried out by independent consultants. The exercise, which began in February 1994, covered the three key sectors of USAID's historical involvement: Health and Population, Agriculture and Natural Resources, and Private Sector/Policy Reform. The final impact assessment reports for each accompany this synthesis document.<sup>1</sup> Shortly before the decision to close, the Mission had also conducted a study on the impact of its thirty years of support to long-term and short-term training of Cameroonians. A summary of the findings of that report are also included in this synthesis document.<sup>2</sup>

### **B. WILL THESE DOCUMENTS BE USEFUL?**

These reports will be of significant value to USAID. The lessons learned should be of particular interest to those overseas missions that are continuing to design and carry out activities in similar strategic areas. The reports will also be made available to interested bilateral and multilateral donors, international organizations and the U. S. Congress. These four studies demonstrate the legacy left behind and document the impact of USAID's presence in Cameroon. Anyone who questions whether U. S. development assistance money has been well spent will find these documents worth reading.

### **C. SUMMARY OF METHODOLOGIES USED**

The impact assessments of USAID's Agriculture and Natural Resource, Health and Population, and Economic Policy Reform sectors were initiated as a result of the Mission closure. Consequently, similar means of collecting information were employed in these three assessments. Methodologies included extensive reviews of available project documentation; interviews with key project personnel; and observations at project sites.

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These are:

Franklin C. Baer and Man-Ming Hung. *Assessment of USAID-funded Health and Population Assistance*, March 1994.

John Eriksen and Peter Bloch. *Economic Policy Reform: Impact Assessment of USAID-Supported Reform Initiatives in Cameroon, 1989-1994*, Associates in Rural Development, Inc., March 1994.

Peter Hartmann and Peter W. Wyeth. *The Legacy and Impact of USAID's Agricultural and Natural Resources Programs, 1987-1994*, May 1994.

2

AMEX International, INC. *Impact Evaluation of USAID-Sponsored Participant Training in Cameroon, 1961-1993*, November 1993.

The fourth assessment, the participant training assessment, differs from the above mentioned in that it was initiated not as the result of the closure but because a comprehensive evaluation had not been done in the thirty-two year period in which training occurred. As a result, the evaluation is a more extensive one, and the methodologies employed differ from those used in the other accompanying impact assessments.

#### **1. Health and Population**

USAID contracted Franklin C. Baer and Man-Ming Hung, two independent consultants, to assess its primary health care, endemic and epidemic disease control, family planning, and AIDS-related projects. Evaluation methodologies employed by this team included: an extensive review of USAID project and Ministry of Public Health (MOPH) documents; interviews with key project personnel and MOPH and donor representatives; and visits, interviews, and focus-group discussions at the provincial, district and health center levels in six of the ten Cameroonian provinces.

#### **2. Economic Policy Reform**

This assessment examines USAID's Fertilizer Sub-Sector Reform Program (FSSRP), the Program of Reform in the Agricultural Marketing Sector (PRAMS I), and the Policy Reform in the Export Processing Sector (PREPS). In producing this assessment, Associates in Rural Development, Inc. consultants John H. Eriksen and Peter Bloch conducted a comprehensive review of available documents; they interviewed key players involved in reform efforts in Cameroon over the last seven years; they observed a wide range of activities at program/project sites in the Center, West, North West, and Littoral Provinces; and they observed a PRAMS I Intra-Annual Review Session.

#### **3. Agriculture and Natural Resources**

This report examines nine projects in the following areas: agricultural research, education, seed multiplication, statistics/policy, credit unions, cooperatives, and natural resource management. Material for this assessment was gathered by Peter Hartmann and Peter W. Wyeth, two consultants, through a comprehensive review of available documents on each project; interviews with GRC staff and technical assistants still in country; and a field trip to the North West and West provinces to visit project sites.

#### **4. Participant Training**

The objectives of this evaluation, prepared by AMEX International, Inc., were threefold: 1) to determine the effectiveness and impact of the long- and short-term training done by USAID Cameroon over the last thirty years; 2) to determine the impact of these training programs on human resource development in Cameroon; and 3) to propose how USAID Cameroon might proceed in developing future training programs.

Three standard data collection methods were used: intermediate (non-random survey), case study, and secondary (existing USAID data). A statistically significant, random sampling of returned participants was not developed because of time and logistical constraints, cost of locating and travelling to participants, and difficulty in reconstructing participant lists from the 1960s.

The evaluation team developed, tested, and adjusted a questionnaire to discover facts about the usefulness of skills acquired through training and to identify specific changes introduced as a direct result of training. Individual participant records entered into the USAID Cameroon Participant Training Management System (PTMS) provided the secondary information needed to do a mailing to 750 participants to announce the impact evaluation. The 360 responses to this mailing formed the basis of the team's survey population. Potential interviewees were randomly selected from groups categorized by city of residence, gender, short term vs. long term, and public sector vs. private sector. The team interviewed in person 100 returned participants in seven Cameroonian cities. Data from these interviews form the basis for many of the report's findings.

Quantitative analysis of interventions to develop human resources presents a great challenge because it requires isolation of elements which deal with human character, behavior, organizational psychology, and culture. With this in mind, it is important to note that the reliability of the data provided in this assessment cannot be entirely assured due to the fact that evaluators had to rely in large part on assessments made by participants.

### **III. USAID GOALS AND OBJECTIVES; EVOLUTION OF STRATEGY**

#### **A. OVERVIEW OF USAID ASSISTANCE**

USAID has over thirty years of development experience in Cameroon, focusing primarily on agriculture (including livestock) and health. It has also provided assistance in primary education, transport infrastructure and macroeconomic reform. By 1993, the program was concentrated in the areas of primary health care (PHC) and family planning, food crops research and outreach, liberalization and privatization of agricultural input (fertilizer) and output (arabica coffee) markets, and agricultural policy and planning. Working closely with the Government of the Republic of Cameroon (GRC) and other major donors such as the World Bank, USAID pioneered major advances in agricultural research, agricultural policy reform, agricultural education, privatization in agricultural marketing, and the development of sustainable, primary health care systems.

In the health sector, USAID's major achievement has been to contribute to a multi-donor effort to develop a financially sustainable, effective, and efficient primary health care system to provide basic preventive and curative services to the population of Cameroon. In the agricultural and natural resource sectors, USAID has contributed significantly over the last

15 years to national and regional food security, agribusiness development, trade, and the sustainable management of natural resources. USAID has placed major emphasis on strengthening the capacity of several key GRC institutions, including some with regional impact, and non-governmental organizations to provide essential services to the agricultural and rural sectors.

In the mid- to late-1980s, with USAID and other donor support, the GRC moved progressively toward market liberalization and the promotion of private sector initiatives. USAID's program for the agricultural sector evolved accordingly. Several important non-project assistance programs were launched, all of them oriented toward the private sector and policy reform. These included the privatization of fertilizer importation and distribution, along with the gradual elimination of state subsidies; the liberalization of the marketing of arabica coffee; and the establishment of a free trade zone regime as a means of increasing employment, diversifying production and increasing exports.

#### **B. DEVELOPMENT FUND FOR AFRICA (DFA) AND COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY STATEMENT (CDSS)**

The Development Fund for Africa (DFA) was enacted by Congress in 1987. The DFA was a new initiative to meet what were perceived as the pressing needs for African development. The broad goal of USAID programs under the DFA was "to encourage economic growth that is broad-based, market-oriented, and sustainable".<sup>3</sup> The four strategic objectives of the DFA are to: 1) improve management of African economies by redefining and reducing the role of the public sector and increasing its efficiency, 2) strengthen competitive markets so as to provide a healthy environment for private-sector led growth, 3) develop the potential for long-term increases in productivity, and 4) improve food security. In 1989, USAID Cameroon developed a strategy for 1990-1994, which was in line with the DFA Action Plan and the development objectives of the GRC. This *Country Development Strategy Statement (CDSS) 1990-1994* focused on three specific strategic objectives: improving the efficiency of government services, reducing the role of the government in the economy, and developing a market-oriented private sector. It is important to note that the purposes of the agricultural projects continued to reflect objectives in food security and productivity.

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The Development Fund for Africa Action Plan, May 1989.

## **IV. MAJOR IMPACTS AND LESSONS LEARNED**

### **A. HEALTH AND POPULATION<sup>4</sup>**

#### **1. Overview**

The economic crisis of the late 1980s has had a major impact on the functioning of Cameroon's primary health care (PHC) system. The Ministry of Public Health (MOPH) budget declined sharply in this period, and the GRC cut rural health care by 50 percent. Health facilities lost most of their operating budgets, and irregularly paid salaries eroded the performance of MOPH personnel. The supply of drugs to rural facilities, already inadequate, virtually ceased. The result was that the health system ceased to function in a coordinated, effective manner, and health center utilization dramatically declined.

In response to this crisis, the MOPH, with the assistance of USAID and other major health donors, developed a new health delivery strategy called the Reorientation of Primary Health Care (RPHC). The strategy emphasizes community co-management and co-financing of health services, decentralization of health planning and management to the level of the health district, and full integration of preventive and curative services and health management systems. Beginning in 1990, USAID reformulated its entire health and population portfolio to support this integrated, systems-strengthening approach to health development.

The accompanying assessment of USAID Cameroon's health and population assistance reviews the successes and lessons learned from the following programs:

- **Maternal Child Health/Child Survival: SESA I (MCH/CS I)**  
Objective: Develop health management systems and introduce the RPHC in two provinces
- **Maternal Child Health/Child Survival: SESA II (MCH/CS II)**  
Objective: Develop health districts and increase PHC coverage
- **Reform of Health Delivery System (RHDS)**  
Objective: Introduce RPHC into four divisions of Far North Province
- **Technical Assistance for AIDS and Child Survival (TAACS)**  
Objective: Develop a National Health Management Information System to support the RPHC

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<sup>4</sup>

The material from this section was taken from Franklin C. Baer and Man-Ming Hung. *Assessment of USAID-Funded Health and Population Assistance*. March 1994.

- **Health Constraints to Rural Production, Phase I (HCRP I)**  
Objective: Schistosomiasis research, training, and mapping
- **Health Constraints to Rural Production, Phase II (HCRP II)**  
Objective: Field test measures to integrate Schistosomiasis control into the RPHC
- **Ivermectin Distribution Program (IDP)**  
Objective: Develop a model to integrate Ivermectin distribution into the RPHC
- **Control of Diarrheal Diseases (CDD)**  
Objective: Improve diarrheal case management and integrate CDD into the RPHC
- **Data for Decision Making (DDM)**  
Objective: Increase capacity to detect, confirm and respond to epidemics
- **Family Health Initiatives (FHI)**  
Objective: Formulate and implement family planning program
- **National Family Health Project (NFHP)**  
Objective: Integrate family planning into the RPHC program within both public and private health facilities
- **AIDSTECH/AIDSCAP**  
Objective: Plan and implement programs to combat the spread of HIV/AIDS

## **2. Impact/Legacy**

Despite the fact that the project portfolio is young (major programs beginning between 1988 and 1991), the assessment team found that USAID and the Cameroonian Ministry of Public Health made remarkable progress in the development of innovative approaches to programming in the health and population sector. Through policy dialogue, targeted technical assistance, and operation research, USAID helped shape the RPHC, a comprehensive health reform program to improve PHC services and restructure the health system. In support of the RPHC, USAID and the other major health donors successfully lobbied the GRC to enact landmark legislation to permit the creation of community managed, revolving-fund drug stores at public health facilities (in 1990), and to allow community management of revenues from service fees at hospitals (in 1992). These laws permitted the development of cost recovery strategies that promote the long-term, financial sustainability of PHC services. The RPHC provided USAID with a mechanism to coordinate its health and population portfolio, to focus its projects on developing sustainable health systems, and to play a key role in forging closer donor coordination.

The chief accomplishments by USAID and MOPH health and population activities include: 1) the development of a provincial medical supply system to provide essential drugs and medical supplies to health facilities, and to cover the essential, non-salaried, recurrent costs of health management systems and services; 2) the decentralization of medical supply logistics, health information, health care budgeting, and training to the provincial level, and the deconcentration of supervision to the health district level; 3) the establishment of functioning community co-managed, co-financed health centers providing basic health services; 4) the establishment a pilot health district; and 5) the integration of disease control and family planning programs into the PHC system.

The many activities devoted to the expansion of family planning made considerable impact. Key among these are the awareness-raising activities aimed at decision makers and the development of a National Population Policy adopted in 1992; and the conducting of mass media campaigns and other activities to help raise awareness and acceptance of family planning in the general population. The integration of family planning into the RPHC program has permitted rapid increase in access and use of modern contraceptives in Cameroon.

Program success in AIDS prevention is evidenced most clearly by increased condom use, the single most effective means to prevent the spread of AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases, among target groups. The social marketing program in Cameroon has the second highest per capita condom sales in Africa - approximately six million condoms were sold in 1993.

Promising intermediate impact indicators<sup>5</sup> measuring the accessibility and utilization of PHC services further illustrate the success of USAID's health and population programs:

- Population access to primary health care in three USAID-assisted provinces increased from 0 percent in 1990 to 33 percent in 1993.
- In the Far North Province, the percent of women enrolled in prenatal care rose from less than 20 percent in 1991 to 60 percent in 1993.
- Results from a 1993 study in the Adamaoua Province indicate the vaccination coverage in areas with reoriented health centers reached 46 percent while in the province as a whole, coverage reached only 27 percent.
- The number of family planning service sites increased from 50 in September 1991 to 217 in March 1994; in this same time frame, contraceptive prevalence, as measured by the indicator couple years of protection (CYP), increased from 50,000 to 90,000.

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Due to the short duration of the projects under discussion and the fact that long term indicators change very slowly over time, the assessment concentrated on intermediate impact indicators to measure health and population program impact.

With respect to the prospects of sustainability, the assessment team found that USAID-funded health and population projects in Cameroon made excellent progress in creating the managerial capacity to sustain an integrated health system and in developing the financial potential to cover most recurrent costs using in-country resources.

### **3. Lessons Learned**

The assessment of USAID's Health and Population assistance enumerates recommendations/lessons learned in primary health care, disease control, AIDS, and family planning. The following is a small sampling of some of the more important findings.

- By choosing an integrated health systems approach to health in Cameroon, and by implementing projects to assist the MOPH in making the transition from selective primary health care to RPHC, USAID has probably had a much greater, wider and more permanent impact on health care than a selective or narrowly focused approach.
- It is necessary to plan for a mix of donor support in developing integrated health systems. Most donor agencies are unable, or unwilling, to provide the full spectrum of assistance required to develop integrated health systems.
- Even with a clear national policy for the RPHC, there is a continuing need for marketing the concept of integrated health systems to donor/partner agencies to avoid "verticalization" of assistance.
- Implementation of decentralization should begin at the system level that has the capacity for planning, management and supervision over the functions to be decentralized.
- Priority should be given to developing model health districts to serve as replicable models for national decentralization.
- The capacity of local NGOs (non-governmental organizations) to manage district referral hospitals and to participate in, or even completely manage, district health services is a potential resource which is just now being seriously explored. Given the current economic situation in Cameroon, there is a need to maximize the use of existing, limited health infrastructure and resources by actively pursuing greater public/church coordination.
- The creation of a vertical national health intervention program is important to launch a specific disease control program (or family planning services), however, following general acceptance, emphasis should be placed in decentralization and merging responsibilities to regions and health districts, and completely integrating the intervention as a health center and outreach

activity.

- A social marketing program cannot stand alone; it needs complementary activities such as counselling and targeted information, education and communication (IEC) activities. Furthermore, IEC needs to be linked to all support components and program interventions.
- Mechanisms must be found to involve women in the planning and management of health centers and outreach programs.

In conclusion, the high level of interest shown in USAID Cameroon's health systems development approach, both by USAID's Africa Bureau and other Missions, suggest that the lessons learned in this context may provide useful guidelines for existing and future health projects, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa.

## **B. PRIVATE SECTOR/POLICY REFORM<sup>6</sup>**

### **1. Overview**

The economic policy reform impact assessment report addresses three program/project activities. By the late 1980s several constraints to broad based economic growth had been identified by USAID, the international donor community, and the GRC. The World Bank and the IMF united to assist the GRC in a fundamental structural adjustment program (SAP). All three USAID supported policy reform programs were in line with the World Bank-led SAP, the DFA and the 1990-1994 CDSS. They are:

- the Fertilizer Sub-Sector Reform Program (FSSRP) - a component of the larger SAP initiative for the phased elimination of all government subsidies on agricultural inputs and government withdrawal from direct involvement in input procurement and distribution;
- the Program for the Reform in Agricultural Marketing Sector (PRAMS) - designed and implemented to demonstrate the benefits derived from removing constraints to private sector production, processing and marketing of a major revenue-producing, export commodity, i.e., arabica coffee; and
- the Program for Policy Reform in the Export Processing Sector (PREPS)<sup>7</sup> -

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<sup>6</sup> Information has been taken from John Eriksen and Peter Bloch. *Economic Policy reform impact assessment of USAID-supported reform initiatives in Cameroon, 1987 - 1994. Final Report.* Associates in Rural Development, March 1994.

<sup>7</sup> The PREPS program was later derailed by the Washington decision to withhold NPA from the project in June 1993 and the subsequent adoption of Section 599 of the FAA by Congress. Sect. 599 prohibits USAID financing for activities that create new or relocate present jobs that otherwise would remain based in the United States.

designed to create an industrial free zone regime - a component in a larger effort to modernize Cameroon's national investment code, attract greater private investment in Cameroonian enterprises, and generally facilitate greater private sector participation in the local economy.

All activities were deliberately structured to have a "liberalization" component and a "privatization" component.

The DFA provided an impetus for more creative programming of resources, including Non-Project Assistance (NPA). USAID Cameroon's use of NPA provides substantial evidence that a judicious mix of funding resources can result in effective projects that impact directly on the most disadvantaged groups in society. In the case of PRAMS, 180,000 small holder farmers in Cameroon benefitted.

## **2. Impact/Legacy**

According to the study, the three programs were instrumental in achieving numerous policy and institutional reforms that were necessary for the liberalization and expansion of private-sector led markets in Cameroon. Some of these are: 1) liberalization of the fertilizer import and distribution system, 2) elimination of government controls over the arabica coffee marketing chain, 3) establishment of more transparency in coffee marketing, 4) promulgation and dissemination of a new cooperative law, and 5) creation of the privately-managed Cameroon Free Zone Regime.

The major impacts of the policy reforms accomplished through these programs are:

- Farmers are responding to the new commodity and input price relationships by reallocating resources, and the attitudes of many decision-makers about the abilities of the farmers to make their own resource decisions are changing.
- Significant gains in farmer incomes have resulted from cost cutting and improved marketing measures adopted by the cooperative supported by PRAMS.
- Farmers are responding to their greater empowerment within the cooperative structure and to differential commodity prices.
- Over the period FY 1989/1994, the GRC was able to reduce--or reprogram--expenditures by about CFAF 10 to 12 billion, or US \$30 to 40 million, a significant budgetary savings.
- PREPS had significant impacts on Cameroon's export processing sector in terms of increased investment, export revenues, and creation of new jobs.

The study also discussed factors which may have reduced the impacts of economic policy reforms. These included political instability and systemic paralysis, poor sequencing of reforms, and concentration on improving business operations in one single cooperative organization. The sustainability of the economic policy reforms are also affected by several factors.

### **3. Lessons Learned**

The authors concluded that the lessons learned from the USAID Cameroon experience are:

- Policy reform and implementation of privatization activities are very labor intensive.
- Sectoral and cross-cutting approaches to policy reform are not inherently antagonistic and can often be synergistic.
- The sequencing of policy reforms is extremely important.
- Successful policy change tends to be evolutionary, not revolutionary.
- Successful policy change requires the involvement and support of a cadre of strongly committed senior government policy makers.
- It is vital to minimize the number of institutions directly involved when attempting to initiate and implement policy changes.
- Major policy changes must be based on collection and analysis of solid field data.
- Successful policy change requires support and commitment at both the grassroots and senior policy levels.
- Policy agendas need to be sharply focused, and implementation activities need to flow logically from the specific reforms to be attained.
- A successful policy-change process usually requires the support of more than one major donor.
- Policy reform activities take place within highly specific geographic, social and sectoral contexts. USAID missions should approach each collaborative opportunity as an individual case calling for its own particular design.

## C. AGRICULTURE AND NATURAL RESOURCES<sup>8</sup>

### 1. Overview

Substantial USAID support to the agricultural sector in Cameroon dates from the late 1970s. During the 1980s, the bulk of USAID's agriculture and natural resource portfolio, reflecting food security and productivity concerns, was in research and institutional building. Nine agricultural and natural resource projects were studied for impact and lessons learned. The table on page 15 shows their purposes, duration and total funds allocated.

There have been both constant themes and shifts in USAID's program of assistance to the agricultural sector in Cameroon. Earlier objectives (1982) concentrated on the rural economy and natural resources through strengthening the government's institutional capacity. Later objectives (1990-1994) emphasized the private sector. The strategic objectives of the DFA effectively bridge the stated aims of the earlier and later periods. The DFA objectives are particularly appropriate for judging project impact because all of USAID's agricultural projects which are being reviewed began before the 1990-1994 CDSS was completed. Their purposes, which reflect the earlier concerns with food security and productivity, were not changed in 1990. The three recent and smaller projects were quite different in intent and scope: they involved collaboration between U. S. and Cameroonian non-governmental organizations. Policy reform and private-sector efforts in agriculture, including fertilizer and arabica coffee sub-sectors and export processing, are discussed in the economic policy reform assessment.

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Material for this section was taken from Peter Hartmann and Peter W. Wyeth. *The Legacy and Impact of USAID/Cameroon's Agricultural and Natural Resources Programs 1987 - 1994*, May 1994.

**USAID AGRICULTURAL SECTOR PROJECTS IN CAMEROON (1976-1994)**

<i>Project</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Year/Funding</i>
<b>National Cereals Research and Extension (NCRE)</b>	Increase food production through developing the institutional capacity for quality research into corn, rice, sorghum and millet and facilitate utilization of research results by farmers.	Phase I - 1979-1985 \$7.7 million Phase II - 1985-1994 \$36 million
<b>Tropical Roots and Tubers Research (ROTREP)</b>	Improve farmers' welfare by increasing productivity of cassava, yams, cocoyams and sweet potatoes through development of locally acceptable disease resistant varieties and rapid seed multiplication techniques.	1986-1994 \$9.2 million
<b>Agricultural Education (AEP)</b>	Assist the GRC in creating an agricultural university at Dschang, able to train personnel needed to adapt modern agricultural technology to local conditions.	Phase I and II 1982-1993 \$51.3 million
<b>North Cameroon Seed Multiplication (NCSM)</b>	Increase productivity of small farmers in food crops and strengthen cereal production through establishing a system for producing and distributing seed for peanuts, sorghum, millet and corn.	Phase I - 1976-1983 \$1.5 million Phase II - 1982-1988 \$15.8 million
<b>Cameroon Credit Union Development (CCUD)</b>	Assist Cooperative Credit Union League improve its internal management, supervision of affiliated CU's and services to them, and to expand its network.	Phase I and II 1980-1992 \$4.8 million
<b>Agricultural Management and Planning (AMP)</b>	Institutionalize sector planning and statistics capability in the MINAGRI	1979-1987 \$9.1 million
<b>Cameroon Agricultural Policy and Planning (CAPP)</b>	<i>(Original)</i> Strengthen and institutionalize the GRC capacity to develop economic and agricultural policy and to improve the planning process in the agricultural and livestock sectors. <i>(Revised)</i> Assist the GRC in carrying out sound economic policy and investment planning, and also data gathering and analysis for the agriculture and livestock sectors.	1988-1993 \$9.7 million
<b>Tadu Dairy Cooperative Society (TDCS)</b>	Develop the services and operations of the Society and support its efforts to improve milk quality and quantity in the Tadu area, increase farmers' income and meet increasing consumer needs.	1991-1994 \$161,874
<b>Korup Biodiversity Research</b>	Develop national capacity to conserve rain forest biodiversity; determine numbers, distribution and ecological role of forest elephants and apply findings to forest management.	Phase I, II and III 1988-1993 \$672,000
<b>PVO/NGO, Natural Resources Management Support (NRMS)*</b> * also centrally funded	Support Grant to CARE/Cameroon to support activities of NGO's in natural resources management.	1993-1994 \$587,000

## **2. Impact/Legacy**

In their totality, the research, education and cooperative programs leave behind a strong legacy of increased capacity for research, management and networking. Impressive facilities for education and research are also part of the USAID legacy. The success of USAID's work is indisputable. The authors concluded that "the benefit stream of the U. S. investment in Cameroon is only at its infancy." Other projects were not so successful. An effort to privatize seed multiplication failed and an attempt to enhance the GRC's capacity in data collection and policy analysis ended with mixed results.

**Agricultural Research:** In assessing the impact of agricultural research projects, the study restricted itself primarily to the NCRE project. Both the ROTREP and the Bean/Cowpea CRSP have not yet reached the point where their technologies are having a measurable impact. However, research results from these projects are continuing to impact at an increasing rate. Impacts of NCRE are:

- Cameroon has doubled its maize production from six years ago. In the highlands of Cameroon, USAID-produced or -adapted varieties of maize provide about 40 to 60 percent of the national tonnage. In the lowlands, USAID-produced, early maturing varieties are being used.
- Cameroon has also doubled its rice production in the last ten years. The domestic production/import ratio has been reversed from 1:4 to 4:1.
- USAID-produced varieties are credited with contributing to one third of the increase in sorghum production from 1984 to 1991.
- USAID-produced food crop varieties are also being sent to other African countries.
- NCRE, as a research project, succeeded in fulfilling its objectives. It leaves behind important research impact and a capacity to carry on the research. The downside is that this capacity is housed in an inappropriate institutional mode which is cumbersome and costly.

**Education:** The Agricultural Education Project (AEP) was unique both in its problems and its potential as a major national and regional contributor to human resource development. USAID leaves behind a highly qualified faculty, excellent facilities, and a different way of teaching and learning. The impact of AEP will be further realized when its students enter the job market and begin to make a difference. However, the U. S. has already developed a capacity for self education and technical innovation and contributed to public-sector efficiency by merging three agricultural institutions into one. Moreover, the university is serving the broader community (local businesses, NGOs and private citizens) through its Professional Development Center.

**Seed Multiplication:** The North Cameroon Seed Multiplication Project worked toward building the capacity of the Cameroonian parastatal responsible for seed supply. When government funds failed to keep this organization going, project strategy changed to privatization. An accord in 1991 between Pioneer Seed and the GRC was greeted with fanfare, but two years later the company announced its withdrawal for reasons never made fully clear. The legacy left behind is a seed multiplication farm, processing facilities, and Cameroonians trained in seed production.

**Statistics/Policy Analysis:** Two projects were established to help the GRC develop a system for collecting and publishing agricultural statistics and a capacity for policy analysis. The legacy of these projects are the documents left behind and the ability to carry out surveys. The data from the surveys have been used in compilations of important statistics and studies; and the Ministry of Agriculture has survey capability. However, the system has proven to be too expensive for the GRC to maintain. Also, the impact observed from the policy studies carried out under the project has varied from considerable to none.

**Credit Union Development:** Due in large measure to 17 years of USAID support, more than 78,000 Cameroonians are now members of 263 functioning credit unions and more than 2,100 credit union staff have been trained in accounting and management. These credit unions have been important in cushioning the impact of economic decline for increasing numbers of people and providing a safe, accessible haven for their funds. Though businesses have benefitted, two thirds or more of the impact of all loans has continued to be in helping people meet domestic needs: education, building, and health.

**Cooperatives:** Support to the Tadu Dairy Cooperative was in the form of training and technical assistance in artificial insemination, animal husbandry, and improved milk handling. All cooperative members are benefitting from the program through improved nutrition and health. Women will benefit additionally because tradition requires that any income derived from milk remain with them. There are also environmental benefits because the pastures are now being better managed.

**Natural Resources:** Cameroon's natural resources are critical to national and regional food security and also to the global environment. Its forests are part of the second largest tropical forest in the world and one of the most important reservoirs of carbon and biological sources of animal and plant life on the continent. USAID supported three initiatives to address key problems in this sector - the Korup, NGO/PVO/NRMS, and NCRE projects. USAID's leadership in the environmental sector was critical to the growth and maturity of Cameroonian NGOs. The U. S. efforts in natural resources leave behind a higher degree of awareness and sensitivity to natural resource issues. Also left behind are the beginnings of an important knowledge base about the flora and fauna of the Korup National Park. USAID has also succeeded in linking several activities to address the acute problem of declining soil fertility in Cameroon.

## **D. PARTICIPANT TRAINING<sup>9</sup>**

### **1. Overview**

Since 1961, USAID has been training Cameroonians in the United States and in third countries through bilateral, regional and central projects. No bilateral projects have been solely devoted to human resource development (HRD), but major sector-focused projects traditionally include components designed to upgrade the level of Cameroonian professionals through training staff of a particular institution. Five hundred and forty four Cameroonians have received long-term training in undergraduate and graduate degree programs in the U.S. and third countries financed by USAID and their home country employers. A total of 619 employees of Cameroonian institutions attended short-term training courses organized at U. S. universities, government agencies and private firms. As mentioned earlier, although there have been numerous project evaluations, this was the first comprehensive evaluation undertaken to assess the impact of the training components of these projects.

As USAID Cameroon's program portfolio evolved over the years, training remained a priority. USAID-sponsored training can be divided into three phases. Phase one (1961-1973) HRD initiatives targeted Cameroonian secondary school graduates for further training in fields deemed essential to the newly independent nation. The primary vehicles for this training were ASPAU, INTERAF and AFGRAD which offered many Cameroonians long-term training in U. S. and African universities. Fields of study were dominated by the "hard sciences" (for example, engineering, economics, and physical sciences), but also included "soft" disciplines (such as English, linguistics, and education).

Phase two (1974-1981) of HRD reflected lower USAID assistance levels for Cameroon. Only 93 of the total 544 long-term trainees funded since 1961 were trained in this period. With the shift in focus to helping "the poorest of the poor", USAID Cameroon bilateral aid was concentrated in the north of Cameroon and focussed on rural development, livestock, seed multiplication, cereals research, and water supply. During this period, HRD mirrored the bilateral project emphasis in agriculture. Fields of study increasingly emphasized hard sciences, agriculture and management.

In 1982, USAID Cameroon's largest single bilateral activity - the Agricultural Education Project (AEP) - was obligated. Phase three of HRD (1982-1993) began, and HRD took on an increasing importance as a viable, mission-managed instrument through which project objectives could be attained. AEP alone trained 55 participants in long-term degree programs. Major activities were also initiated in health, cereals research, roots and tubers research, and cooperative/credit union support. These bilateral projects all had training components. Although overall USAID assistance leveled off after 1985, expenditures for

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<sup>9</sup> Material for this section has been taken from AMEX International, Inc. *Impact Evaluation of USAID-Sponsored Participant Training in Cameroon, 1961-1993*. November 1993.

### **3. Lessons Learned**

Lessons were learned for development efforts in general, and specifically in privatization, increasing public sector efficiency, policy reforms, and sustainable development. Major lessons are:

- **USAID leadership is vital to the success of its portfolio. A well-designed program with some degree of flexibility can be expected to have a greater impact than one where this leadership is absent.**
- **The private sector, while offering certain advantages, is not a risk-free approach to development. As in the case of Pioneer, a company will pursue its own self-interest.**
- **The large benefits of networking and linkages have been well demonstrated in USAID's agricultural research program.**
- **Large-scale formal surveys of the kind supported by the policy analysis project are not now a sustainable means of collecting agricultural data in Cameroon.**
- **Policy studies can be expected to have an impact only if one of the following two conditions prevails: 1) policy makers have specific problems they want to deal with; or 2) donors provide funds to carry out a reform and insist that the policy analysis be carried out.**
- **The record of project success appears good when a well-established American NGO with wide development experience assists a local NGO with the same aims.**
- **Coordination among donors is a perennial recommendation difficult to bring about because goals among donors differ. However, it is important enough to deserve continued attention.**

training continued to increase. Both in-country and overseas training support have been provided in major programs and projects, namely those targeting fertilizer and coffee market reform, health finances, maternal and child health care, AIDS, and private sector and export promotion.

## **2. Impact/Legacy**

The impact of participant training in Cameroon was assessed using responses from a participant survey (for further details on methodology see section IIC. *Summary of Methodologies Used*, pp. 3-5)

**Individual Level Impact:** One hundred percent of the respondents to the survey indicated that their work performance improved as a direct result of the training they received, and a large majority (81 percent) also introduced changes, usually of the management type. Although many returned participants also received promotions, the study was unable to confirm that this was a direct result of training. English language fluency was attained by over half of the trainees and most, particularly long-term trainees, maintained contacts with professional colleagues.

**Institutional Level Impact:** Although the transfer and application of skills and knowledge to USAID-targeted institutions is incomplete, many key positions at Cameroonian institutions have been filled by U. S.-trained experts as the result of USAID investment since 1980 in improved agricultural research. In addition, non-participants, particularly colleagues and family members, benefitted from skills acquired by returned participants.

**National and Regional Level Impact:** Survey responses indicate that training efforts focussed on replacing expatriates with Cameroonians trained in undergraduate-level basic sciences and engineering were a success. In addition, although difficult to quantify and correlate directly to training, many USAID-trained participants are introducing changes at important national institutions.

**Special Mission Targets - Impacts on Women:** Although no significant improvement occurred in increasing the number of long-term degree training opportunities for women, access to short-term training improved. Women reported increases in self confidence, enhanced professional standing, and changes in respect to the role of women as a result of training.

## **3. Lessons Learned**

A number of recommendations for achieving high-impact training were gleaned from the evaluation process. The first lesson acknowledged is the importance of reinvesting in the returned participant with short-term "retraining" programs to update the knowledge base of selected Cameroonians, especially those in USAID's priority sectors. Secondly, the report suggests targeting key institutions for additional training which fulfill criteria for limited

training support. In addition, in light of minimal institutional support, it suggests arranging for focussed management training for cadres at selected priority institutions. Finally, a recommendation is made to create a network among returned participants to serve as a mechanism through which USAID can realize some of its strategic objectives and improve the management of training.

Related to the private sector, recommendations were made to: 1) aim training to address specific, priority sector needs; 2) support the expansion and development of NGOs; 3) upgrade the quality of training offered by local providers; 4) create informal private-sector coordinating groups in several regions to expand the participant candidate pool and ensure the input of professional nationals; and 5) provide focussed, business-oriented, short-term courses for private-sector, senior managers or owners of firms operating in USAID's priority sectors.

Further suggestions were made to increase the role of women in development. Establishing targets and/or quotas for training slots for women was recommended to increase the opportunities for women in all USAID training activities. Second, it advised the inclusion of women on advisory committees formed to guide private-sector training. Third, it suggested making exceptions, on a case-by-case basis for women, to USAID regulations requiring co-financing of training.

Finally, management recommendations included: initiating a comprehensive, baseline data collection system to measure impact; hiring a national to energize and organize the returned participant network; and integrating targeted needs assessment into recruitment and selection of private sector candidates for training.

## V. CONCLUSION

In summary, USAID assistance to Cameroon has had a tangible impact at both the national and grassroots levels. USAID Cameroon has successfully encouraged positive social and economic change in several sectors. Government and privately owned institutions have benefitted from policy reform, infrastructure development, and human and institutional capacity building. Most importantly, the lives of thousands of Cameroonians - farmers, students, professionals, women and children - have benefitted from the economic policy reform necessary for the liberalization of private-sector led markets; an improved primary health care and a restructured health care system; participation in long- and short-term training activities world-wide; and agricultural and environmental research and education.

USAID made substantial headway in liberalizing the arabica coffee market and introducing a marketing information system for arabica farmers. Above and beyond the benefits realized as a result of the recent devaluation of the CFAF, Cameroonian coffee farmers have been rewarded with significant income gains resulting from cost cutting and improved

marketing measures adopted by a USAID-supported cooperative. Further evidence of success is the growing demand for similar marketing reforms in other sectors (cocoa, robusta coffee, etc.).

USAID was instrumental in assisting the Ministry of Public Health in the reorientation of primary health care. Strategies included: decentralization of health planning and management to the level of the health district; emphasis on co-management and co-financing of primary health care services; and full integration of preventative and curative services and health management systems. Other programs worked towards fully integrating family planning into both private and public health facilities. Supported in large part by USAID, Population Services International (PSI) has spearheaded a model program of HIV prevention through social marketing of condoms. In 1993 alone, almost six million condoms were sold.

A long-standing USAID effort - promotion of research in African food crop staples - has resulted in improved varieties and increases in production. Cameroon has doubled its maize and rice production since the inception of the USAID supported food crop research program in 1979. Although there is still much to do in the realm of agricultural research and education, especially in light of the burgeoning population growth characteristic of Sub-Saharan Africa, USAID was instrumental in training hundreds of Cameroonians who will continue to contribute to agricultural activities as well as activities in other important sectors.

In the environmental realm, in conjunction with international NGOs operating in country, USAID Cameroon has fostered local NGO environmental policy advocacy and helped fund critical biodiversity research in Korup National Park, one of the oldest and last viable rainforest ecosystems in the world.

The close-out procedure provided USAID Cameroon with the opportunity to take a long, hard look at its successes and failures and processes leading to both. This synthesis document and the four accompanying program assessments provide a thorough review of USAID's programs and their legacy and impact. The lessons learned are an endowment, a reservoir of experience from which USAID, other international donors, and host country leaders can draw as they embark on related sector activities.

