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UNIVERSITE DE YAOUNDE I  
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**CENTRE DE RECHERCHE ET DE  
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HUMAINES, SOCIALES ET ÉDUCATIVES**  
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**UNITE DE RECHERCHE ET DE FORMATION  
DOCTORALE EN SCIENCES HUMAINES ET  
SOCIALES**  
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**DÉPARTEMENT D'HISTOIRE**



## **IMPLEMENTATION OF A SPORT POLICY IN CAMEROON, 1970-2011**

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## **DEDICATION**

**To the  
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## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AAC	African Athletic Championship
AAG	All African Games
AC	African Championship
AFCON	African Football Cup of Nations
BM	Bronze Medal
CAF	<i>Confederation of African Football</i>
CAMSHIP	Cameroon Shipping Line
CAS	Court of Arbitration for Sport
CCF	Cameroon Cycling Federation
CENJES	<i>Centre National de Jeunesse et des Sports</i> (National Centers for Youth and Sports)
CNOC	Cameroon National Olympic Committee
CNOSC	Cameroon National Olympic and Sports Committee
CNPC	Cameroon National Paralympic Committee
CNPS	Caisse Nationale de Prévoyance Sociale (National Social Insurance Fund)
CNS	<i>Comité National des Sports</i> (National Sports Committee)
COC	Cameroon Olympic Committee
CONFEJES	<i>Conférence des ministres de la jeunesse et des sports de la Francophonie</i> (Conference of Francophonie Ministers of Youth and Sports)
CPDM	Cameroon's People Democratic Movement
CR	Critical Realist
CREPS	<i>Centre Régional d'Éducation Physiques et Sportives</i> (Regional Centers of Physical Education and Sports)
CRTV	Cameroon Radio and Television
DDSHN	<i>Direction de Développement du Sport de Haut-Niveau</i>
DGNS	<i>Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale</i>
DGRE	<i>Direction Générale de la Recherche Extérieure</i> (Directorate-General for External Research)

DIXIADES	<i>Jeux Nationaux (dix régions, dix disciplines dix jours)</i> (National Games)
DNSOS	<i>Direction des Normes et du Suivi des Organisations Sportives</i> (Department of Standards and Monitoring of Sports Organizations)
DS	Department of Sports
ENS	<i>École Normale Supérieure</i> (Higher Teacher's Training College)
FAP	<i>Forces Armées et Police</i> (Armed Forces and Police)
FECA Athlétisme	<i>Federation Camerounaise d'Athlétisme</i> (Cameroonian Athletics Federation)
FECA Basketball	<i>Federation Camerounaise de Basketball</i> (Cameroonian Basketball Federation)
FECA Handball	<i>Federation Camerounaise de Handball</i> (Cameroonian Handball Federation)
FECA Judo	<i>Federation Camerounaise de Judo</i> (Cameroonian Judo Federation)
FENASSCO	<i>Fédération National des Sports Scolaires</i> (National Federation of School Sports)
FENASU	<i>Fédération National des Sports Universitaires</i> (National Federation of University Sports)
FIFA	<i>Federation International de Football Association</i> (International Federation of Football Association)
FISU	<i>Fédération Internationale des Sports Universitaires</i> (International University Sports Federation)
GM	Gold Medal
HE	Higher Education
HIPCI	Heavily Indebted Poor Country Initiative
IF	International Federations
IFO	International Financial Organisations
INJESEP	<i>Institut National de la Jeunesse, des Sports and de l'Éducation Populaire</i> (National Institute of Youth, Sports and Popular Education)
INS	<i>Institut National des Sports</i> (National Sports Institute)

INSEP		<i>Institut National du Sports, de l'expertise et de la Performance</i> (National Institute of Sports, Expertise and Performance)
IOC	:	International Olympic Committee
Kg	:	Kilogram
M	:	Male
m	:	meter
MINDEF	:	<i>Ministère de la Défense</i> Ministry of Defense
MINESUP	:	<i>Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieure</i> (Ministry of Higher Education)
MINFI	:	<i>Ministère de Finance</i> (Ministry of Finance)
MINSEP	:	<i>Ministère des Sports et de l'Éducation Physique</i> (Ministry of Sports and Physical Education)
MYS	:	Ministry of Youth and Sports
NAB	:	National Archives Buea
NAY	:	National Archives Yaounde
NG	:	National Games
NIYS	:	National Institute of Youth and Sports
NOC	:	National Olympic Committee
NSA	:	National Sport Academy
NSF	:	National Sports Federation
NT	:	National Team
OG	:	Olympic Games
ONES	:	<i>Office Nationale des Équipements Sportives</i> (National Sports Equipment Board)
OSSUC	:	<i>Office des Sports Scolaires et Universitaires du Cameroun</i> (Cameroon College and University Sports Board)
PAPOSEY	:	<i>Palais Polyvalent des Sport de Yaoundé</i> (Yaounde MultiPurpose Sports Center)
PE	:	Physical Education
PEAPS	:	<i>Professeur Adjoint d'Éducation Physique et Sportives</i> (Assistant Professor of Physical Education and Sports)
PEPS	:	<i>Professeur d'Éducation Physique et Sportives</i> (Physical Education and Sports Teacher)

PES	:	Physical Education and Sports
PM	:	Prime Minister
PMUC	:	<i>Pari Mutuel Urbain Camerounais</i>
PNDIS	:	<i>Programme National de Développement des Infrastructures Sportives</i> (National Sports Infrastructure Development Program)
SAP	:	Structural Adjustment Program
SIC	:	<i>Société Immobilière du Cameroun</i>
SM	:	Silver Medal
SONEL	:	<i>Société Nationale d'Électricité</i> (National Electricity Company)
UG	:	University Games
UNESCO	:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	:	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UPC	:	<i>Unions des Populations du Cameroun</i>
YUC	:	Yaounde University Club

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## ABSTRACT

Sport in today's world has become an industry. It had a gradual shifted from a purely leisure and voluntary activity to a full professional practice. As a result of the different values and benefits that it yielded to those who made use of it. The Cameroonian government after independence decided to use sports in her development programs and created a Ministry incharge of sport as from 1970. The ministry had to implement and followup sports policies conceived by the government. However until 2011 many events questions as to the actual value of these policies and how they impacted the development of sport in Cameroon. Our study is therefore aimed at demonstrating that there was no designed sports policy to produce better results than what obtained. The study observes that there was no designed policy for national sport as decision making was rather circumstantial. This did not enable the development of sport and a sport industry in Cameroon as in other parts of the world. Our study was realized based on the collection and analysis of multiple and varying sources grouped under the following: written documents, oral sources (interviews) and webographic data (internet). For this study, data was drawn from varying disciplines such as geography, law, anthropology, political sciences, physiology, psychology, economic sciences, cultural studies, diplomacy and physical education which give the study an interdisciplinary and trans-disciplinary perspective. As concerns our analysis we made use of the topical approach in order to enable a linear flow of facts from start to finish that led to the collection, cross examining and analyzing of collected data. Based on this, our work will follow the inductive and hypothetico-deductive approach. The results arrived at are that the creation of the Ministry of sport boosted the development of sport but that due to absence of a sport policy there was constant conflict between the ministry and technical organs over finances. There was a lack of followup in the implementation of infrastructure policies and poor recognition of sporters who had no official statut and consideration to physical education teachers.

**Keywords:** Sport, Policy, Implementation, Management, Competition.

## RESUMÉ

Dans le monde d'aujourd'hui, le sport est devenu une industrie. Il est passé progressivement d'une activité purement ludique et bénévole à une pratique professionnelle à part entière. En raison des différentes valeurs et des avantages qu'il procure à ceux qui l'utilisent, le sport est devenu une industrie. Après l'indépendance, le gouvernement camerounais a décidé d'utiliser le sport dans ses programmes de développement et a créé un ministère chargé du sport à partir de 1970. Le ministère devait mettre en œuvre et suivre les politiques sportives conçues par le gouvernement. Cependant, jusqu'en 2011, de nombreux événements ont soulevé des questions quant à la valeur réelle de ces politiques et à leur impact sur le développement du sport au Cameroun. Notre étude vise donc à démontrer qu'il n'y a pas eu de politique sportive conçue pour produire de meilleurs résultats que ceux obtenus. L'étude observe qu'il n'y a pas eu de politique conçue pour le sport national, la prise de décision étant plutôt circonstancielle. Ceci n'a pas permis le développement du sport et de l'industrie du sport au Cameroun comme dans d'autres parties du monde. Notre étude a été réalisée à partir de la collecte et de l'analyse de sources multiples et variées regroupées sous les rubriques suivantes: documents écrits, sources orales (entretiens) et données webographiques (internet). Pour cette étude, les données ont été tirées de différentes disciplines telles que la géographie, le droit, l'anthropologie, les sciences politiques, la physiologie, la psychologie, les sciences économiques, les études culturelles, la diplomatie et l'éducation physique, ce qui confère à l'étude une perspective interdisciplinaire et transdisciplinaire. En ce qui concerne notre analyse, nous avons utilisé l'approche thématique afin de permettre un flux linéaire de faits du début à la fin qui a conduit à la collecte, à l'examen croisé et à l'analyse des données collectées. Sur cette base, notre travail suivra l'approche inductive et hypothético-déductive. Les résultats obtenus sont que la création du ministère des sports a stimulé le développement du sport mais qu'en raison de l'absence d'une politique sportive, il y a eu des conflits constants entre le ministère et les organes techniques au sujet des finances. Il y a eu un manque de suivi dans la mise en œuvre des politiques d'infrastructures et une faible reconnaissance des sportifs qui n'avaient pas de statut officiel et de considération pour les professeurs d'éducation physique.

**Mots-clés:** Sport, politique, mise en œuvre, gestion, concurrence

## **GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

## 1. Presentation of the study

On a daily basis during our discussion at home, at our workplace, in relaxation places, on media (TV, radio, newspaper, and other forms of media ITCs) and in our administrative institutions, we talk and listen to others talk about sports. Men, women and children go out and meet in places designed or not for do sports. It is a worldwide phenomenon having its tentacles in all human activities (political, social, traditional, gender, economic). Sport just as work, art, religion, war is revealing and relevant to the understanding of a society. The study of sport such not be done in an isolated approach but be study as an element of a social system<sup>1</sup>. Dunning quotes Brailsford who sums this in the following: “Sport has conquered the calendar that confined it in the past and can now invade every hour of everyday of the year”<sup>2</sup>. The development of sport reached its peak in the last four decades federating a lot of passion, emotion, compassion and controversies with it. Today, even liberal governance systems practise interventionism as concerns sport management and policy implementation<sup>3</sup>. More and more investments are done daily around the world to extract the potentials that sports offer such equipment, organization of mega-sport events, sponsorship and brand marketing, stardom of *sporters*, construction of facilities, broadcasting rights. Sport is today recording a fast growth rate as concerns financial input and also in the number of actions involved. It is also capturing a lot of emotion and passion.

This new trend of sport today completely different from its former perception: a leisure time activity. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Europe (particularly in Britain) sport after the industrial revolution, was a leisure for the aristocrats of Europe<sup>4</sup>. It gradually developed to a social phenomenon and today it touches directly and/or indirectly the livelihood of about 3.5 billion humans around the globe<sup>5</sup>. Ancient civilizations had also made use of sport for different reasons. It was used in the Roman Empire to distract the population and magnify the strength

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<sup>1</sup> D.G. Kyle, *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World*, Second Edition, Oxford, John Wiley and Sons Inc, 2015, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> E. Dunning et al, “History, Sociology and Sociology of Sport: The work of Norbert Elias” in E. Dunning, D. Malcolm and I. Waddington., *Figurational Studies of the Development of Modern Sports*, London and New York Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2004, p.1.

<sup>3</sup> Bloyce and A. Smith, *Sport and Development. An introduction*, London and New York, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2010, p.1.

<sup>4</sup> Jarvie., *Sport, Culture and Society. An Introduction*, London and New York, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2006, p. 7.; Also read D. Bloyce and A. Smith., *Sport and Development. An introduction*, London and New York, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2010, pp.20-28.

<sup>5</sup> The Summer Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup are the two events that record the highest audience around the world. The Summer Olympic Games is the greatest multinational, ethnic human ceremony and tops the league in terms of cultural diversity. The memberships of these two associations are the highest on planet earth 208 for FIFA and 203 for the International Olympic Committee.

of the empire while in the Greek Empire sport was used to strengthen the bond between states of the empire and make peace through the Olympic Games and also for the entertainment of the population. Sport today throughout the ages had kept this background ideology<sup>6</sup>.

Sports today is compared to the nuclear bomb in the hands of the capitalist powers in the globalization process. It has no borders and trespasses religion, traditions, cultures, socio-political and economic ideologies (capitalist, neoliberal, socialist, communist or hybrids as previously cited). It is the same phenomena in the domain of religion where Muslim faithful just as Catholics, Buddhists, Animists play and obey the roles established by the governing body of the played sport. This *sportmania* phenomenon enabled some super powers to reinforce their ultra-liberal capitalist total consumption<sup>7</sup> ideology over weaker states. The media<sup>8</sup> has been the facilitating channel of this hegemony through the live coverage of sport competitions which are today more of mega-cultural business and ideological shows than mere sport competitions. Athletes have been raised to the rank of living stars and are adored and venerated by passionate fans of all ages, sex, religions, nationalities, social ranks and status for the talents. The evocation of Diego Maradona, Carl Lewis, Mike Tyson, Michael Jordan, Andre Agassi, Tiger Woods, Pele, Cristiano Ronaldo, Lionel Messi, Serena Williams, Roger Milla, Samuel Eto'o, Françoise Mbango, Yanick Noah and many others will arouse the attention in any part of the world today<sup>9</sup>. These "*living gods*" of the arenas are indirect instruments of the super capitalist industries fashioned by the media. Could this be otherwise in the face of a dynamic world in terms of leisure?

Fact that everybody talks about sports make it a proper research question as it's the mirror of our world. Sport today has its roots in all domains of human activities and fashions individual and collective behaviors. Has sport really impacted on our activities or it has just been a superficial issue as has been heard in a number of occasions from some "first class Cameroonian intellectuals"? This study focuses on the fact that Cameroon did not have a clearly defined sport policy document and has not fully made use of the potential sport offer. It aims to show that what was considered as sport policy was undersigned and circumstantial since it was in most cases responses to internal and external factors. This is what prompted the writing

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<sup>6</sup> Dunning et al, "History, Sociology and Sociology of Sport:...", p.1.

<sup>7</sup> J.C. Holguin, "German Soft Power: from the Fall of the Wall to the 2006 World Cup" Masters in Development management and Policy, University of George Town, 2013, p.12.

<sup>8</sup> G. Akindes, "Transnational Televisions and Football in Francophone Africa: The Path to Electronic Colonization," PhD thesis in Communication, Scripps College of Communication, University Ohio, June 2010p.18.

<sup>9</sup> F. Kew, *Sport. Social Problems and Issues*, Oxford, Butterworth Heinemann, 2003, p.82.

of this work titled **Sport in Cameroon: Difficulties in the Development and Implementation of a Sport Policy 1970-2011.**

## **2. Reasons for the Choice of the topic**

Many reasons account for the choice of this topic. The intention here is to bring to the limelight a section of the history of Cameroon widely unknown by many Cameroonians as little had been written on it. Also, this will go a long way to enrich the historiography of Africa during in the domain of modern sport. Well, it should be noted that Africa before the introduction of modern sport during colonialization had different form of sport. Cameroon through her multiple successes in the sport arenas around the world became a brand.

Firstly, the fact that very few researchers had questioned the place of sport in the general understanding and evolution of Cameroon's history through its institutions, management technics, political ideology and vision of the world. Sport had not been viewed as a research field through which to understand and comprehend certain visible political and socio-economic decisions.

Secondly Cameroonian sporter and managers had international successes but there was not clear visible policy outline which led to those victories and Cameroon had had sport scandals escape of athletes during competitions or strikes because of unpaid bonuses.

Thirdly that sport was partially introduced in the educational system, a mandatory subject in the French subsystem and almost absent in the English subsystem. The country lacked standard infrastructure in quantity and quality that which was a serious setback to sport development and eventual victories at the national and international scenes.

The fourth reason was personal as we had been a lover of sport as from childhood with dreams of becoming a professional sporter but discovered that the regard on sport and its poor management limited the chances and we started questioning why sporters were considered losers and why sport received little consideration in scientific circles. Our ascender of blessed memory had told us real sport was in the books which we also had to find out why.

Actually, sport had become a mega global phenomenon embracing almost all aspects of humanity (economy, politics, culture, health, scientific discoveries, education, diplomacy, religion). This had to entirely change our perception of sport and its management in our country.

Cameroonians sporters and diplomats had made a break through at the international scene with the positioning at the top of international sport organization and with outstanding

performances. At the same time, it was curious to note that Cameroon was lacking behind as concerns the development sport infrastructures and the relatively poor conditions of actors of the sport domain<sup>10</sup>. There was no consideration for these men and women in the society nomatter their efforts to bring honour to the nation. Sport was not regarded as profession while it was already an industry in other parts of the world. Very little had been written as concerns sport evolution in Cameroon. In this view Cameroon was not alone as many African nations had difficulties implementing a real sport policy to integrate the world order.

### **3. Significance of the Study**

There is a growing interest in Cameroon sports. The media coverage and social benefits and monetary value it has acquired has pushed researchers to pay greater attention to it. Most of the studies, if not all, are concerned with the evolution of sport in Cameroon and the action of the state in the promotion of physical education and sports. Others, in their majority, lay particular emphasis on certain sport events particularly football which is the '*national sport*' in Cameroon. This study lays particular interest on the question of un-designed sport policy which denotes the lack of vision in the management of the sector. The thematic prism used here brings out the shortcoming noted due to haphazard unplanned decisions in their management. The study will fill a certain gap noted in the understanding of the direction taken by sport today due to ill-planned decisions.

Firstly, this study is of importance to the Cameroon government as it deals with a sector of her socio-political history particularly sport policy history. The introduction and evolution of sport in Cameroon follow the trend imposed by the political and social changes that occurred in the country.

Competitive sport and particularly football captivates Cameroonians of all ages, religion, sex and socio-cultural and traditional background. It is almost the only thing that assembles Cameroon so that the government can from this work conceive and implement a down up and horizontal policy that will help foster national unity and togetherness. The emotion arouse by victory goes a long way to rekindle patriotic feels and can help destroy the return to tribal identities.

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<sup>10</sup> Ndongso Minsoko, *Le livre d'or du sport camerounais de 1960 à nos jours*, tome I, Yaoundé, Edi Aric, 2005, p. 179.

With the exponential increase in cardio-vascular diseases, obesity, diabetic and related diseases, the conception and implementation of any sport policy will have to consider these aspects. The question of the importance of physical exercises for health and hygiene needs to be handled with caution. An objective based policy will be important to fight against health pathologies in the Cameroonian social. This requires the opening of a sport medicine departments in all medical faculties and schools.

The state and other stakeholder should invest on the construction of sports amenities nationwide. As said above, to fight against certain health pathologies affecting the population, the practice of physical exercises is recommended. The limited quality and quantity of amenities are a set-back to implementation of this policy. The presence of these amenities will discourage the population from using risky roads and car parkings as sport grounds thereby reducing accidents and conflict. A sport infrastructure policy will have a positive impact on the health and hygiene condition of the population. It will also generate jobs and professions around these activities.

In the economic sphere, the absence of a sport policy has had negative effects on her forward match. The fact that the government wants to singlehandedly manage sports and finance sports was against private initiative. This favoured embezzlement and stagnation due to the concentration of all decision and financial power in the hands of the ministry in charge of sports. The immediate consequence was that *sporters* do not use their skills and talents as a means of livelihood because of the absence of a competitive sport industry that could generate wealth and riches. Today sport is an industry, so the state has to accompany private initiatives in the marketing and manufacture of sports related equipment and articles. Sports teams should be professionalised so that actors invest adequately and pay their taxes to the state. The economic and financial growth in sport moved side by side with the audience and viewers ready to stop whatever they are doing to watch a sporting event. G. A. Akindes proposes to us the magnitude of the phenomenon and the role of media to the global explosion of sport with 35 billion viewers for the 1996 Olympic Games<sup>11</sup>.

Sport enabled new actors in Cameroon's diplomacy to emerge. Due to international sports competitions Cameroon was projected on the international scene. The presence of Cameroonian at top positions in international sports organizations and professional *sporters* played a great deal in the branding of Cameroon.

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<sup>11</sup> Akindes., "Transnational Television...", p.20.

This study will further throw light on the importance of sport on the Cameroonian society. It will provide useful information on the management of sport already enhanced by the state. In this perspective it will pave the way for further research in the domain of policy implementation and particularly sport policies. The state has been reluctant in the conception, implementation and impact evaluation of such policies on the population. A good understanding and mastery in this field will open new perspectives in sports studies and history of Cameroon.

#### **4. Scope and Delimitation of Study**

##### **4.1. Scope**

This study is on Cameroon a country of Central West Africa found between latitude 2° to 13° north and 9° to 16° east of Greenwich with a land mass of 475.000km<sup>2</sup>. It shares borders in the east with Central African Republic, Congo, to the west the Federal Republic of Nigeria to the north the Republic of Chad and to the south the Republics of Gabon and Equatorial Guinea. It is made up of ten administrative units called Regions (formally provinces). Mount Fako is the highest peak 4100m above sea-level. The country has a rain forest in the southern regions, savana in the western highlands and the Sahel desert in the northern regions.<sup>12</sup>

The Germans established a Protectorat over Cameroon in 1884. The Germans were ousted by the British and French who partitioned the country and administered it separately under the supervision of the League of Nations and later the United Nations Organization. The French section obtained its independence on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1960 and on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1961 the British section obtained her independence by unifying with the already independent Republic of Cameroon. Of this merge was born the Federal Republic of Cameroon which became United Republic following the 20<sup>th</sup> May 1972 referendum. This appellation again changed in 1984 when it became Republic of Cameroon by presidential decree<sup>13</sup>.

##### **4.2. Time Delimitation**

As concerns our area of study, it deals with the state of Cameroon between 1970 and 2011. Modern sport was introduced by the different colonial administrations (British and French) in Cameroon. After independence and unification the government conceived certain programs to manage sports. Before the creation of the ministry in charge of sport, sport issues were handled by the Ministry of Education. The main law governing the management of sport

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<sup>12</sup> G. Pouokam., "Cameroon Climate Compatible Development: Cameroon Case Study" in Technical Report, October 2012, p. 3.

<sup>13</sup> Fuh Kum, "Wum Area Development Authority (WADA) 1965-1994: ...," p. 71.

was the National Sport Charter of 1962 which organized sport locally and enable Cameroon gain membership at international sport organization. The year 1970 in this study marks the year of the creation of the Minsistry of Youth and Sports (MYS)<sup>14</sup>. It had as mission to handle all sports related issues-conception/designing planning, implementation, evaluation and follow-up. The Ministry was the government special unit for sport management

The year 2011, here stands for the year of the coming into force of a ‘modern’ up-to-date law. This was law No 2011/018 of 15<sup>th</sup> July Relative to the Organization and Promotion of Physical and Sports Activities, concelled all previous laws<sup>15</sup>. It took into consideration the latest advancement as concerned sport management, decentralisation (greater powers to region and sport federations) and gave a status to ‘*sporters*’ and financial liberalism which was lacking in the 1996 Charter of Physical Education and sport<sup>16</sup>.

## 5. Definition of terms and concepts

It is difficult to understand the orientation given to a study without mastering the concepts that will be used in the analyses. This will clarify and frame the approach that will be ours in the questioning of Cameroon sports policies. To start with, the concept of policy which is central to this study will be defined. Through a series of definitions of policy, we shall understand what it is within the context of sport.

The concept of policy is one of those notions that has no single understanding according to a definitional stand point and schools of thoughts. Varying aspects of the term are promoted by the different schools of thoughts and they also bring forth theories and in some cases ideologies. Indeed, there has been a considerable evolution in the use of the term. According to Stewart et al., “It means different things to different people ranging from a broad statement of intent, a grand vision, law or legislation to more precise issues such as proposal, elaboration of strategies and programs”<sup>17</sup>. It is often in response to a specific problem or a series of situations internal and/or external. In the same line of thought Omari-Mwaikinda insist on the fact that

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<sup>14</sup> Ndongo Minsoko, *Le livre d'or du sport camerounais*...p. 28.

<sup>15</sup> Archives MINSEP: Law No 96/09 of 05 August 1996, Instituting a Physical Education and Sport Charter in Cameroon.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Stewart et al, *Australia sports: Better by Design, The Evolution of the Australia Sports Policy*, London, Routledge Taylor and Francis group 2004, p. 26.

there exist a variety of public policy approaches depending on the governance system and the ambitions and/or expected outcome<sup>18</sup>.

Policy proclamations are many at times political propaganda from political leaders. The above view by Stewart et al, brings out the complexity of the concept. In this vein of thought Maddison and Denniss view policy as “A set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or groups of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where those decisions should in principle be within the power of actors to achieve”<sup>19</sup>. Along the same vein they interject the fact that policies can be interrelated to decisions to achieve a specific objective:

The disposition and deliberate action of government on any and every matter over which it exercises authority is done through policies. This includes the stated and the unstated; action and inaction, the choice of ends and the choice of means. Policies are often implemented by means of specific programs – formal arrangements for the delivery of government services<sup>20</sup>.

Their definitions bring in the notion of interrelated decisions and the intervention of a variety of actors, politicians or no to react to a situation and having the means to achieve it. M. P. Sam and S. J. Jackson move in the same vein and assert that policy paradigms are attempts to establish causal relationships and to suggest how policy objectives might be achieved.<sup>21</sup>

At this point, we should observe that some authors consider policy as mere intentions labeled out while others consider it as action. L. Thibault and J. Harvey who cite Page come to clarify by means of stratification his view of policy which is both intention and/or action<sup>22</sup>. The first level according to him is policy intention in the form of principle or general way of running public affairs, The second level is intention in policy lines or strategies on how to manage specific issues or topics (bills of assembly with precise action); The third is action measures which are specific instruments (or tools) that give effect to distinct policy lines (subsidies, exhortation, taxes, exoneration, regulation and licensing systems operated by state agencies). The last level is in practice: the behavior of officials normally expected to carry out policy measures<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> Omari-Mwaikinda, “The Structural Contingency Approach to Policy Making: An Examination of Education Policy in Tanzania”, HakiElimu Working Papers (Working Paper no 07.2), 2007, p. 4, retrieved on 26-11-2017, at 10:42 am,

<sup>19</sup> Maddison and Denniss., *An Introduction to Australian Public Policy and Practice*, Cambridge University, press 2009, p. 4.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid

<sup>21</sup> Sam and Jackson, “Sport Policy Development in New Zealand. Paradoxes of an integrative paradigm”, in *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 39/2 (2004), p. 207.

<sup>22</sup> Thibault and Harvey, *Sport Policy in Canada*, Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 2013, p. 4.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

In this same line of ideas, Halpern and Le Gales say policy can also be viewed as part of institution and organizations based on government activities through mechanisms such as budget, norms and standards. But they stress that these dimensions were sometimes technical, far from purely political consideration<sup>24</sup>.

Omari-Mwaikinda focuses more on implementation effects rather than the intention. To her, policy implementation is crucial to outcome as she opines that:

Certain inherent policy characteristics affect the use of policy discretion, the structural attributes of policies and programs, and the number of unintended consequences. It is a blend of these characteristics that explain the unique outcomes in different policy areas"...if organizational structure is not adapted to its context, then opportunities are lost, cost rise, and the maintenance of the organization is threatened"... Unintended consequences are understood as described by Bouchard & Carroll (2003) as "unforeseen and unexpected outcomes, either positive or negative, of public policy decisions brought about by inattention to the actual implementation process", whereas structural attributes include "historical arrangements such as the public/private provisions of goods and services, the choice of policy instruments and the rules and procedures in place"<sup>25</sup>.

Thibault and Harvey came up with a differentiation of two seemingly equal terms: program and policy. According to them "policies are a guide to a range of related action in a given field while programs are a specific course of action taken in order to fulfill the goals of a policy."<sup>26</sup> Policy harbor multiple programs and has its implementation mechanisms. Its aim is to produce a certain outcome sometimes even unintended to respond to a certain situation or crisis. Omari-Mwaikinda insists on policy to be flexible so as to enable its implementation based on contextual constraints<sup>27</sup>. It is for this reason that Maddison and Dennis say "policy must be more than 'mere Political Rhetoric' and its implementation must have occurred (attempted) even if such attempts have failed"<sup>28</sup>. We can rightly continue in the vision by saying that there is an awaited out-come for every policy put in place.

The concept of policy as we have seen through the above definition harbors many approaches and means. We retain that it deals with programs and their implementation which can produce awaited or unexpected results. Institutions and organizations must work to implement the policy which is a vision program to solve a given problem. A policy becomes one only after its implementation and evaluation. The understanding of what a policy is enables us have a base for the analyses of the conception and implementation of sports policies in

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<sup>24</sup> Halpern and Le Galès, "Pas d'action publique autonome sans instruments propres, analyse comparée et longitudinale des politiques environnementales et urbaines de l'Union Européenne", presse de sciences politiques, in *Revue Français de sciences politiques*, vol 61, 2011, p. 52.

<sup>25</sup> Omari-Mwaikinda., "The Structural Contingency Approach...", p. 6.

<sup>26</sup> Thibault and Harvey, *Sport policy in Canada...*, p. 4.

<sup>27</sup> Omari-Mwaikinda, "The Structural Contingency Approach...", p. 6.

<sup>28</sup> Maddison and Dennis, *An introduction to Australian public policy...*, p. 5.

Cameroon. Were they simply propaganda or programs aimed at solving a particular problem with the appropriate tools (human and financial resources). Was the creation of ministry in charge of sports and the setting up of other technical organs correspond to the contextual needs and did they have the means to fulfill their missions?

They introduce the notion of desired and undesired results or output. This implies that a policy will not always produce the targeted or wanted results because time and action based on environment contingences and constraint affect the implementation process and even persons to implement it. The formulation process is as important as the evaluation and final impact. If poorly or wrongly formulated the expected results and objective will not be attained. The evaluation process permits a readjustment in-case of derailment from the main objective: corrective policy approach to overcome the obstacles and re-center on the initial program. We can consider some policies to be indirect as they solve peripheral problems that impact on major policy programs. The success of a policy or policies will not only depend on its formulation, means and context but largely on the character of the team of implementers<sup>29</sup>.

Policies are designed to meet-up and solve a problem (projective) or better the implementation of existing ones (corrective). The different approach to the clarification of policy to this research is of prime importance to its understanding. In this light, policy will be used in respect to not only its intention but in addition to implementation and impact.

Klein on her side notes that contrary to other western nations, in France, there is state interference in the sport domain; which she presents as “service public du sport... la France est l’un des rares pays à considerer le sport comme faisant partie de son domaine régalien”<sup>30</sup>. It is bringing us to the notion of public policy as sport is considered a state affair. It justifies the creation of a ministry in charge of sport which used public funds.

With this transition, it will be of importance to have an insighte into the concept of public policy. Policy study in our case concerns state and administrative decision. A clarification of this concept will enable a better understanding of state action or inaction on issue concerning sport. Fenna quoted by Maddison and Dennis defined public policy as deliberate action over matter under its authority which may be stated or not. He also says

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<sup>29</sup> Kehinde Aluko and Adodo, “A Conceptual Analysis of School Sports Development in Nigeria” in African Research Review, International Multidisciplinary Journal, Ethiopia, vol 5(5), serial No. 22, October 2011, p. 398

<sup>30</sup> Klein, “Réformer la gouvernance des fédérations sportives françaises : diagnostic et préconisation”, Master en Management des organisations sportives, faculté des sciences du sport, Université de la Méditerranée Aix-Marseille II, 2001, p. 15.

inaction just as action is a management choice and depends on the programs established and objectives to achieve<sup>31</sup>.

To this regard, policy is no longer limited to an intention but requires concrete action confirmed by Pal Cited by Thibault and Harvey who insist on the “explicit and implicit action by government<sup>32</sup>” Halparn and Le Galès consider them to be instrument in these words, quoting Lucien Sfez:

*La politique s’analyse aussi à partir d’institutions et d’organisations, à partir des activités de gouvernement, notamment des politiques publiques comme des modalités de leur mise en œuvre, à partir d’instrument des budgets, de manière de faire, des normes et standards et sont souvent dissociés du jeu politique<sup>33</sup>.*

It is difficult to dissociate policies from politics and political manipulation and intentions in this study. What remains constant is that state intervention in public policies must be evaluated using standard instruments. Jean-Pierre Battesti et als, put forth this idea, “Démarche d’Évaluation: établir une vision partagée d’une politique et apprécier son efficacité sur la base de critères explicites, portant sur ses objectifs, ses logiques d’intervention et ses instruments ainsi que sur les effets produits voulu ou non”<sup>34</sup>. A policy must have bases on which it can be evaluated at a given period in time.

For the purpose of this study policy will be analyzed not only on policy intention, but will involve the reasons for conception, implementation (action) under its various programs, budgets, norms (standards) and output in collaboration with the other stakeholders. It will involve reasons for conception, means mobilized for its implementation in its numerous articulations (human, material and financial), and impact of output desired and undesired in a well-defined time frame and environment. Keeping away from slogans and speeches and analyzing the interconnection of the various actors and link between the different programs that build the core of the policy.

The concept of sport carries different meanings to different persons according to their education, culture and/or religion. This complexity in defining sport is clearly visible in the words of Stewart et al:

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<sup>31</sup> Maddison and Dennis, *An introduction to Australian public policy...*, p. 4.

<sup>32</sup> Thibault and Harvey, *Sport policy in Canada...*, p. 40.

<sup>33</sup> Halparn and Le Galès, “Pas d’action publique autonome sans instrument propre...”, p. 52.

<sup>34</sup> Battesti et al, “Cadrage méthodologique de l’évaluation des politiques publiques partenariales. Guide”, République de France, Decembre 2012, p. 6.

It is important to develop a clear understanding of just what sport involves and the different meanings it has for different people. Therefore, a useful first step is to deconstruct its meaning and scope while sport is superficially easy to define, it can encompass an away of related, but distinctive activities. It is frequently assumed that all sport analysis, policy makers and participants agree on what sport is and what activities it includes and excludes. However, this is not always the case. In practice, sport means different things to different people<sup>35</sup>.

As noted above sport is a polysemic word. To this effect it needs to be carefully handled to avoid a total mix up in its use. Brohn cited by Tolo Ze, set the pace in these words “Le terme même de sport est en effet d’une extraordinaire polysémie (chaussures de sport, tenue de sport, salle de sport, esprit sportif, magazine de sport) terme générique”<sup>36</sup>. Laker notes that “sport has a common core of shared meaning and a periphery of additional meanings that are very much context-dependent. In other words, although most of us have a common understanding of what sport is, it can still mean different things to different people”<sup>37</sup>.

President Ahidjo during a speech in a reception in honor of Cameroonian sportsmen on 21 August 1976, considered sport to be “an expression of modern civilization and some use it as a form of mutual exchange, friendship, solidarity and for others, offers great opportunities for physical and moral development”<sup>38</sup>. In this understanding sports is used as a socialization factor as sport arenas are meeting points for persons from different cultures, traditions, religions, professions, social and family back grounds, all attracted by the passion for the sports and speak its universal language through its codified rules. He gives little interest to the competition side of sport. This perception of sport reveals the orientation and intention in the formulation and implementation of sport policies in Cameroon.

Other authors such as Stewart et al, describe sport as “a human activity capable of achieving a result requiring physical exertion, and a physical skill which by its nature and organization is competitive and generally accepted as being a sport”<sup>39</sup>. They go to add that the competition is to obtain a victory over an opponent or performance through the display of talents and skills. There is also Allan Guttmann cited by Manirakiza who sees sport as:

*Sport comme une activité qui réunit simultanément sept critères à savoir: sécurisation, l'égalité (opportunité de s'opposer dans les conditions de la compétition), la*

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<sup>35</sup> Stewart et al, *Australian sport: better by design...*, p. 16.

<sup>36</sup> Tolo Ze, “*Population urbaine et distribution de certaines pratiques sportives : le cas de la ville de Yaoundé*”, mémoire de Master en sociologie, Université de Yaoundé I, 2010, p. 10.

<sup>37</sup>Laker, “Culture, Education and sport...”, p. 4.

<sup>38</sup> Ahidjo., *Recueil des discours Présidentielles de 1973-1978*, Centre de Propagande Economique, Paris, 1978, p. 386.

<sup>39</sup> Stewart et al, *Australian sport: better by design...*, p. 16.

*spécialisation des rôles, la rationalisation, la bureaucratie, la qualification et la quête du record. Ces critères qui distinguent le sport modern*<sup>40</sup>.

These descriptions of sport excludes mental sports as they focus only on physical sport events. The above description and evoked criteria of sport are unique to physical sports. Mental sport includes amongst others- chess, draft, monopoly, poker, electronic video games.

Another question is: Must sport be targeting only performance through competition? If we consider this description then those who practise weekend jogging on the streets and fields, those going for gym lessons and musculation, leisure walking, riding fishing are not doing sport, as they do not suit in the mound of what is considered as sport.

Based on the understanding of sport so far, Ahidjo talks of a socialization medium, Tolo Ze talks of competition, and Stewart and al, adds a number of criteria's to be fulfilled for an activity to be considered sport: physical development, a particular outfit, roles, space with specific characteristic for its practice.<sup>41</sup> Minlo'o is of the same opinion as he quotes Brohm in this definition of sport: "un système institutionnalisé de pratique compétitives dominantes physique, délimitée, codifies, conventionnellement dont l'objectif avoue est, sur la base d'une comparaison de performances, d'exploits, de démonstration, de prestation physiques, de designer le meilleur (champion) ou d'enregistrer la meilleur performance (le record)"<sup>42</sup>.

In an almost contrary view to the criteria above evoked in an attempt to define and understand what sport is, Laker brings certain questions. He questions the difference between certain activities in certain contexts which are not considered sport:

It is not necessary to define what we mean by sport whenever the word is used. However, the same sport can have different meanings to different groups of people. As an example of these differing meanings let us consider the sport of tennis. To a professional tennis player tennis is a job; to a club player, however competitive, tennis is essentially a recreation; to a spectator at Wimbledon, tennis may be a temporary diversion or an all-consuming vicarious passion. In short, a sport, and sports, mean different things to different people even though there is an over-riding perception of what a sport is, and what sports are...If we look more closely at a set of meanings of the sports experience, we can more closely approach the function of sport. Sport for a group of hillwalkers will mean things like freedom from everyday worries, possibly a sense of awe and wonder, and an exhilaration at being in a natural and remote environment. Sport for a group in an aerobics class could mean getting and staying healthy, socializing and stress reduction. The groups mentioned here have positive interpretations of sport<sup>43</sup>.

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<sup>40</sup> D. Manirakiza, "Sport et société en contexte Africain. Analyse des enjeux sociaux du sport-loisirs au Cameroun à l'ère de la mondialisation", Thèse de Doctorat en Sociologie, Université de Franche-Comté et Université de Yaoundé I, 2013, p. 23.

<sup>41</sup> Stewart et al, *Australian Sport: Better by Design?*..., p. 16.

<sup>42</sup> Minlo'o, "Le Sport au Cameroun sous le Régime du Premier Président Camerounais Ahmadou Ahidjo : 1960-1980", Master en Histoire, Université de Yaoundé I, 2011, p. 6.

<sup>43</sup>Laker, "Culture, Education and sport...", p. 4.

The above introduces the notion of function. If we take some actors of the sport sphere we shall better understand this, a sport competition organizer wishes to make financial benefits; spectators release adrenaline and endorphin through the display of skills by athletes. In certain African communities sport served as rituals particularly for boys from childhood to manhood.

The question of sport was also debated at the level of the United Nations Organization (UNO) because of its social unifying capacity. For this and other reasons they had to define sport so as to make use of its potentials. The UN Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace proposed the following definition which was cited in the Jamaican National Sport Policy White Paper: “All forms of physical activities that contribute to physical fitness, intellectual and economic well-being; as well as social interaction, such as play, recreation, organized or competition sport, indigenous sport and games”<sup>44</sup>. Based on this definition, we discover a global definition for sports.

In the above lines we have gone through an abundant high quality and quantity literature with the ambition to obtain a universally accepted definition for sport. This quest has proven to be difficult as there exists none and we shall ally with Jacques Defrance’s point of view cited by Manirakiza “*aucune définition savante ne s’est clairement imposée, et que les normes du sport variant sensiblement d’un pays à l’autre, si bien qu’on ne dispose pas d’une définition internationalement reconnue comme pertinente*”<sup>45</sup>.

It will be very judicious at this point to make a clear distinction between play and sport. It is common to hear children say they were playing in the open field at times referring to an organized neighborhood competition. To avoid this confusion, Laker says in a categorical affirmation “play is play-no more, no less. It is escapism and fairy tale as well as being anything the participants want it to be. There are no rules, apart from those imposed by the players, no boundaries apart from the imagination and no consequences.”<sup>46</sup> This means that contrary to formalized ‘played’ competitive sport, play in this sense which is often done by children is flexible with no constraining rules. They all decide on the rules to be used and at times are not even respected during the playing process. Any participant can ask for the modification of these rules to suit them or that will favor their victory. This is not only limited to children as adults

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<sup>44</sup> Ministry Paper No 29/13, White Paper on the National Sport Policy Jamaica, March 2013, Office of the Prime Minister, p. 8. Retrieved on 13/03/2015 at 10:11 am

<sup>45</sup> Manirakiza, “Sport et société en contexte africain...”, p.24.

<sup>46</sup> Laker, “Culture, Education and Sport”, in the A. Laker., *The Sociology of Sport and Physical Education. An Introductory Reader*, London, Routledge-Falmer, 2002, p.10.

also have their play time activities which is to a lesser intensity to that of children. McComb is of the opinion that “play and games are mainly for fun, exercise and relaxation even though in adversary,”<sup>47</sup> in this same line of thinking as Kew views play as none serious but absorbing free rule activity organized by a group of actors<sup>48</sup>.

At this point we agree that play is sport as it fulfills some of the basic functions of sport. The concept of physical education and sport are tied together. Houedakor says “*L'éducation physique et le sport allant de pair, le premier développé dans l'enseignement et dépendant des instances étatiques, le second adopté par le monde civil*”<sup>49</sup>. This approach is based on the fact that physical education is part of the formal academic section and sport is the competition amongst students (Class competitions, inter-class-interschool competitions etc). In a nutshell it can be said that PE is the academic instructive part of sport in the educational curricular.

To conclude with this section on the concept of sport, we shall propose a definition to suit not only our research but also stick to the realities of our research environment and context. It will also be in conformity with our research objectives. Sport in this study will refer to all forms of physical and mental exercise done for leisure and/or competition by both children and adults under a set of rules universally accepted or established by the players at their convenience on conventional or non-conventional play grounds. It can also be institutionally backed or not with the aim of producing educational, social, religious, cultural, financial, leisure and institutional benefits to its actors (players, spectators, organizers, administrations).

Here sport policy will be programs designed by the government to be piloted by MYS/MINSEP which organizes and coordinates sport activities for educational, institutional, competition and leisure purposes. The most important aspects of a sport policy designed document is that it has some key aspects that may differentiate it from other policies. It carries in it, the general vision of the nation, objectives to be attained, missions to undertake, a time frame and the part to be played by each of the stakeholders and parties to make the policy a reality.<sup>50</sup>

Sport policy will be for the purpose of our research defined as a document that carries the intentions, program implementation process and output be it desired or not to accompany

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<sup>47</sup> McComb, *Sports in world history*, New York and London, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2004, p. 2.

<sup>48</sup> Kew, *Sport. Social Problems and Issues...*, p. 4.

<sup>49</sup> Eteh Koissi Houedakor, “L'action sportive organisée au Togo : réalité nationale, contraintes et perspectives de développement. Essai d'analyse comparée avec le Sénégal et le Bénin”, thèse de Doctorat STAP, université Victor Segalen, Bordeaux, 2, 2010, p. 8.

<sup>50</sup> Bermuda Sport Policy Frame Work, 2013, Retrieved on 13/03/2015 at 10:15 am.

physical and mental activities and exercises that are done for leisure and/or competition in adapted play grounds or not by the Cameroonian administration and its stakeholders.

## 6. Literature Review

The study is concerned with the question of sport policy and its contribution in the development of sport. A variety of literature was consulted, ranging from books, articles, theses and dissertations. General works provided useful concepts while related works addressed relevant themes. We discovered that a number of researchers had been interested by the question of sport and related issues. Certain authors had analysed the place of sport in the western world (ancient and present). They show the position held by sport in public policies. We shall show their scientific contribution through the analysis of their works and also how our work differs from theirs. The first set of works shall consist of those that studies sport in public spaces in the western world then Cameroonian authors who studied the question of sport in an institutional perspective and the second set will be authors who treated sport in a social perspective in Cameroon.

The 21<sup>st</sup> Century have seen sport erected as a profession in the western world and its part of the globalization process. It has fully become an instrument in the diplomatic domain. Sport is part of the soft power arsenal of many countries. Organizing and participating at international sport enable certain countries show the supremacy (material, technological and scientific). P. Boniface observes that sports arenas have become a regular battle field were athletes fly the flags to enable the countries to exit.<sup>51</sup> Nations invest in the preparation of their athletes, so sport became central in public policies management. But this situation was not only true of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries, the Egyptian, Greek and Roman Empires had also had sport central in public policies. The regularly organized sport competition during which they export their power and strength. Sport was also used to educate and initiate youths to social and cultural values.<sup>52</sup> To both authors sport was the mirror of the society in all domains.

The first book in this review will not be classified in any of the above-mentioned subgroups approaches for the simple fact that this book is a rundown of sport. The book *Le livre d'or du sport camerounais de 1960 a nos jours*<sup>53</sup> is a melting pot of the evolution of sport in Cameroon. It is worth mentioning that the author graduated from the NIYS as a Youth and

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<sup>51</sup> P. Boniface, *Géopolitique du sport*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2014.

<sup>52</sup> D. G. Kyle, *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World*, Second Edition, Oxford, Wiley and Sons, Inc, 2015

<sup>53</sup> Ndongso Minsoko, *Le livre d'or du sport camerounais...*2005

Animation Counsellor. The work goes from the introduction of sport and its institutionalisation to the construction of infrastructure and the academic side of sport in the PES school programs. The work is rich in details on the adhesion of the society to sport particularly competitive sport and performances of Cameroonian sporters at international competitions. This book provides us with useful information on the evolution of sport based on the different actors and proposes ideas for the financing of particularly competitive sport. The author lays emphasis on competitive sport giving very little information of PES lessons and teachers, and sport amenities programs.

The first thesis that was defended by a Cameroonian was in 1989 by Dikoume. It was entitled “Le service public du sport en Afrique noire (exemple du Cameroun)”<sup>54</sup>. It was later edited to a book under the same title in 2012. The work traces the premise to the institutionalization of sport and the creation of the ministry in charge of sport. He establishes the fact that from the colonial era to post independence sport management has been state handled. This is done through the presentation of certain administrative decisions meant to codify sport in and out of Cameroon. He brings out the international side of sport and the position defended by the government. He demonstrates this by the massive financial, material and human investment by the state in the domain to aid implement her other policies.

The author who is a jurist and graduate from the NIYS as a PES teacher make great use of official texts on which he bases his comments. The fact is actually he presents these documents without analyzing them to present their outcome and eventual impact after implementation on the evolution of sport. Even the socio-political, diplomatic and economic context that led to the signing of the landmark laws, decisions and service notes are not presented nor explained. His main objective was to show that sport is state controlled and is part of her nation building policy.

In a collection of speeches that had been delivered by President Ahidjo<sup>55</sup>, a keen read through enables us to situate his political ideology as concerns sport. In a particular speech in honor of sportsmen, emphasis is laid on the fact that sport was a vital means to strengthen national unity and develop the education and civic values of Cameroonians. Also, it highlights the fact that sport symbolized the pride of the nation abroad.<sup>56</sup> He used these speeches to set the

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<sup>54</sup> Dikoume, *Le service public du sport...2012*

<sup>55</sup> Ahidjo, *Recueil des discours Présidentielles de 1973-1978*, Centre de Propagande Economique, Paris, 1978

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid...p. 386.*

pace, not only to use political propaganda, but also to announce sport policy orientations which had been registered and booked in the various five-year development plans. This document, not being very specific to sport, gives us light on the political use of sport by President Ahidjo.

In the same light Minlo'o<sup>57</sup> analyses sport under President Ahmadou Ahidjo's regime from a historical perspective. He highlights and argues that sport was an instrument in the national integration and national unity project. This justifies the centralization of sport by the government without any possible private initiative accepted. The recurrence in the evocation of sport results in official speeches and the official ceremonies in favour of sport. The work is focused on the political benefits of sport to the Ahidjo's regime although there were also social benefits. It has the advantage of analyzing the reasons that justified the taking of certain decisions and their impact.

Keimbou<sup>58</sup> presents the administrative structure for the management of sport as weak and unproductive. According to him the state makes propaganda but does not manage sport for the benefit of sporters. He points to the lack of investment in the domain particularly on the non-investment on sport amenities and non-respect of official decisions. The presentation of the budget of the ministry of sports comes to show the relative lack of attention to the sport sector. He concludes that there was no organized sport plan of action in Cameroon. According to Mbida Nana<sup>59</sup> the state had over focused so much on international competitive sport to the detriment of recreational and leisure sport. The disrespect of official texts in relation to decentralization and the creation of sport amenities brings about a conflict over the use of the fewer existing ones. He bases his analysis on the town of Yaounde where the population had decided to organize itself to face the situation.

Both Ndenoue<sup>60</sup> and Madoukou Amadou<sup>61</sup> take on a specific aspect of the 1996 law instituting a Physical Education and Sport Charter in Cameroon that was replaced by the 2011 law on the Organization and Promotion of Physical and Sport Activities. Both demonstrate

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<sup>57</sup> Minlo'o, "Le Sport au Cameroun sous le Régime du Premier...", Manirakiza, D., "Sport et société en contexte Africain. Analyse des enjeux sociaux du sport-loisirs au Cameroun à l'ère de la mondialisation", Thèse de Doctorat en Sociologie, Université de Franche-Comté et Université de Yaoundé I, 2013.

<sup>58</sup> Kemo-Keimbou, "L'état et le sport au Cameroun, rhétorique et réalité des politiques sportives en Afrique noire de 1960 à 1996" in *Afrique francophone et développement du sport: du mythe à la réalité?* Sous la direction de P. Bouchet et M. Kaachi, Paris, Edition L'Harmattan, 2004.

<sup>59</sup> Mbida Nana, "De nouvelles articulations entre les politiques publiques et les pratiques sportives auto-organisées : l'exemple des sept communes de Yaoundé (Cameroun)", Thèse de Doctorat en Science politique, Université de Paris-Saclay et Université de Paris-Sud, 2016.

<sup>60</sup> Ndenoue, "De la loi n° 96/09 du 5 Aout 1996 fixant charte des APS a la loi n° 2011/ 018 du 15 Juillet 2011 Relative a l'organisation et la promotion des APS: Les raisons juridiques d'une mutation" Mémoire CAPEPS, INJS Yaounde, 2012.

<sup>61</sup> Madoukou Adamou, "La tutelle du MINSEP sur les acteurs du sport; De la loi n° 96/09 du 5 Aout 1996 a la loi n° 2011/ 018 du 15 Juillet 2011" Mémoire CAPEPS, INJS Yaounde, 2012.

through the 1996 law that the state was in total control of the sport movement but had not fully implemented the law that was outlawed in 2011. While Ndonnoue gives reasons for the introduction of the new law and its shortcomings being the neglected aspects, Madoukou points to the fact that the new law gives a stronger grip of the state on the sport movement with the clarification of certain notions and missions to MINSEP and other ministries such as those of education and territorial administration. In both studies little attention was given to the pre 1996 law and the later effects of the law on the sport sector.

The wave of democracy that blew across the political institutions also impacted on sport management. Yadan<sup>62</sup> analyzed the impact of the decentralization process on sport. According to him the local governments did little towards the promotion of physical and sport activities. The decentralization process started in 2004 but was very slow in its implementation. The ministry in charge of sport still had an upper hand in issues of sport organization and the reluctant attitude of local council members in developing sport related programs which according to them was secondary as more important issues were health and education.

Two dissertations of Charitas deal with the stepping in of Cameroon in the Olympic system together with other African nations. In his thesis,<sup>63</sup> he ponders on the fact that French African nations (Cameroon, inclusive) were introduced to modern imported sport during the colonial era and France introduced them into the International Olympic system based on her diplomatic objectives. This action enabled certain former French territories to participate in the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games. In a research<sup>64</sup> report Charitas compares British and French action to the integration of the territory to the Olympic system. Each of the powers had an ideological approach used in their territories to promote the Olympic values

Megne M'Ella<sup>65</sup> in a chapter of his thesis which deals exclusively on Cameroon points out that the Cameroonian sports policy is centralized on the traces of that left by the colonial power, France. But due to the poor organizational and structural limitations there have been a number of crises. These crises were the fruit of the battle between the state through the ministry of sports and sporting federations. They each understand and want to make use of the law

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<sup>62</sup> Yadan, "Contribution des collectivités territoriales décentralisées au développement du sport au Cameroun. Cas de la commune de Nkoteng (Région du Centre)", Mémoire CAPEPS, INJS Yaounde, 2012.

<sup>63</sup> Charitas, "L'Afrique au mouvement olympique: Enjeux, stratégies et influences de la France dans l'internationalisation du sport africain (1944-1966)", thèse de Doctorat en Histoire, Université Paris Sud 11, 2010

<sup>64</sup> Charitas, "Les conditions d'émergence du développement sportif olympique en Afrique : analyse comparée entre le Royaume-Uni et la France (1944-1966)." Rapport de recherche, pour le programme de bourse pour postgradué, CEO-CIO, concours 2009.

<sup>65</sup> Megne M'Ella, "Organisation sociale du sport au Gabon, de l'Indépendance à nos jours (1960-2012). Analyse socio-historique des facteurs de facilitations et des contraintes. Perspectives comparatives: Cameroun-Sénégal", Thèse de Doctorat en STAPS, Université de Bordeaux, 2014

differently and such conflicts had tarnished the image of Cameroon and put her at war with international governing bodies. He gives us a rundown of the structural organization and the position of federations vis-a-vis the state.

The above cited authors handled sport from an institutional view point. Institutions were created by the state to support her in her mission to develop sport through the elaboration and implementation of sport policies. These authors bring to the lime light efforts by the state to better manage sport in a legal and structured manner. We shall not limit our study to the description of the administrative setup and texts signed, but dig out the reasons for the elaboration of texts and how well they were implemented. These texts were to enhance social cohesion after implementation.

The second set of authors orientated their reflection on social integration via sport. In this section we shall start with the Master and PhD theses of Manirakiza who is a sociologist. In his Master DEA dissertation,<sup>66</sup> he presents the model under which leisure sport are codified to maintain a sort of social stratification. He uses football and basketball gathering to analyze the social integration mechanisms established by members of the groups. His thesis<sup>67</sup> is in the same line as the DEA as he analyses the implication of leisure sport in the African context notably the Cameroon context where new forms of social organization were created. This system enables a degree of social cohesion. He points out that certain leisure sport groups are legalized and are headed by top administrative officials who fill all the administrative requirements to have access to the playgrounds which are managed by the councils.

Cameroonian sporter had been gripped by the pull-push factors of migration. In his master thesis H. Edik<sup>68</sup> he presents us with the root causes of the escape of Cameroonian athletes during international competitions. In layout the cause he dishes out the responsibilities of the various actors, athletes-caoches-federation-government-former migrated athletes-governments of host countries. Throught this research we discover that the phenomenon is fast gaining grounds. Under a well-organized system Cameroon would have had less athletes involved in this ill.

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<sup>66</sup> Manirakiza, "Le sport-Loisir au Cameroun. Analyse de la sociabilité dans le « Deux zéro » et le « Bonbon » a Yaoundé", DEA en Sociologie, Université de Yaoundé I, 2009.

<sup>67</sup> Manirakiza, "Sport et société en contexte Africain. Analyse des enjeux sociaux du sport-loisirs au Cameroun à l'ère de la mondialisation", Thèse de Doctorat en Sociologie, Université de Franche-Comté et Université de Yaoundé I, 2013.

<sup>68</sup> H. Edik, "La fuite des athlètes Camerounais lors des compétitions internationales: Le cas en athlétisme (1994-2014)", Mémoire de Master en Histoire, Université de Yaoundé I, 2020.

Tolo Ze and Gueyap focus on sport as a socialization medium in the urban centers particularly Yaounde. Tolo Ze from a sociologist view point analyses the playing of certain sport in some quarters of Yaounde by youths due to the availability of adapted infrastructure. He presents the cases of Messa and Madagascar where youths adopted volleyball and handball respectively because of the availability of adapted amenities. He goes on to show the positive impact these play grounds had on the youths in these areas. Gueyap<sup>69</sup> in his thesis states that the government neglects Sport For All in favor of competition sport which has more propaganda value for her. The benefits that could be derived from sport for all could not be gotten under such conditions. This negatively impacted on the socialization process in the urban centers where there was also a limited quantity of sport amenities. Government should better regulate and implement decisions concerning Sports For All which could positively impact on the socialization in the urban centers of country.

Football was and is still the most popular and most played sport in Cameroon. This makes it a melting point for all conflicts: political, economic and social. Yatie Yakam<sup>70</sup> in his thesis analyses football as a battle field for all sorts of interests. Each actor gets involved for reasons best known to them and does everything possible to protect this interest. This interaction brings forth conflict between actors. He points out the fact that the inability to settle this situation is negatively impacting the development of football in Cameroon.

The political involvement football by the government for its diplomacy is seen in the thesis of R. F. Mvo'o<sup>71</sup>. He puts forward the use of the football by the government as a factor of patriotism, national and above all diplomacy. The different international competitions as medium to exist in international scene. The part played by the different actors for this diplomacy to be efficient. It comes out that Cameroon had not organized her governance to rip the fruits of her football successes and the status of her players.

Akpe Amatala<sup>72</sup> deals with leisure activities during the French colonial era in Cameroon. Sport was also considered a leisure activity during this period. Through sport human

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<sup>69</sup> Gueyap, "Activité Sport Pour Tous et socialisation en Milieu Urbain au Cameroun", Thèse de Doctorat STAPS, Université Marc Bloch Strasbourg, 2007.

<sup>70</sup> Yatie Yakam, "Les formes d'échanges et de pouvoir dans le football au Cameroun. Contribution à une analyse des enjeux sociaux du sport de haut niveau en Afrique subsaharienne", Thèse de Doctorat en STAPS, Université de Strasbourg, 2009.

<sup>71</sup> R. F. Mvo'o, "Acteurs du Football et Diplomatie Sportive au Cameroun de 1960 à 2010" these de Doctorat en Histoire, Université de Yaounde I, 2020.

<sup>72</sup> Akpe Amatala, "Les loisirs au Cameroun sous administration française 1916-1959 : essai d'analyse historique", DIPES II en Histoire, ENS Yaoundé, UYI, 2011

values such as discipline, hygiene, respect and socialization were enforced in the society. She traces the introduction of certain sport such as handball, volleyball, basketball during this period. She presents the impact of these sporting activities on Cameroonians.

This second group of authors paid more attention to sport administrative organs. They were interested on how sport enhanced social cohesion and discipline. They also analyzed sport as a source of wellbeing and discovery, but also noted that it could in certain cases lead to conflict. On the field, the population apprehended sport based on the conception and implementation of texts.

From the above reviews, we note that our predecessors mainly focused their attention on administrative texts and social impact. It is true that texts and administrative documents were necessary for the smooth organization of sporting activities. Most often, the decisions were taken after a defeat during a major competition. Little was said about the difficulties faced by the ministers to successfully carry on the missions assigned to them. The highly centralized nature of the administration was a source of conflict with other stakeholders. These aspects were not the focus on the previous works in the domain.

Besides many of our predecessors were involved in a narrative and descriptive approach. They simply listed out the laws, texts, decisions and circulars without analyzing their importance import on the development of sport. Very little was said concerning sport amenities policy which is actually the basis of a sound sport development policy. They did not evoke the diplomatic dimension of sport in Cameroon nor the recruitment and training conditions of PES teachers. These aspects needed to be analysed as they were the core elements of the sports policy. Turning to national or international competitions there was a lot of improvisation due to ill preparedness. It is for this reason we focused our attention to the formulation and implementation of sports polices in Cameroon which were generally weak and consequently failed to enhance sport achievements.

The history of sport and sport policies in Cameroon had received less attention from scholars. We believe it is important to re-examine the approach given to the study of sport. This passes through the study of sport as a global complex phenomenon which calls for interdisciplinary approach: cultural studies, geography, international relations, sociology, physiology, anatomy, psychology, law, political sciences, etc. These elements ensured a layout

of a clearly defined sport policy that will produce a positive impact on the population and nations at large.

## **7. Statement of Problem and Hypothesis**

### **7.1. Statement of Problem**

The creation of the Ministry of Youth and Sport in 1970 was preceded by two major texts that became central to the designing, implementation and management of sports and PE in Cameroon<sup>73</sup>. These texts were not very different in their content with what existed during the colonial era. The creation of a ministry in charge of sports was a turning point in the evolution of sport in state policies and became a priority state affair benefiting from public funds. As a public utility the government put in place sport management systems. This approach was not unique to Cameroon as a number of African and Social/Communist nations and France, wherein there was high state interventionism in the management of sport<sup>74</sup>. This was to achieve what Grix and Lee designate as the ‘twin suns of Prestige and Profit’<sup>75</sup>. In Cameroon sport stood central in government policies for its multifunctional use. Sport in this case was a cobweb system as it was interconnected and interrelated with many other policies.

As from 1970 when the Ministry in charge of sport was created to 2011, the government of Cameroon had managed to put in place mechanisms to ease the management of sport to fit in her national development plan. A major change occurred in 2004 when the name of the Ministry was changed from Ministry of Youth and Sport to Ministry of Sport and Physical Education. Along the line a number of administrative decisions were issued to give a legal backing as to sport management. The sport management policies were not isolated as they inserted themselves in the general national development program. Sport was linked to diplomacy, public management policy, health, education, infrastructural development, social welfare. All of these was to put sport as a factor of national identity and national unity and integration strategies<sup>76</sup>. All decisions (policies) had to be conceived and implemented to achieve one of the above objectives. Cameroon sports and sport managers stood at the top in the world of international sport, law and other texts were signed to finance, train staff in the field of sports and creation of sport institutions and agencies. The central issue in this study is to analyse the

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<sup>73</sup> Archives MINSEP Decree n° 62-DF-250 of 16th July: instituting a sport charter in Cameroon.

<sup>74</sup> Klein, “Réformer la gouvernance des fédérations...”, p. 15.

<sup>75</sup> Grix and Lee, “Soft Power, Sport Mega-Events and Emerging States: The Lure of the Politics of Attraction” in Center for Rising Powers Working Paper No 12, University of Cambridge, 2013, p.1.

<sup>76</sup> Mbida Nana, “De nouvelles articulations entre les politiques publiques...”, p. 68.

Cameroonian government endeavours to develop and implement a suitable administrative, educational, infrastructural and competition sport policy was done with some difficulties between 1970 and 2011. In other words, which were the steps taken by the Cameroon government to develop sport? What place was given to sport in the educational system by the government? Under which conditions and for what outcome were funds allocated for the construction of sport facilities and the organization and participation at national and international competitions disbursed? From the above our research will be based on the actors and decision mechanism by the Cameroon government to manage and develop sport in Cameroon based on its political vision.

## **7.2. Research Hypothesis**

The central hypothesis of this analysis is that the Cameroon government did not succeed in elaborating and implementing clear sport policies. This drives us to the formulation of secondary hypotheses to better apprehend our work. The following subsidiary hypotheses are:

- That there was low collaboration between administrative actors (the state and stakeholders) which led to constant conflict over competence due to absence of clearly defined missions. All these actors need to be federated by a real vision to avoid absorbing state funds and public spaces.
- That very little was done to improve the living standards of PES teachers and enable all students to enjoy PES in the educational system with quality infrastructure.
- That little was done to create a conducive environment for the production of quality performances as sporters and their coaches lacked the basic living commodities and infrastructure to train on Methodology in the Collection and Analysis of Data.

## **8.1. Methodology of data collection**

The realization of the study was made possible by two main sources of information: primary sources (interviews and archival materials), and secondary sources (unpublished and published). The collection and later analysis of the data was guided by an established research methodology.<sup>77</sup> Data collection is done through field investigation and questioning of social

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<sup>77</sup> T. Kaur, "Sporting Lives and "Development" Agendas: A critical analysis of sport and "Development" nexus in the context of farm workers of the Western Cape", PhD in Economics and Management Sciences, University of Western Cape, 2016, p. 12.

actors and cross reading of available documents and material. In a nutshell any source of information that could help throw light on the understanding of the subject with more objectivity and ethics.

In this particular case, our first mission was to sough out all research works that had been carried out around sport. For our documentation, we made use of the National Archives in Buea (NAB) the National Archives in Yaoundé (NAY). In these offices we got in contact with first hand information from colonial times which gave us an insight in to what had been done during the implantation of sport. The next step was to visite Archives of the former Ministry of Youth and Sport today Ministry of Sports and Physical Education (Ministère des sports et de l'Education Physique MINSEP), Archives of the Cameroon National Olympic and Sports Committee, Archives of the National Institute of Youth and Sports (Institut National de la Jeunesse et des Sport (INJS), and a handful of private archives of certain personalities across the nation. In these centers recent administrative documents on the object of sport were found which enabled us to better understand what had been done and what was programmed. Documents such as final reports of the National Sport Conferences and the Laws, mission reports and sources of funding.

As concerns secondary sources, we made use of a wide range of unpublished works, (theses and dissertations), which handled aspects directly linked or associated to the study. These works were complemented with general and related published works such as books and scholarly articles in journals and contributions in other edited documents relevant to our study. The foregoing sources were consulted in documentation centres like, the Central Library of the University of Yaoundé I, the Libraries of the Department of History, the Advanced Teachers Training College, the Ministry of Scientific and Technical Research, the University of Buea, the Institute of International Relations Cameroon, the *Cercle Histoire-Geographie-Archaeologie* and *Cercle Philolosophie-Sociologie-Pyschologie et Anthropologie* of the University of Yaoundé I, Fondation Paul Ango Ela of Yaounde.

The methodology of the study constitutes the normal techniques of the historian, ranging from the collection of data from various complementary sources, validity checks, interpretation and analysis, and finally rigorous and objective synthesis<sup>78</sup>. Emphasis was laid on oral interviews, conducted with individuals who were directly or indirectly concerned with sport and sport policy such as former/present employees of the MYS/MINSEP. Members of Staff of

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<sup>78</sup> T. Kaur, "Sporting Lives and "Development" Agendas: A critical analysis...", p. 15.

sports federations and regulatory committees concerned with the elaboration and implementation of sports policy. Some former *sporters* professional and amateurs were also contacted for the realization of this study. Some other persons concerned with sport related activities were also interviewed as well as some journalists. These persons were interviewed based on their knowledge and mastery of Cameroon sport either as direct actors, close observers or as contemporaries of the period of study. Vital information was acquired on controversial issues through group discussions. And in order to better ensure the authenticity of information got from oral information, in relation to that acquired from published and unpublished sources, effort was made to reconcile both sources of information at all levels.

Then manager of agencies and stakeholder were interviews as they enlightened us on decisions and how they managed to implement them. Lectures of the NIYS and of other institutions which deal with sport issues supplied us with pertinent information. Finally we interviewed sporters. Some of them still involved in sport and other completely away but had a close eye on what was happening and some persons of the civil society and sport journalist. These exchanges was gold mine of information as the why of certain decisions and reactions and bahavoirs. We made out a lot of time for our informants as they had tied schedules in which we had to fit in.

An interview guide was used to gather information for the study. These were cues to informants who needed to reflect before responding and also to those who were not immediately available as agreed upon. The type of questions posed was broad-based, wherein the informant was allowed to say everything he or she knew about the study, without any restriction. The informants also had the choice to respond to questions which they mastered most. These responses provided us with ample, specific and general information needed for the study.

The use of statistics in the form of graphs and tables was very instrumental in providing more practical explanations to the study.<sup>79</sup> Plates were also employed to make the work more visible thereby giving more meaning to it. These was gotten from diversified sources, but highlighted important moments of our studies. All of the collection data was cross examin, interpreted, analysed and confronted. Information graps from exchange with informants and what read from the different document were put together and filtered to get the needed substance.

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<sup>79</sup>T. Kaur, "Sporting Lives and "Development" Agendas: A critical analysis...", p. 15.

## **8.2. Method of Data Analysis**

Sport policy which is our research based is an interdisciplinary domain with its roots all over. For this reason we had to make use other sciences, history, sociology, management, psychology, physiology, geography. The understanding sport policy in Cameroon involved all the domains that were earlier cited.

Each of the disciplines enabled to situate our study in the Cameroonian context. History determined the general organization of our work from the introduction of sport and the administrative documents that codified its management and play. Administrative management sciences enable to understand administrative procedures and governance in public policy issues. Sociology which deals with social interactions and values enable us to see the impact of sport on the social structure. This also proved valuable to understand issued related to the social perception of sport. Psychology came in to observe and understand individual human behaviours in situations of crisis and joy. Also how individual saw themselves in the system. As concerns our analysis we made use the topical approach, in order to enable a linear flow of facts from start to finish. We are also going to use the chronological approach. The inductive approach enabled to observe the evolution and development of sport in Africa and Cameroon in particular. The ideology of the colonial days and the new orientation given to it after independence. The followed the deductive approach leading to the collection, cross examining and analyzing of collected data. Based on this our work will follow the inductive and hypothetico-deductive approach.

## **8. Theoretical frame work**

Understanding the evolution and instruments (law and programs) used in the framing of sport policy theories in Cameroon, there is need for a theoretical framework. Eivind Skille quoted Houlihan who noted that “there is a lack of theory development, with regard to frameworks for analyzing sport policy. As already stated, different theories are applied, and should be applied, at different levels of the analysis of sport policy”<sup>80</sup>. These theories will also confine the work making its traceability smooth and accessible. Various theories are exploited to understand what can be considered the Cameroonian sport policy layout. Our study will make use of sociological, international and administrative theories which include Institutionalism.

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<sup>80</sup> Skille, “Understanding Sport Clubs as Sport Policy Implementers. A theoretical framework for the analysis of the implementation of central sport policy through local and voluntary sport organisations”, in *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 43(2), 2008, p .186.

The second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century witnessed a great explosion in sport globalization. International sport federations and organizations became a battle field for certain nations. The Olympic Games was actually the main scene where this scenario was acted. The cold war had divided the world and each block made use of every opportunity available to pound on the other block. P. Boniface say the OGs became more political than sporting as government did their best to have their teams present. Governments took very seriously the preparation of their teams with the latest scientific savoir faire, equipment and availability funds. Since its first participation at the OGs in 1964 in Tokyo has always been present for the games. The simply shows that sport was no longer considered as simple leisure activity.

The Institutional theory focuses on the role of the state and societal institutions in the creation and implementation of policy to achieve pre-defined and pre-selected objectives and goals. It also focuses on how it affects human behavior.<sup>81</sup> The goals pursue here were three: flow of information, opportunities and mobilization of support for action taking and the choice of decision processed at work. This was in a bit to avoid conflict, reduce uncertainty, solve problems and learn from past experiences<sup>82</sup>. Institutions are managed by men but they impact on his live and attitude and have a longer life span. The state is at the center of policy formulation, implementation and evaluation to archieve development goals-based on her ideological conception of the world and rational choices. The creation of the ministry in charge of sport clearly positioned sport as public utility sector. The management of sport was a mirco example of the management approach in the country. Also Cameroon was not in isolation so, management technics were influenced by what other nations did.

The NI theory will be used to x-ray the undesigned and circumstantial nature of the Cameroon sport policy. This theory focuses on the role of the state and societal institutions in the creation and implementation of policy to achieve pre-defined and pre-selected objectives and goals. It also focuses on how it affects human behavior<sup>83</sup>. Institutions are managed by man but they impact on his attitude and have a longer life span.

Historical Institutionalism which is a sub branch of new institutionalism which “reject the fact that institutions are deliberately designed by actions for efficient performances of

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<sup>81</sup> Healy, “The New Institutionalism and Irish social policy”, in K. Healy and B. Reynolds (eds), *Social Policy in Ireland: Principle, Practice and Problems*, Dublin, Oak Tree Press, 1998, p. 82.

<sup>82</sup> J-C. Thoening, “Institutional Theories and Public Institutions: New Agendas and Appropriateness”. In B.G Peters abd J. Pierre, *The Handbook of Public Administration*, London, Sage, 2011, p. 187.

<sup>83</sup> Healy, “The New Institutionalism and Irish social policy”, in K. Healy and B. Reynolds (eds), *Social Policy in Ireland: Principle, Practice and Problems*, Dublin, Oak Tree Press, 1998, p. 82.

specific functions and little or no attention is paid to historical legacies<sup>84</sup>. Each institution that created by a governing body had a “why”. The why was inline with the ideology and the objectives to be achieved by the institutions. In many official speeches by either Presidents Ahidjo or Biya, sport and sporters were used as model of patriotism, and as symbol of national unity.

All institutions are run by actors who most often take decisions in response to pressure and/or reaction from other actors, be them internal and/or external. Greif and Laitin cited by M. Pollack are of the opinion that institutional change in which feedbacks from institutions can either strengthen and reinforce existing institutions, or inversely undermine them<sup>85</sup>. Harguideguy brings the notion of rational choice behaviourism and functionalism in institutional political decision making. These two build an interactive links between institutions and actors<sup>86</sup>. The decision by president Nixon of America to visit China and Japan with a table tennis (Ping-Pong diplomacy) and Karate teams were political soft power moves to appease relations between USA and these Far East giants.

This is an illustration of the fact that political institutions as well as policies can produce varying effects over time if we take into account the specificity of the institution and/or policy in question and the types of feedback it brings forth. President Biya had many at times used nostalgic feeling to capture Cameroon around the sport decisions or ask the population to act like the Indomitable Lions of the past. The intention behind the decision and the reaction and implementation will not always be the same for all. The actors of the system in Cameroon are the state, the regulatory commissions and federations, the athletes and the team management staff, students and their teachers and the rest of the population who consume the outcome. In fact; these actors constituted an essential bond of the system. Each of these institutional actors set up roles which codify and organize the sport domain and establishes procedures for interaction with other institutions<sup>87</sup>.

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<sup>84</sup> Pollack, “The new institutionalism and European integration”, retrieved from work papers on “constitutionalism and governance beyond the state”, n° 1, 2008, ISSN: 1756-7556, <http://www.bath.ac.uk/eml/conweb>, on 27-06-2016 at 8:25 pm, p. 5.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid p. 4.

<sup>86</sup> Harguideguy, “New institutionalism and French Public Policy analysis maintaining the exception culturelle?” Working paper 2007, retried from <https://www.hashs-archives-ouvertes.fr/alshs-00124535>, pp. 17-3-16 at 11: 10 pm.

<sup>87</sup> Ndongso Minsoko, 56 years, Certified graduate Counselor in Youth and Animation from NIYS, Retrieved Divisional Delegate at the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Civic Education, , Associate lecturer NIYS, interviewed on the 20-3-2017 at 2:30pm.

Laker points out that the sport system interrelation and actions seen in its structure perform a social regulating function<sup>88</sup>. Sport is termed the opium of the people and a religion for others. Through this interest manifested in sport in Cameroon particularly, it was used as a symbol of unity and togetherness<sup>89</sup>. T. Chandler et al, establish the relationship between sport and social cohesion which are: individualistic, inter personal and societal<sup>90</sup>.

This necessitates the use of other theories like that of Critical Realism (CR). The Critical Realism theoretical approach was conceived and first used in the 1970s by Bhaskar. It relies on the three principles: Empirical- (superficial) what can be observed; Actual- what is known but cannot always be seen; and Real-hidden but necessary precondition for the actual and the empirical.<sup>91</sup> The institutions created each have an impact on the society than can be observed

The critical realist theory is based fundamentally on explanation as answers to the question “what caused those events to happen?”<sup>92</sup>. It shows one of the short comings of the functionalist approach to understand sport policy conception and implementation. The influence of the past is paramount in the critical realist approach as it considers previous actors and actions to be determinants of present decision or action. Good explanations will include reference to: the (real) physical and social entities that are considered to be relevant; the relationships between the constituent parts of those entities; the causal powers that result from those relationships; and the contingent combinations of entities and powers that are responsible for particular events<sup>93</sup>.

In a bid to situate this theory in the understanding of the conception and implementation of sport policy in Cameroon, Critical realism partially frames it in our work as it leads us to the answering of the question “what caused the event to happen?” We are to have a double observation: the visible and non-visible causes. In our case we can question if the decisions that were taken by the administration and stakeholders had the desired results. Or had the visible decisions been sufficiently taken into consideration when evaluating their outcome and

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<sup>88</sup> Laker, “Culture, Education and Sport...”, p. 9.

<sup>89</sup> Pigeaud, *Au Cameroun de Paul Biya*, Paris, Edition Karthala, 2011, p. 50.

<sup>90</sup> Chandler, Cronin and Vamplew, *Sport and Physical Education. The key concepts*, second edition, London, Routledge, 2007, p. 91.

<sup>91</sup> Walsh and Evans., “Critical Realism: An Important Theoretical Perspective for Midwifery Research” retrieved from [www.midwiferyjournal.com](http://www.midwiferyjournal.com), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.midw.2103.09.002>, Elsevier Lts Published by Elsevier, retrieved on 26-11-2018, at 10:42 am, p.4.

<sup>92</sup> Easton, “Critical Realism in Case Study Research” in ELSEVIER Industrial Marketing Management, n° 38 ROID (118-128), retrieved on 27-06-2018, at 11:12 pm, p. 5.

<sup>93</sup> Sorrell., “Explaining Sociotechnical Transitions: A Critical Realist Perspective”, Elsevier, Research Policy Journal 47 (2018), retrieved on 26-11-2018 at 11:30 pm, p. 1268

orientation? Which were those aspects that had received less attention but were the core to understand the outcome. Did the organization of the general conference of sport and physical education in 1992 or the creation of institutions to train sport and physical education teachers impact on perception of sport the Cameroonian society?

The varying knowledge and frames provided by these theories enable us to better understand the complexity of the Cameroon sports environment. The fact that sport is a state management affair reduces the impact of decisions of other actors.<sup>94</sup> In this light, the theoretical approach we shall adopt is a blend of the different theories. This will enable us best explain sport policies in the Cameroonian context. Apart from the central position of the state, considerations have to be given to the perceptions of sports and its organization in the Cameroonian social, economic, cultural and political context. This leads us to the clarification of some of concepts that will be used in this study analysis.

The study on sport is not common in our society regardless of the fact that it at time set the pace for social emotional displace. This work aims at contributing to the understanding of sport as a microcosm of our society. Sport has lots of interconnection and links with all sectors on governance.it introduces new information and knowledge of sport in our academic sphere.

## **9. Problems Encountered**

The realization of a study of this magnitude is always associated with problems. It is, therefore, important and necessary to highlight the problems and the solutions that were sought to overcome them for the realization of the study.

The access to first hand data was difficult. Our visits to the NAB coincided with the beginning of the crisis making our stay for a long period unsafe. The new team in service had a limited knowledge of organization of the archives. To overcome the situation, we entered in direct contact with one of the archivists who photocopied documents he could lay hands on and sent them via mail. In the NAY the situation was not very different as it was undergoing renovation works making access difficult at all times. The archives of MINSEP were not organized and the archivist was not present more especially because of the split of the ministry in 2004. As a result, documents had not been sent for archiving. We went searching in all the corners of the ministry. In this research centers we had to use diplomacy and at times had to

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<sup>94</sup> J-C. Thoening, "Institutional Theories and Public Institutions: New Agendas....," p. 187.

corrupt the personnel to have access to the needed document. Also the fact that we were not granted direct access to the catalogue limited our scope.

We had to greatly improve our mastery of the French language as most documents available at the level of the ministry in charge of sport and the NAY were written in French. Most of our informants were of French expression. This led us to start reasoning and conceiving our ideas in French that which impact of the quality of the work.

Turning to oral sources, many informants no matter the assurance given them remained very suspicious as some of the questions were very sensitive. The consequence was that at times we were provided with inaccurate or distorted information. This made our scope of informants limited to a few courageous actors. We made the best to extract as much as we could from those available to respond to our questions. We went on to the point of signing undertakings of confidentiality. Many informants rejected the questionnaires and other recording devices we wanted to make use of.

Just as for primary sources it was not so easy getting secondary data. Specialized books on our topic were almost inexistent and at times were found on the catalogue card but not in the shelves. The Central Library of the University of Yaounde I, just as that of the National Institute of Youths and Sport, presented almost the same conditions. To cope with the situation, we made use of other documentation centers such as the *history-geography-archeology cercle*, *Fondation Paul Ango Ela*, the library of the Cameroon National Olympic and Sport Committee and private libraries. We made great use of the internet to access certain documents not available in the local libraries.

### **Major Results of our finding**

Our findings bring out the following results as the implementation of a sport policy in Cameroon after the creation of the ministry of sport. The creation of the Ministry in charge of sport 1970 was to enable the Cameroonian government to give a certain vision and mission for sports in here development plan. That which was not the case as based on our definition of sport policy there was not elaborated strategic document with the vision, objectives, means, actors, timeframe and measurement tools to evaluate what was been done.

There was a constant conflict between the state and other stakeholders and technical organs such as the federations because of the absence of a clarification of their missions and

their over dependence on state funds. All federations lack financial autonomy and highly depended on state subsidies for the functioning.

There were difficulties in implementing the programs due to lack of collaboration between state actors. The lack of administrative document stipulating the missions of certain services and role of actors brings confusion. Institutions were merged and/or attached to other without defining their new missions. This was the case of the CNOSC which inherited the missions of the NSB which were already handled by the ministry of sport. This conflict was visible in the appointment of personnel and management of allocated budget. This was seen in the construction of sport infrastructures and the implication of councils and parastate companies in the financing of federations and sport competitions.

There was a battle between PES teachers and other actors of the educational system as to their status and the non-acceptance of sport in the official examinations of the English subsystem. It was rather embarrassing as students in the same school did not have the opportunity to socialize through sport. The students of the English subsystem could not be part of schools in bilingual mix schools as training hours coincided with lecture periods. Again PES teachers had serious conflict with these teachers due to their misconception and lack of consideration for the subject.

The non-existence of a status and career profile for sporters and their coaches was a source of frustration for many. This was one of the major reasons for the escape of athletes during competitions and subsequent change of nationality and strike for the request of their bonuses. It was becoming automatic that at every international competition Cameroonian athletes had to escape before or during or immediately after at times encouraged by their coaches and foreign agents. The major reason for this situation was the search of a brighter future. Social pressure had gone to the point of shaming every athlete who dared to return to Cameroon after an international competition particularly when organized by a western nation.

## **10. Organisation of Work**

The study begins with a general introduction and ends with a general conclusion. Besides, the general introduction and a general conclusion, each chapter starts with a brief introduction and ends with a brief conclusion that aims at maintaining internal logic between the chapters. The general introduction attempts an orientation of the interest of the study and presents a theoretical framework of the central argument of the thesis. The work is divided into six (6) chapters with

each highlighting an aspect of the policy problematic. It also carries a substantial literature review, which does not only provoke the present study, but certifies its scientific originality, by exposing the research problem.

The first chapter presents the long match that preceded the creation of administrative sports institutions. It gives a history of the institutionalization of sport as from the colonial era and its importance in the development of the territory. As of the post-independence period it questions the place of administrative organs as per the creation of the ministry in charge of sport in 1970 in the conception, implementation, evaluation and impact of sport policies requested by the heads of state. The name of the ministry was changed in 2004 to become Ministry of Sport and Physical Education. It throws light on the law, decrees, texts, circulars and decisions signed government authorities to enhance the development of in Cameroon. Also, it shows that the ministry had not really played the role it had to play in uplifting Cameroon's sports to an industry. The instability in the seat of minister, inadequate funds and personnel and administrative bottlenecks reduced the efficiency of its action.

The second chapter analyses the creation of technical sport institutions, the implantation of stakeholder (sports federations, CNOSEC, NSB,) and their role in development of sports. The analysis starts from the colonial era particular the French period. Most of the management organs in Cameroon were a colonial heritage. These state control and influential bodies because of the lack of a coherent state vision had difficulties carrying on their missions. The fact that the ministry had an almost complete grip on these organizations rendered them more administrative than technical. These institutions enabled Cameroon enter the international sport system through the membership. These institutions suffered from mismanagement and financial difficulties as they solely depended on state grants which were not sufficient to enable them carry out their missions. The conflictual situation between these institutions and the ministry in charge of sports is highlighted and their impact on sport. These organizations enabled Cameroon showcase her diplomatic strategies as its hosted international sport organization and some Cameroonians headed some international sport organizations.

The third chapter comes to deal with the question of PES in our school curricula and the centres charged with the training of PES teachers. We start by analysing the reasons for the introduction of PES in the academic curricula but were question why PES was only fully enforced in francophone subsystem and not in the systems, as should be the case. Also, the chapter projects the lack of vision as concerns the carrying out of the academic scheme- ranging

from lack of infrastructure, lack of didactic material and lack of consideration for the subject. Again, the chapter investigates into the recruitment and training conditions PES teachers. From the objectives behind the creation, and evolution of the different training centres (NIYS and NYSCs) to the status of the teacher.

The fourth chapter focuses and deals with the difficulties in the formulation of an infrastructural policy to implement the vision for sport. We are drilled in the history to understand the reasons for the construction of sport amenities as far back as the colonial era and how it was continued in the successive political regimes. The absence of sport amenities had stopped the Cameroon population from benefiting from high level sport competitions. Also, the construction of the few existing infrastructure did not obey to any real planning. The planning would have enabled the majority of the population to benefit from the construction of these amenities. The only policy elaborated suffered from neglect, lack of financial means as the state again singly handled it. To an extent the constructed infrastructure was to the promotion of one sport- elite football. We also bring to the limelight the fact that Cameroon depended on foreign aid for the construction of her sport amenities.

The fifth chapter deals essentially with national and international competitions. Some will be considered sovereignty competitions because of the high level of state implication in terms of finances and logistics (FENASSCO Games A/B, DIAXIADES, and University Games, cycling with the Cameroon international cycling tour and Chantal Biya cycling tour and the athletics federation with the Mount Cameroon Race). Besides these sovereignty federations, other federations managed to exist. Football, the national sport, received the lion share of attention, both from the state and media. Cameroon's participations at international competitions had produced a positive image of the country but had also negatively affected the country with scandals born of disorganization, lack of preparedness and financial support to *sporters*. This chapter will also question the status of international *sporters* and the reasons which led to their massive immigration (muscle drift).

The last chapter will deal with difficulties in the formulation and implementation of Cameroon's sports policies. Of importance will be the reasons that backed the formulation of these policies. This will be done through the analysis of administrative constraints and bottlenecks. The consequence of which was the delay and implementation of decisions for the acquisition and organization of activities. It also affects the timely allocation of funds for the

construction of sport infrastructure and taking charge of career and post sport career of *sporter* who brought honour to the nation.

**CHAPTER ONE: SPORT IN CAMEROON'S GOVERNMENT  
PUBLIC POLICY LAYOUT.**

Institutions are structures set up for the smooth organization and implementations of programs. In Cameroon, as in other countries around the world, sport management became important based on the importance of this sector to the growth of the nation. A ministry of sport was created to implement government's vision of sport. This chapter will deal with setting up of sport administrative institutions in Cameroon as from the colonial era (British and French Cameroon). We shall analyze the post-colonial setup with the creation of the Ministry of Youths and Sports in 1970 that was transformed to Ministry of Sports and Physical Education in 2004. We shall focus on the reasons for the particular setup noted and the means allocated to meet up the vision. The Cameroon sport policy in its layout was a colonial heritage, particularly of France.

The setting up of a separate ministry for sport was to implement government vision and ideology in the sector. A separate ministry to handle sports issues enables the government to implement its ideology through sport (regulating society, enhancing discipline, improving on health and emotional wellbeing).<sup>1</sup> This was done in collaboration with other ministries (Health, Education, Armed Forces and Defense, Social and Women's Affairs etc...).

As we earlier pointed out the Ministry of Youth and Sport was created in June 1970 after a Federal governmental reorganization by President Ahidjo. This decision brought a change in the conception, consideration of and management of what was to be regarded as sport in the country. In this same year Cameroon was attributed the hosting right for the African Football Cup of Nations (AFCON) scheduled for 1972<sup>2</sup>. The appellation MYS was sent to the archives in December 2004 during a governmental reorganization. The new appellation was Ministry of Sport and Physical Education (MSPE) known as MINSEP in its French acronym. This led to the creation of a separate ministry for Youth and Civic Education. This new configuration highlighted government's ambition and orientation as concerns sport issues. In-depth changes occurred not only on the physical structure of the ministry but also affected the missions, management and organization.

## **I- ADMINISTRATIVE AND LEAGL MANAGEMENT OF SPORTS IN CAMEROON BEFORE 1970**

The ministry in charge of sport only came to existence in 1970 due to a governmental reorganization by President Ahidjo. It is first of all judicious to understand the system that

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<sup>1</sup> Stewart et al, *Australian Sport: Better by Design?*...p.23

<sup>2</sup> Ndongso Minsoko, *Le livre d'or du sport camerounais...*, p. 225.

existed before 1970. In this section we shall move back to the colonial period during which modern sports was introduced. British and French Cameroon as well as post-independent Cameroon are the focus of this section. The reasons for the creation of these administrative management institutions, their fundings and staff will also be analyzed.

The ideology behind the putting in place and consideration given to sport by the independent government is not very different from that of the French colonial thinkers. The circular note from the High Commissioner of France to Cameroon written in 1953 highlights the place of sport to the ideological advancement of the territory. It reads:

*J'ai l'honneur d'attirer votre attention sur la place de plus en plus importante, que le sport occupe parmi les activités humaines. Partout dans le monde, le sport va de l'avant. Mais son orientation n'est pas toujours des plus heureux. Le sport loisir est très important en une période où les lois sociales tendent à laisser de plus en plus de temps libre aux tirailleurs pour lutter contre un fléau tel que l'alcoolisme en constante progression. Il s'agit là d'un problème très important parce que intimement lié à l'amélioration de la race<sup>3</sup>.*

In this note, we can see that sport was used to combat social ills and implement discipline among the Cameroonians. This view is buttressed by M. Carotenuto<sup>4</sup>.

Here the well documented “disciplining” role of sport and other state or mission-sponsored leisure activities throughout colonial Africa offers a way to understand how local martial traditions such as wrestling did not fit a sport policy based on social discipline, political obedience, and notions of “muscular Christianity”. Discussed at the very top of the colonial administration, the role of sport within the civilizing mission was noted as early as, 1920s to be essential in allaying “discontent and premature political agitations. In African, as elsewhere, particularly amongst semi-civilized peoples, the development of healthy games has been of first rate political importance.

In Carotenuto’s opinion, sport was part of the civilization arsenal of the colonial powers. This soft power weapon which was used by these nations had far reaching impact on the colonies. The main objective behind the introduction of this activity was to better format the African for them to be better molded to the colonial vision. Accepting these games gave them a privileged position over the others as they were close to the *whiteman* (a certain superiority complex).

### **1. Administrative and Legal Setup for Sport Development in British Cameroon**

Cameroon was partitioned into two halves following the defeat and departure of the Germans during WWI. The section given to Britain was administered as part of the Eastern

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<sup>3</sup> NAY File 3AC 4123 Comité consultative de l'Éducation Physique et des sports, 1949.

<sup>4</sup> Carotenuto, “Crafting sport history behind bars: Wrestling with state patronage and colonial confinement in Kenya in History”, in *Africa Cambridge Journals*, retrieved from <http://journals.cambridge.org/HIA,IP.ip.on> 20/12/2015 at 8pm, p. 9.

region of Nigeria. Meaning that, almost all decisions taken in Nigeria affected Cameroon. Some of the management institutions were based in Nigeria. This situation stayed for some matters till 1961 October after British Cameroon opted for Unification with La République du Cameroon.

Sport had no legal backing in Nigeria till 1918 when the first harmonized PE syllabus was introduced in Nigerian schools. At this time only missionary bodies had schools; the British administration had not invested in the creation of schools.<sup>5</sup> The second landmark decision as concerns sport implementation was in 1933 which divided the teaching of PE. Children of below eleven (11) years and children above had two different lessons. It was orientated toward the improvement of mental and body health through games and skill development. The interesting aspect is that PE was handled by the Board of Education.<sup>6</sup> The most popular sport competition was Empire Day Celebration<sup>7</sup> under the supervision of the Governor General in Lagos and by top administrative officials in other regions. School pupils and some non-attending school youths were called up to display their skills in athletics and gymnastics. Civil sport was done by colonial officials in the quarter. With time they initiated competitions within their administration and other co-operations<sup>8</sup>. By 1933 Nigerian athletes participated at the Commonwealth Games particularly in track and field events and in 1951 the Nigeria Olympic Committee was officially recognized by the International Olympic Committee.

All the above-mentioned events impacted on British Cameroon. The Empire Day sporting activities became the first institutional sport management units. Schools organized their activities so as to have team participate at the one most important sports competition of the year. Just as in Nigeria sports leagues were gradually setup by sports fans. The most popular leagues were football, netball, athletics and gymnastic which were played in schools. By 1960 there existed a regular football league harboring teams from public and private companies and Para state institutions. The following team existed POWERCAM, P & T social club, Cameroon Development Cooperation (CDC) Tiko, Police Club, Army football Club, Public Works Department (PWD) Kumba and Bamenda, Cameroun Bank<sup>9</sup>. The main competition was the Commissioners Cup played between 1958 and 1961. Before Unification in 1961 South

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<sup>5</sup> Ladani and Andanje Mwisukha, "The Impact of Colonial Physical Education and Sport in Nigeria with particular reference to 1933 syllabus, Conference paper for the Nigerian education symposium, Lagos 2011, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>7</sup> It was held on May 24<sup>th</sup> of every year to Commemorate Queen Victoria of England's birthday.

<sup>8</sup> Ovenseri Aibueku and Ogbouma "Historical Analysis of Nigeria's Development Policy" Asia Pacific Journal of Education Arts, and Sciences, Vol 1, No. 1, March 2014, p. 71.

<sup>9</sup> NAB file n° 940/ 2 Sh, Sports general correspondence, p. 66

Cameroon just had no sport development plan. Most of what existed was copied from Nigeria. The British had a limited impact on sport legal environment in British Cameroon. The law from Nigeria took long to be implemented. Also they Britain had professional sport leagues, but had not intergrated it in the educational curricular as had been done by the French.

## **2. Administrative and Legal Framework for Sports Development in French Cameroon, 1949-1959**

The departure of the Germans paved the way for the French and British to settle in Cameroon. The French in their section applied sports laws they were applying in their other African colonies. As from 1925 there were texts in French Cameroon setting up as “*Comité d’Instruction Physique du Territoire*”.<sup>10</sup> This committee was charged with the mission to organize sport in the territory. It was later given more powers as time went by. In 1949 the *Comite consultative de l’Éducation Physique et des Sports* was created to replace the “*Comite d’Instruction Physique du Territoire*”. This institution was replaced in 1956 by the *Comite Territorial des Sports du Cameroun*<sup>11</sup>.

In actual facts, the change of leadership in government did not have any fundamental change on the management of sport. The structure of the government had a service of sports and physical education in French Cameroon which was just a prolongation of the service put in place by the French colonial administration. But to the African and particularly Cameroonians it became a medium to show how assimilated they were. Accepting these games gave them a privilege position over the others as they were close to the *whiteman* (a certain superiority complex). The successful implementation of this vision depended on the organization model setup.

## **3. Evolution and Organization of Sport Management Institutions in French Cameroon between 1949 and 1959**

For this vision to be implemented there needed to be an organization. The High Commisioner was the head of all administrative units. Amongst the administrative services there was a service of health, and youth and sports. The head of this service was appointed in all the regions by the High Commisisoner. They had the duty to organize civil, youth associative movements, mass education, medical control for *sporters* and construction and maintenance of

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<sup>10</sup> NAY 3AC file 4123 Procès-verbal comité de l’éducation physique et des sports, 20 Mai 1953,

<sup>11</sup> NAY 2AC file 6256, Création d’un Comité Territorial des Sports au Cameroun, 1956. Cf annex for missions and composition of the committee.

sport infrastructure and equipment<sup>12</sup>. These persons could be teachers, lovers of sports and socio-educative activities or any administrative staff. To ease his work, he created commissions and committees to assist in the service of youth and sports to conceive and implement a physical education and sports policies in the territory. As indicated above the, real first functioning management organ was the Consultative Committee for Physical Education and Sports. It had to be consulted for the elaboration of any plan or general program destined to ensure the development of physical education and sports in the territory.<sup>13</sup> The management of sport was entirely financed by the colonial administration as it was mentioned above.

The Territorial Committee for Sports had more responsibility than the Consultative Committee for Physical Education and Sports it replaced. For example, it had a say in the creation of any new sport league; any financial allocation to any league; the organization of national and international competitions and also served as a court of arbitration for any conflict in the domain of sports. The composition of members of this new committee was also indicative of its greater importance. In addition to the chief of Youth and sports Service who was a rightful member, there was also the director of Public Health and also the director of Finance<sup>14</sup>.

As every state institution the ministry during the two periods was not based only on its central services and organs in Yaounde. The missions assigned to her were national; to this effect it had local representations to implement the missions in the peripheries. As seen on the organigram above the ministry had decentralized units that changed appellation with time. This decentralized system was just the normal organization already set up during the French colonial era in Cameroon. The following illustrates it: *Dans sa réunion du 23 janvier 1953, le comité Consultative de l'Éducation Physique et des Sports a émis le vœu que soit désigné par vos soins dans chaque région, un représentant du service de la jeunesse et des sports qui pourrait être soit un membre de l'enseignement*<sup>15</sup>.

The putting in force of the specifications in the 1956 law provoked a slight change in the structure and form of the administrative setup of French Cameroon. Andre-Marie Mbida became Prime Minister although his party came second in the elections into the Territorial Assembly which later in 1957 became the Legislative Assembly. Mbida was sworn in as Prime

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<sup>12</sup> NAY File 3AC 4123 Comité consultative de l'Éducation Physique et des sports, désignation d'un représentant du Service de la Jeunesse et des Sports, Mai 1953

<sup>13</sup> NAY File 3AC 4123 Comité consultative de l'Éducation Physique et des sports, 1949.

<sup>14</sup> NAY File 3AC 6256 Arrête No 6833 portant création au Cameroun d'un Comité Territorial des Sports.

<sup>15</sup> NAY 3AC file 4123, Désignation d'un représentant du service de la jeunesse et des sports, p.1.

Minister on 9<sup>th</sup> May 1957<sup>16</sup> but was replaced by A. Ahidjo one year later. Under the new administration there were evolutions as from 1959 when then Simeon Songue was appointed Secretary of State at the Presidency of the Republic in charge of Mass Education, Information and Youth and Sports and sport league started organizing national finals under the supervision of the Cameroonian government.<sup>17</sup>

#### **4. The Post-independence 1960-1970: Transition period in Sport Management,**

Independence introduced same dynamism in ideology as sport could serve other purposes to the newly installed leaders. To set the scene of the future vision of sport, President Ahidjo signed in 1962 the first ever codification text for independent Cameroon: the Cameroonian Sport Charter<sup>18</sup>. Actually all the sport disciplines on the list had already in 1959 been erected to leagues by Ahidjo who was by then Prime Minister of French Cameroon. It was the roadmap for sporting activities and management in Cameroon. Did it actually convey the aspirations of the population? Was it just an administrative formality to be up to date with the evolving world context?

At independence Cameroonian authorities stayed in the rails already traced by the colonial authorities. Most of the names of the existing institutions established during the pre-independence period to suit the new context. Kingue Dhang<sup>19</sup> and Omgba<sup>20</sup> consider that Cameroon was still in an embryonic stage of her independence and could not do things differently from what she did. The fundamental issue is that Cameroon was a setting up the first blocks of her independence.

Based on the 1962 Sport Charter in Cameroon, the Sport Leagues were transformed into Sport Federations and Cameroon stopped to be represented by France in international sport cycles. By this period many Cameroonian federations had been officially and duly recognized as Association Members to certain international federations. The National Olympic Committee (NOC) had been set up and 2 years later Cameroon was present for the 1984 Tokyo summer Olympic Games with only one (1) athlete<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> V.J. Ngoh, "The Political Evolution of Cameroon, 1884-1961," Master in History, University of Portland, USA, 1979, p. 64.

<sup>17</sup> Dikoume, *Le service public du sport...*, p.71

<sup>18</sup> Betala, "le Sport au Cameroun"... , MINSEP info, 2008, p. 105.

<sup>19</sup> Kingue Dhang, 46 years, legal adviser and president of the Cameroon judo federation FECAJUDO since 2012, former President of FECADO Centre Regional League, Black Belt 4 dan, Yaounde, 27 January 2019.

<sup>20</sup> B. Omgba, 58 years, retired PES teacher, former director of DDSHN at MINSEP, Yaounde, 20 March 2019.

<sup>21</sup> Nche Nde, "Cameroon and the Olympic since 1964..." , p. 7.

The period between 1962 and 1970, sport was either managed by a Secretary of State at the presidency of the Federal Republic or Ministerial departments (National Education, Mass Education etc). A close look reveals that it was almost the photocopy of the French system : “Le rôle de l’Etat, lequel s’affirme avec les notions d’“intérêt général” ou de “service public”, fait place explicitement à la notion de “délégation”, de “mission(s), de service public” et à celle de “mission(s) d’intérêt général » accordées aux instances fédérales du mouvement sportif préalablement agréées”<sup>22</sup>.

The 1962 Sport Charter here clearly defined the missions of the federation<sup>23</sup> towards the advancement of the sporting movement. It articulated on the finality of sports and the obligation of *sporters*. Most of the sporting disciplines here were not accessible to the majority of Cameroonians. Some of the sporting disciplines were targeting the westerners living on the territory (fencing, yachting, field hockey, swimming, horse riding). A thorough analysis of the sport federations will be done in chapter II. But as will be seen later in subsequent chapters, the state was in total control of the federation and the sport movement for a very long period. The state supplied staff, appointed all actors, and financial support and provided infrastructure. Why was it necessary for the government of Cameroon to create a ministry in charge of sport issues?

The evolution imposed by the national and international contingences as concerned the perception of sport pushed President Ahidjo to re-orientate his policy. The following events can be used to justify the creation of the ministry in charge of sport in 1970.

- The first can be seen in the Silver medal won by Joseph Bessala during the Mexico 1968 Summer Olympic Game (SOC). Cameroon entered the closed cycle of countries with an Olympic victory just a few years after independence;
- The second was the attribution by the African Football Confederation in 1970, the organization of the 8<sup>th</sup> edition of the AFCON in 1972. President Ahidjo deemed it necessary for sport to be separated from youths as it brought light on Cameroon’s image which was under criticism of the management of the insurrection of certain regions notably the Bamileke, Mongo and Bassa regions. What was abusively called the “maquisases” and in a quest to reinforce his hold on the system:

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<sup>22</sup> Callède, “Les politiques du sport en France”, L’année sociologique, presse universitaire de France, vol. 52, 2002/2, 2002, p. 438.

<sup>23</sup> Archives MINSEP, Arrêté n° 139 désignant les sports dont la pratique est autorisée sur l’ensemble du territoire de la République Fédérale du Cameroun du 30 August 1962.

... le péril de la subversion a été conjuré et notre pays, dans un monde secoué de crises diverses, présente à l'observateur honnête, un visage de paix et de stabilité dont nous avons tout lieu d'être fiers. ... IL va sans dire que notre action dans le domaine de l'unité ne s'est pas limitée au rétablissement de l'ordre. Son ambition a transcendé ce cadre restreint pour s'épanouir en volonté de faire du Cameroun une Nation, c'est-à-dire une communauté consciente de la solidarité et de son destin collectif<sup>24</sup>.

- France had in 1966 created for the first time in her history a ministry entirely devoted for sport. Cameroon just as certain other French African nations copied the model<sup>25</sup>.

The effective management of sport largely depended on the quality and number of available human and financial resources. The High-Commissioner in a circular note to the Head of Regions notes the fact that they do not submit the sports infrastructure projects for financing. Also the government provided staff to manage sports in the territory. In 1950, the *Centre pour l'Éducation Physique et Sportive* (CEPS) was created in Dschang with mission to train sport monitors<sup>26</sup>. Some were assigned to administrative duties and the others were sent to teach in schools. The administration also made use of military and some civilian skilled persons to manage sports.<sup>27</sup> In some instances active and retired sports men were recruited to serve as volunteer sports monitors and also management teams engaged in league competitions.

## **II- REFRAMING SPORT PUBLIC POLICY: CREATION OF A MINISTRY IN CHARGE OF SPORT, 1970**

Public policies a designed based on government strategic vision of the nation. It took into consideration the development, political, economic, diplomatic and social orientation for the government<sup>28</sup>. The upgrading of the statute of a ministry in a nation was not accidental nor was it for fancy. Sport and related activities were general activities that worked towards the wellbeing of the individual and the development of the nation at large. Some reasons were highlighted above which worked in favor of the creation of the MYS. We shall present below the vision behind the creation of the MYS and some of the missions assigned to this ministerial department. We shall then also examine its organization, funding and recruitment of staff. A major step was taken in Cameroon's sport history in 1970 when a distinct ministry was created to handle sport related issues. The first to be MYS was Michel Njiensi. His appointment was

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<sup>24</sup> Speech by President Ahmadou Ahidjo, National President of CNU, the first CNU congress in Garoua on 10th march 1969, pp. 4-5.

<sup>25</sup> Megne M'Ella, "L'organisation sociale du sport au Gabon, ...," p.174.

<sup>26</sup> G. B. Akpe Anatala, "Les loisirs au Cameroun sous...", p. 75.

<sup>27</sup> Ndongso Minsoko, *Le livre d'or du sport camerounais...*, p. 225.

<sup>28</sup> Megne M'Ella, "L'organisation sociale du sport au Gabon, ...," p.35

pronounced in June 1970 when there was a governmental reorganization<sup>29</sup>. The first ever MYS was appointed in June 1970. He was named Michel Njiensi unfortunately he was in office only for 7 months as he was replaced in January 1971 by Francois-Xavier Ngoubeyou.

### 1. State Vision and Missions in Creating the MYS

The creation of this ministry was aimed at working in line with the vision of president Ahidjo's general vision of nation building. The general ideology behind the setting up of the MYS and consideration given to sport was highlighted by president Ahidjo during a speech in honor of Cameroonian sportsmen at the presidential palace on 21 August 1976, It read:

Sport as a major worldwide expression of modern civilization is undoubtedly taking on increasing importance in the life of peoples and individuals... it is consequently natural that our policy which is general towards the progress of all Cameroonians and Cameroonian as a whole, should give special attention, in all circumstances, to sports and physical education. Such attention is all the more deserved since, as I have already had occasion to say, sports as far as Cameroon is concerned are a vital means of strengthening national unity and developing the educational civic values of the citizen at home, while abroad they constitute a valuable way of bringing together all men of goodwill who have faith in the dignity and equality of all human beings<sup>30</sup>.

President Biya who acceded power after President Ahidjo viewed sports from the same perspective as seen in these words: "sport is "the crucible of national unity""<sup>31</sup>.

The Ministry of Youths and Sport was born with the publication of Decree no 70/DF/273 of 12 June 1970. The missions of the ministry consisted of making sport and its practice accessible to the majority of Cameroonians. It was a way of educating and inducing civic values to the youths. Sport was a mechanism and medium used for the socialization and building of a patriotic feeling. Cameroon had just had her independence so all efforts by the government had as objective social cohesion and respect of the republican laws. Sport is a tool in the hands of government and their implication and intervention materially, financially and institutionally is a justification<sup>32</sup>. Kinang Ngan sums it in these words:

*Le ministère des sports est la partie de l'État en charge de la construction de la politique sportive de l'État. À ce titre, il est la cheville ouvrière de ce vaste chantier qu'est le mouvement sportif national. Il devrait donc intervenir dans les programmes scolaires en matière d'éducation physique, dans la promotion et la vulgarisation des disciplines sportives à travers les fédérations et les communs. Il devrait donc regrouper et organiser*

<sup>29</sup> Betala, "Le sport au Cameroun", in MINSEP Infos, N° 7 nouvelle serie, Avril-Mai-Juin-Juillet 2008, p.105

<sup>30</sup> Ahidjo, *Recueil des discours Présidentielles...*, p. 386.

<sup>31</sup> Paul Biya President of the Republic of Cameroon addressing the Indomitable Lions after their AFCON 1984 victory in Cote D'Ivoire.

<sup>32</sup> Houlihan, "Political involvement in sport, physical education and recreation", in Laker, *Sociology of sport and physical education. An introductory reader*, New York-London, Routledge Falmer, 2002, p. 192.

*les différents corps de métier du domaine aux fins d'optimiser leurs actions a la production des performances*<sup>33</sup>.

The ministry in charge of sport was to be after its creation the major actor in making Cameroon a great sporting nation. In 1969 President Ahidjo had acknowledged the fact that little had been done to the uplifting of sport as a major component to national development. The First Five Year Development Plan had a limited impact on the development of sport. There was little progress in the educational, civil, training of staff and health in relations to sport<sup>34</sup>. The creation of a ministry in charge of sport was in line with the new orientation intended for sports and related issues. This orientation was to take into consideration time and “social configuration”<sup>35</sup>.

In line with our policy approach, we note here that there were not policies to enforce this vision. The MYS had to boost a particular section of the society. There was no time frame, budget nor themes for its execution and result evaluation. Cameroon, just as in many newly independent African nations, adopted the Communist Russian type of governance of sport with the state at the center. This was different from the original model adopted by certain capitalist nations<sup>36</sup>. Sport and politic had a lot of links, the reason why politician griped to it as they used it for propaganda and prestige. Cameroon alined to this approach as certain African political regimes (civil and military) using sport as a means of mass control<sup>37</sup>.

In Cameroon, this propaganda could be seen in the handling of the 8th edition of AFCON, whereby activities were shopped and working hours were reorganized. This was contained in a Presidential Order n° 15/CAB/PR of 24 January 1971 instituting continuous period of work during the days of the 8th African Nations Football Cup competition to enable Cameroonian workers to have time to watch matches during the competition.<sup>38</sup> How important was watching the AFCON matches to the wellbeing of Cameroon?

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<sup>33</sup> Kinang Ngan, 40 years, certified graduate PES teacher from NIYS Yaounde, certified high performance athletic sport trainer from the University of Mainz Germany, national trainer in charge of horizontal jumps since 2007 at the FECA Athletics, former international, athlete, interviewed in Yaoune on 21<sup>st</sup> June 2018 m

<sup>34</sup> Speech by President Ahidjo at CNU Congress in Garoua on 10<sup>th</sup> March 1969”, p. 35.

<sup>35</sup> The notion of social configuration was introduced by Yatie Yakam in his thesis who explains that the triple dimension of political, economical and social values of sport must be taking into consideration for the organization of sport. And the social dimension must be symptomatic of the human and cultural diversity. And also had in it the search of peace and national unity, p. 105.

<sup>36</sup> National Sport Policy of Nigeria (2009), p. 2. (Also read C. Allogho-Ze “ Etude de l’organisation et du fonctionnement des institutions sportives au Gabon. Genèse et analyse prospective d’une politique publique”, thèse de doctorat en S.T.A.P.S, Université Bordeaux Segalen, 2011, who adds that “élaborer une politique c’est fixer les objectifs d’une organisation en fonction des attentes de bénéficiaires et c’est allouer des moyens au regard des objectifs fixes ”, p. 15).

<sup>37</sup> Koissi Houedakor, “L’action sportive organisée au Togo...”, p. 23.

<sup>38</sup> NAB File P 240/S2. SH (1263)1 correspondence with regional inspector of sports, p. 455.

In addition to the supra-presence of the government in the system, through the organization of competitions, the federation presidents were also appointed by the MYS, and it was so until 1996. This situation only changed as from 1996, when Cameroon had to conform to requirements of international associations and federations as concerns democratic elections of presidents and executive members of sporting federation<sup>39</sup>. More of this will be discussed in subsequent sections.

The Cameroonian President created this ministerial department to enforce her policy in the domain of sport. All sporting activities were put under the management authority of the MYS. It implemented state guidelines for its own policy in this area of sport in the civil, educational and military sectors<sup>40</sup>. In governance certain aspects were left loose and negotiated with the field actors to sort out certain situations<sup>41</sup>. The defeat of Cameroon during AFCON 72 cause the appointment of a new minister and the search of a baptismal name for the national football team un minsiter Tonye Mbog. This was in a way to subside tension born of the after-defeat emotion.

This ministry was to handle and organize the sport sector. The ministry was a trendsetter to convey the wagons on the rails to the destination wanted by the head of state. The importance of this ministry in the general vision of the head of state in his policy outline made it a heavy and delicate ministry to handle. This can be confirmed by a speech made by President Ahidjo quoted by Gueyap who considered sports as “an excellent means of developing the physical and moral aptitudes of the individual...an indispensable instrument for the training of youth and for the adult population which suffered too much during the struggle for independence”<sup>42</sup>. Through the above references it can be noted that PES was not simply for competitions but had a more significant ideological importance to the political power. This leads us to examine the structure of the MYS to see how it could attain the achievement of the missions assigned to her.

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<sup>39</sup> Ndongo Minsoko, *Le livre d'or du sport camerounais...*, p. 197.

<sup>40</sup> Dikoume, *Le service public du sport...*, p.71

<sup>41</sup> E. A. Skille, “Understanding Sport Clubs as Sport Policy Implementation. A Theoretical Framework for the Analysis of Implementation of Central Sport Policy through Local and Voluntary Sport Organization, in *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 32/2, 2002, p. 186.”

<sup>42</sup> Gueyap, “Activité Sport Pour Tous et socialisation...”, p. 8.

### 1.1. Organizational Chart of the MYS

The Ministry of Youths and Sport was created to handle sport related issues. Below are the responsibilities attributed to the Ministry of Youth and Sports under decree no 70/DF/273 of 1970<sup>43</sup> after its creation:

- ✓ Development of sport activities, technical supervision of sport associations and monitoring of the National Sports Committee;
- ✓ Coordination and technical supervision of youth organizations;
- ✓ Organizing and monitoring urban and rural activities;
- ✓ Cordination of mass education activities;
- ✓ Cordination the National Institute of Youth, Sports and Popular Education.<sup>44</sup>

The state greatly invested (financial, material and human resources). The state expected these resources to be well managed to bring about a successful out-put. This could only be achieved through good governance. Allogho-Ze considers governance as *“L’exercice d’une autorité politique, économique et administrative aux fins de gérer les affaires d’un pays. Elle repose sur des mécanismes, des processus et des institutions qui permettent aux citoyens et aux groupes intérêt de régler des litiges et d’avoir des droits et des obligations.”*<sup>45</sup> This implies that objectives could be attained through the judicious respect of mechanism and processes to manage problems. So the ministry had to be efficient in the domain of governance in order to better manage the development of sports which also needed good governance.

#### 1.1.1. Major Administrative Law, Texts and Circulars that guided the Development of Sport in Cameroon between 1970 and 2004.

The system of governance adopted by modern nations implies the use of laws to enable social cohesion through the publication of rules and regulations. Governance consists of strategies of monitoring and recording what is happening within a clearly defined jurisdiction and taking steps to ensure compliance with established policies and procedures<sup>46</sup>. Again they are to provide corrective actions in the events misconstrued or ignorance of rules. All this should be contextualized to suit the beneficiary (government and population). Sport regulatory

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<sup>43</sup> In the aftermath of the creation decree of the MYS, some other decrees were signed to amend certain aspects of the creation decree; Decree no 72/470 of 15 September 1972, Decree no 75/653 of 9 October 1975, Decree 82/246 of 25 June 1982 and later came Decree no 96/049 of 12 March 1996 organizing the MYS.

<sup>44</sup> Dikoume, *Le Service Publique du sport...*, p.80.

<sup>45</sup> Allogho-Ze, “Étude de l’organisation et du fonctionnement des institutions sportives au Gabon. Genèse et analyse prospective d’une politique publique”, thèse de doctorat en S.T.A.P.S, Université Bordeaux Segalen, 2011, p. 361.

<sup>46</sup> Sawyer, Bodey and Judge, *An Ethical Approach to Managing Sport in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Illinois USA, Sagamore Publishing, 2008, p.17.

decisions in Cameroon has been mainly in the hands of the administration. The Executive has selfed handle sport management without the field actors making their decisions orientated to poxer consolidation. A total of 96 administrative text guide the practice of sport in Cameroon of which 6 were laws from the Legistrative (National Assembly) and the 90 others were from the Executive (Decrees, Circulars, Decisions, Instructions) which does not come from the bottom actors<sup>47</sup>. The Cameroon government acted as a rational actor particularly when it came to magnify sporting performances that her laws had not previewed. The ministry in charge of sport was at the macro level of governance and management as she was the overseer of all activities in the nation while federations, clubs, associations were at micro level under her supervision. To continue with Cameroonians athletes after the opening ceremony of the 1976 Summer Olympic Games returned home on instruction of the Head of State. This was to protest against the participation of New Zealand which had played freely rugby matches with Aparthied South Africa which was on an embago. Cameroon decision was inline with that of many other African nations. The opinion of the athletes who had done huge efforts and sacrifices to prepare for this competition was not required by the political powers.

Sport which had a part to play in the general evolution of the nation had been with the ministry and the mission had to implement decision that came from the National Assembly, and decrees from the president. The different laws and decrees translated state ideology and orientation in the micro domain of sport under the macro state governance policy. The major documents that form the spinal cord of the sporting movement in Cameroon are the National sport charter, the decree on equipment and the law on sport and physical activities. We shall analyse each of them to see their input on the sport movement in Cameroon.

Cameroon as a whole became completely independent as from 1<sup>st</sup> October 1961 with the independence of Southern Cameroons and her reunification with la République du Cameroun which had had her independence on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1960. The reform of existing laws to outlaw colonial laws was part of the affirmation of her new status. The first step in the micro sport domain was the institution of a Sport and Physical Education Charter.

### **1.1.2. The 1962 Sport Charter, first Legal Framework for sport in Cameroon.**

The positioning of this law at this level was done due to the importance it presented in the development of sport. The year 1962 can symbolically be considered the ‘birth year of sport’ in connection with this new law. It gave government’s vision and orientation as concerned

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<sup>47</sup> C. Bekombo Jabea, “Politique juridique et diplomatie sportive du Cameroun de 1960 à nos jours: enjeux et mutations à l’ère de la mondialisation”, in *Etats des recherches sur le sport et l’olympisme au Cameroun (1963-2013)*, SHS Web of Conferences 32, 01003 (2016) DOI: 10.51.shsconf/20163201003, p. 6.

sports. This law was also a form of “independence” in this sector. This new document signed by the Head of State Ahidjo rendered lawless all previous documents governing sport. This was written in article 16 of the Charter: “Any legislative provisions contrary to this are hereby repealed”<sup>48</sup>. Some authors like Ndong Bekale argue that the colonial umbilical cord was simply displaced not cut between France and its former colonies. The link was maintained through the French technical assistance which gave its expertise to all existing institutions. All institutions both new and old were built on the French model<sup>49</sup>.

This decree that came barely a year after reunification was aimed at harmonizing the institutionalization and practice of sport which was a vector of social cohesion. It should not be forgotten that each of the federated states had experienced a different colonial influence that had as foundation, the transmission of cultural values and sport was one of them as it was part of the educational syllables and socio-psychological and emotional wellbeing.

A number of aspects concerning sport organization were tackled in this decree:

- ❖ The statute of a sport association;
- ❖ Sports federations and their role;
- ❖ The National sports committee and its functions;
- ❖ Importance of sports license;
- ❖ Organization of sports meetings (competitions);
- ❖ Condition under which funds could be issued and withdrawn.<sup>50</sup>

This was modified a number of time to update to the changing national and international reality in 1984. The major amendment was that transferring some powers to the MYS which had been created in 1970.

There were subsequent modifications of certain articles of the sport charter in the years that followed.

➤ The 1984 amendment (modification) of certain articles reinforce the position and grip of the state on the sport section: Presidential Decree n° 84/14/94 of 23 November 1984, reorganizing the Sports charter. As earlier mentioned, the first major change was the transfer of authority to the MYS in all aspects of sport management. The MYS took over all the activities previously managed by the General Commission of Youth, Sports and Mass

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<sup>48</sup> Archives MINSEP Decree n° 62-DF-250 of 16th July 1962: instituting a sport charter in Cameroon, p. 841.

<sup>49</sup> Ndong Bekale, “Les influences françaises dans la structuration des institutions sportives au Gabon”, in *Etats des recherches sur le sport et l’olympisme au Cameroun (1963-2013)* SHS web of conferences 32,01002 (2016), p. 2.

<sup>50</sup> Archives MINSEP, Decree n° 62-DF-250 of 16th July 1962: instituting a sport charter in Cameroon, pp. 837-841.

Education in its article 1<sup>51</sup>. This was a curiosity as the decree was still talking of the General Commission of Youth, Sports and Mass Education which had disappeared long ago and the MYS had been existing for fourteen (14) years.

At the same time, we question the amendments that were made on the Charter in 1985 and 86, on the same article. Decrees 85/1986 of 86/9/1985 and Decree 86/200 of 4/10/1986 modifying Decree 85/829 of 7/6/1985 appointing members of the National sports Committee and also specified their missions<sup>52</sup>.

➤ The 1990 law on civil liberties and freedom of association marked a new era in the organization and functioning of civil organizations. Prior to this law, sport associations and federations were first of all private organizations with very limited government intervention for many years. With the re-introduction of democracy and the law on civil liberties in Cameroon, sport association started over depending on the international bodies for their roles and organization. As will be examined later, the ministry of sport was to have limited powers over civil organizations. The ministry gave licences to sports clubs and other associations to function in specific domains. The government had to review the handing of authorization to these associations and in 2006 the then minister of sport Augustin Edjoa signed a decree specifying the conditions of granting and withdrawing authorizations to sports and physical education associations.<sup>53</sup> This mission was a former prerogative of the President of the Republic.

The following associations were governed by the texts:

Article -2-(1)- the practical organization of physical and sport activities for social, cultural and educational purposes;

(2)- The following are considered associations for the purposes of this decree:

- Sports associations;
- Sports Federations;
- School and training centers;
- Companies with a sporting purpose;
- The structures of sport for all and sport for the disabled.

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<sup>51</sup> Archives MINSEP Decree n° 62-DF-250 of 16th July 1962: instituting a sport charter in Cameroon, p. 838.

<sup>52</sup> Archive MINSEP, Decree 85/1986 of 86/9/1985 and Decree 86/200 of 4/10/1986 adding to Decree 85/829 of 7/6/1985 appointing members of the National Sports Committee and also specified their missions.

<sup>53</sup> Archives MINSEP, Arête No 18 A/MINSEP/SG/CJ du 24 Octobre 2006 fixant les conditions et les modalités d'octroi et de retrait des agréments aux associations sportives et d'éducation physiques.

Article -3- The associations referred to in paragraph (1) of Article 2 above freely manage themselves in accordance with their statutes, the ethics of sport and the laws in force.<sup>54</sup>

A commission was set up by this same text to examine the files of all associations that fell under the text. This meant that all existing associations had to apply for a renewal of their authorization in order to conform themselves to the law. Unfortunately, things remained just as before. All existing associations (particularly Federations) did not submit any application thereby violating article 15 the law<sup>55</sup> which gave a period of six (6) months to all existing associations to conform to the law.<sup>56</sup> Only newly created organizations applied for authorization via the commission and the department of norms and monitoring of sport organizations. Many associations operate in Cameroon without any legal backing from the ministry of sport because they declared themselves as civil associations through the ministry of Territorial Administration. This procedure fragilized the actions of the ministry of sports.<sup>57</sup>

### **1.1.3. The 1974 Law on Socio-Educative and sport equipment**

The practice of sports needed spaces and infrastructure. It is for this reason that this decree was signed with its text of application. Law n° 74/22 of 5 December 1974<sup>58</sup> laid out conditions under which sports equipment's were to be constructed.

In this same lane of evolution, any school (nursery, primary, university) was to have recreation (leisure) and sport infrastructure. It also demanded that all urban development and town planning projects be supplied with such facilities. It also stipulated fines to be paid between (500, 000 -1, 000, 000 F CFA) by any institution that did not respect this law. We shall fully analyze this law in chapter four (4) that will deal with sport infrastructure policy. This law had to be followed up for its implementation by the ministry of sports and the National Sport Committee, which had as one of its missions to develop sport facilities (building and maintaining existing ones). The decree had never had any text of application for its enforcement and implementation.

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<sup>54</sup> Archives MINSEP, Arête No 18 A/MINSEP/SG/CJ du 24 Octobre 2006 fixant les conditions et les modalités d'octroi et de retrait des agréments aux associations sportives et d'éducation physiques.

<sup>55</sup> Ndongo Minsoko, Retired Central Divisional delegate of Youths Affairs and Civil Education, Associate lecturer at the NIYS Yaounde, Yaounde 20<sup>th</sup> March 2017.

<sup>56</sup> Archives MINSEP, Arête No 18 A/MINSEP/SG/CJ du 24 Octobre 2006 fixant les conditions et les modalités d'octroi et de retrait des agréments aux associations sportives et d'éducation physiques.

<sup>57</sup> F. C. Dikoume, 72 years, Retired PES teacher, former Deputy Director in charge of academic affairs and associate lecturer at the NIYS and IRIC Yaounde, Conciliator and Consultant at the CNOSC and referee with TAS, resources person with many federations and sport organizations, 12<sup>th</sup> May 2019.

<sup>58</sup> Archive MINSEP, Loi n° 74/22 of 5 December 1974, sur les équipements socio-educative and sportives.

#### **1.1.4. Decree n° 75/789 of 18 December 1975 on the particular statute of Personnel of Youth and Sport<sup>59</sup>**

This decree came 19 months after Decree n° 74/138 of 18 February on the status of the civil servant of the public service. This was to specify the duties of the personnel of Youth and Sport their category in the administration setup. We should keep in mind that it was about five (05) years after the 1970 government organization creating a MYS and three (03) years after the 1972 Referendum instituting a Unitary State. This was to reinforce unity and easy administration. More analysis will be done in a subsequent chapter on human resources of the sport sector. Personnel of this ministry fell under the educational sector, which was a priority sector to government at the time.

It should be made clear that personnel of youth and sport were first of all civil servants. So they were governed by the same laws as the rest of the public service staff. To an extent they benefited from a special statute. The academic background actually was not to permit them have the same classification in the public service. A category A2 civil servant was recruited on the basis of a university diploma (Bachelor degree) into a professional school for example Higher Teachers Training College (École Normale Supérieure) which was not the case with Youth and Sports staff who entered NIYS with just the Brevet d'étude de Premier Classe (BEPC) which was an equivalent of the Ordinary Level at the time.<sup>60</sup>

#### **1.1.5. Decree n° 72/600 of 31 October 1972 Organizing the National Football Team<sup>61</sup>**

This decree came some months after the national mourning due to the defeat of Cameroon at the semi-finals during the 8<sup>th</sup> Edition of AFCON held in Cameroon in March 1972 by Congo Brazzaville. The President of the Republic ordered for a vast and deep reorganization of the national football team due to their humiliation during this competition she was hosting<sup>62</sup>. Article 1 of this decree stated by giving a baptism name to the Cameroon National Football team. The chosen name was the Indomitable Lions; this appellation was only attributed to the Men's Senior National Football Team. It was only in 2014 that this appellation was extended to all the

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<sup>59</sup> Archive MINSEP Decret n° 75/789 of 18 December 1975, portant status particulier du corps de Jeunesse et Sports.

<sup>60</sup> D. Wouassi, 57 years, Retired PES teacher, former Director and Technical Adviser at MINSEP, associate lecturer at the NIYS Yaounde, member of the AFCON 2019 technical preparatory committee, Yaounde 20<sup>th</sup> October 2018.

<sup>61</sup> Archive MINSEP, Décret n° 72/600 du 31 Octobre 1972 portant organisation de l'équipe de Football Fanion du Cameroun.

<sup>62</sup> Ndongo Minsoko, *Le livre d'or du sport...*, p. 237.

other national teams. This baptismal name was part of the new foundation of Cameroon sports which had turned international.

### **1.1.6. A Change of Orientation in Sport Management with the 1996 Law**

A series of defeats that Cameroon suffer brought to the limelight the lack of serious programming. It was from this background of reality and thinking that the 1996 law Instituting a Charter of Physical and Sports Activities saw the day.

It was intended to bring light to the growing darkness<sup>63</sup> in the sport sector. The state needed to reorganize her management and grip of sport which because of the sociopolitical and economic instability was going out of hand. Again she was in a deep process of reforms to avoid continuous poor results and to ensure a good transition to enable the sport sector be used as an umbrella for patriotism. A nation was a few months later to have new constitution<sup>64</sup>.

The first aspect to note was the change in appellation which was significant in the consideration of the importance of sport to the Cameroonian authorities. It was not only *sporter* charter but also included physical activities. In this new law on physical activities, we note that physical education took a privileged position in consideration with the (re-definition of programs) and also an out standing place for sport for all<sup>65</sup>.

Unfortunately, just as many texts and laws in Cameroon, many of its articles needed texts of application which actually defined the circumstances to implement these laws. The non-signing of these application texts rendered these important laws almost useless because many administrators actually waited for text of application to enable them implement the laws.<sup>66</sup> This was not new as many laws and decrees signed had never had the text application but some aspects of the law were implemented.

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<sup>63</sup> Archive MINSEP, Situation du sport camerounais et perspectives d'avenir "État des lieux, Department of sport, 1992.

<sup>64</sup> The 1996 Cameroonian constitution was a blend of the opinions by political actors and the government willing to avoid the chaotic situation the country witnessed between 1990 and 1993. It introduced Regional governments through regions and gave way for decentralization. Unfortunately, this law was just partially implemented and was the cause of tension in the country between ministries and their regional delegations, councils and ministries who refused to empower the local governments as stipulated by the constitution.

<sup>65</sup> Law No 96/09 of 05 August 1996, Instituting a Physical Education and Sport Charter in Cameroon

<sup>66</sup> Minsoko Ndongo Minsoko, 56 years, Yaounde, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2017

This law, paved the way forward for modernization with the implication of concerned administration who did their best to implement some aspects of the law which did not require any text of application. Below as changes brought about by the law:

- ✓ As concerns the training of sport personnel, there was a major innovation. The existing training centers had not changed in configuration. What was awaited was their upgrading and redefinition of their missions and actions. However, the entry diploma for the NIYS was reviewed as the second cycle now required a Bachelor degree. It should be noted that before independence the French colonial administration had created the *centre d'éducation physique et sportive* in Dschang in 1950<sup>67</sup>
- ✓ The merging of the National Sports Committee and the Olympic Committee to create the Cameroon National Olympic and Sport Committee. This was a sport and physical Education of 21-23 September 1992<sup>68</sup>. This charter to be implemented had to be in line with the 1990 law on freedom of expression and association particularly on democratization;<sup>69</sup>
- ✓ To re-launch the development of sport, a decree was signed in 2008 putting in place a National program for the development of sports infrastructure.<sup>70</sup> This program was to be a solution to the problems of sport infrastructure. This was a response to the 1974 decree which was already almost forgotten.

At independence, the République du Cameroun under President Ahidjo through a decree n° 06/272 of 31 December 1960 created the National Institute of Youths and sport<sup>71</sup>. It was destined for the training of staff in the field of physical education, sports and youth animation. Particularly the new generation of staff to take care of the pupils and students in the schools of the Republic and also trained persons for the department of sport. The mission and evolution of the institute will be tackled in chapter three (3). Another decree set up the National Youth and

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<sup>67</sup> NAY File 3AC 4123. E., Arrêté n° 1008 du 16 mars 1950 portant création et organisation d'un centre d'éducation physique et sportive au Cameroun à Dschang.

<sup>68</sup> Archives MINSEP, Synthèse thématique des conclusions des États Généraux..., p. 14.

<sup>69</sup> Mandeng., "*Les enjeux de la politique de décentralisation au ministère des sport...*", p. 3.

<sup>70</sup> Archives MINSEP, Arrêté n° 048/PM/CAB du 19 mars 2008 portant création, organisation et fonctionnement du comité interministériel de supervision du Programme National de Développement des infrastructures sportives (PNDIS).

<sup>71</sup> [Archives MINSEP, Décret n° 06/272 du 31 Décembre 1960, portant création de l'Institut National des Sports.](#)

Sports Centers (NYSC) with decree n° 82-158 of 5<sup>th</sup> May 1982, in the following towns Kribi, Bamenda, Bertoua, Garoua, Dschang which trained categories B and C civil servants<sup>72</sup>

The Sports and Physical Activity Charter of 1996, was to meet up with the evolution of things. The International Monetary Fund developed a poverty reduction strategy paper for Cameroon, which summarized the three main aims of the sports charter which were:

1. *Consolidation of governance in sport.* This focused-on improvement of the sporting milieu, introduction of good management rules, introduction of an effective policy on maintenance of existing and future infrastructure, and introduction of various incentives to enable the private sector to bring in durable and multifaceted investments in sports
2. *Supervision of sports associations.* By providing qualitative and quantitative training for supervisors (educators and trainers), strengthening sports research and excellence centers, promoting the organization of all types of competition, improving social safety nets for sportsmen and professionals, facilitating the functioning of federations
3. *Development of sports infrastructure for elite and collective community sport.* In terms of elite sport, quality and multipurpose stadia will be built nationwide, thereby enabling the organization of international competitions. Concerning sports in schools and promotion of sports practice by the masses, the government in conjunction with the local and regional authorities will encourage the construction of sports facilities for collective sports.<sup>73</sup>

These aspects listed here were not completely implemented. The policy on sport facilities only came 10 years later. There was a continuous battle between the state and Federal Executive Members as they wanted to control them.

#### **1.1.7. The Organization of Think-tanks.**

Sport played a very important role in bringing together citizens in the course of Cameroon's historical evolution. But in the face of a certain number of defeats which coincided with social economic and political tension no longer united the population<sup>74</sup>. The initial

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<sup>72</sup> Archives MINSEP, Décret n° 82-158 du 5 Mai 1982, portant création des Centres National de Jeunesse et des Sports, de pp. 1089-1090.

<sup>73</sup> J. Clarke and J. Sunday Ojo., "Sport policy in Cameroon" in International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics, Vol. 9, N°1, 2017, DOI: 10.1080/19406940.2015.1102757, pp 190-191, retrieve on 20-11-2019 at 11pm

<sup>74</sup> Pigeaud, *Au Cameroun de Paul Biya...*, p. 181.

victories of the Cameroon “*sporters*” around the world particularly the National Football team and certain Cameroon clubs in the 1970s and 80s had become exhausted and could no longer hind the reality. The early days of the 90s showed that the state had to do something if she wanted to still use sports as opium to contain the population. It had the heroic quarter finals to bring some level of peace after the launching of the Social Democratic Front (SDF) and social unrest it had created. Unfortunately, the brutal elimination of the lions at AFCON 1992 which was an electoral year showed that it was necessary and urgent to re-think the approach given to sport. Canada had witnessed such a situation just like Cameroon leading to the organization of a sport summit in 2001<sup>75</sup>. Other justification for the organization of the forum was to consolidate positive results and look for methods to have new talent that will bring glory to the nation during African and World competitions<sup>76</sup>. There were three major conferences in Cameroon which will be discussed below.

#### **1.1.8. The 1992 General Conference on Sport and Physical Education**

This conference was held within an atmosphere of socio-political turmoil following a just ended controversial legislative election that took place in March of the same year. Other frustrating events in the domain of Cameroon sport were the early eviction of the Indomitable Lions during AFCON 1992 in Senegal and the faint footprint at the Summer Olympics in Barcelona.

This general conference on sports and physical education was the first of its kind in Cameroon. The main aim of the conference was to answer the question “*quelle organisation sportive aujourd’hui pour les victoires de demain? Mieux quelle politique sportive au Cameroun à l’horizon de l’an 2000?*”<sup>77</sup>. In other words, the conference aimed at developing new strategies that could help enhance sport in Cameroon. The holding of this conference really showed that sports was important and that the powers that be really wanted to upgrade sports. Cameroon through this initiative became pioneer in Africa sport as concerns sport facility construction. Cameroon had just copied an existing model in some other countries who decided to rebuild the sport sector after suffering from humiliations and counter performances after competitions. Examples were those of Australia during the 1956 Olympic Games provoked a wave of critics which pushed the Commonwealth Government to a greater involvement in sport management through a commission to rethink the sport policy<sup>78</sup>.

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<sup>75</sup> Thibault and J. Harvey, *Sport Policy in Canada...*, p. 26.

<sup>76</sup> Archives MINSEP, Situation du sport camerounais et perspectives d’Avenir, État des lieux, 1992, p. 6.

<sup>77</sup> Archives MINSEP, Note de présentation pour l’organisation des États généraux des sports au Cameroun, p. 1.

<sup>78</sup> Stewart et al, *Australia Sport: Better by Design?...*, p. 43.

The conference that was organized by the MYS under the leadership of the minister Theodore Lando took place in Yaounde. Evele, director of sport, justified the organization of the conference in these words:

*“Conscients de cette dimension culturelle, économique, sociale, politique, éthique aujourd’hui unanimement reconnue au sport, les pouvoirs publics camerounais se doivent d’accorder à l’éducation physique et au sport l’importance et l’attention qu’ils méritent dans la stratégie globale de développement”<sup>79</sup>.*

The conference participants had four (04) mains subtopics to discuss on:

- strategies to revive the national sport movement;
- how to finance the national sport movement?
- physical education and sport in school, university and extracurricular settings;
- sport, politics, communication, ethics and international cooperation.<sup>80</sup>

The General Conference projected the will to design a sport policy document by the end of the conference. The final document carried proposals and recommendations. A policy document was to have specific objectives in a time frame, stakeholders and means to attain the objects. Infact conferences donot provide policy papers, they prepare recommendations on which the experts were to develop the policy paper. The pre-conference had preconized a sport policy elaborated document for horizon 2000. But the post conference document read as follows:

*Recommandations générales et finales. Les États Généraux du sport et de l’éducation physique expriment le souhait que les actes des présents travaux puissent faire l’objet d’une impression et d’une publication pour devenir un véritable guide de la politique sportive au Cameroun.*

*Ils souhaitent fortement que les conclusions, résolutions, recommandations et suggestions y afférentes fassent l’objet d’une attention bienveillante et d’une exploitation judiciaire et diligente par l’élaboration des mesures les plus appropriées pour la relance effective, rationnelle et irréversible de l’éducation physique et du sport dans notre pays.*

*Ils commandent en conséquence la mise sur pied d’un comité de suivi des Etats généraux de l’éducation physique et du sport à tous les niveaux de l’organisation administrative (national, provincial, départemental et d’arrondissement)<sup>81</sup>.*

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<sup>79</sup> Archives MINSEP, Note de présentation pour l’organisation des (1) États généraux des sports au Cameroun, p. 2.

<sup>80</sup> Archives MINSEP, Synthèse thématique des conclusions des États généraux du sport..., p.4.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, p. 32.

At a time when Cameroon could reap the fruits of their success at the 1990 world cup and the growing implication of sport in world economy, a well-designed specific program was to be planted during this conference. Maddison and Dennis say policies are elaborated to solve identified problems with the assistance of stakeholders in a particular time frame<sup>82</sup>. The conference was called up to discuss on identified problems of Cameroon sports. The least that was expected from the aforementioned recommendations was a set of programs with timing and resources to achieve set objectives. So, it was difficult to expect any concrete change after this conference as simply recommendations were reached at.

## **1.2. Sport Management under the Ministry of Sport and Physical Education (MINSEP): 2004-2011**

There was an evolution in the perception of sport in Cameroon as it became more organized thereby impacting performance. The putting in force of the 1996 National Sports and Physical Education Charter enhanced good performances of Cameroonian athletes at international competitions. Amongst the performances can be cited out-standing results during the 2003 All African Games, the silver medal of the Indomitable Lions during the FIFA Confederation Cup in France in 2003 and Françoise Mbango's Gold medal during the 2004 Athens Olympic Games. These victories were highly used for propaganda and for boosting Cameroon's image at the international scene.

### **1.2.1. Vision and Missions of MINSEP**

As time elapsed, it became clear that the management scheme and missions of sport in Cameroon had to change. This change was to adapt to new challenges due to socio-political, economic and cultural evolution. The change of appellation had a significant effect on the functioning. The first thing is the slip of youth from sports which impacts on the missions. The ministry of Youths and Civic Education was created as well as the ministry of Sport and Physical Education. The former departments of youth affairs in the MYS disappeared completely while the former department of Sports was split to new departments.

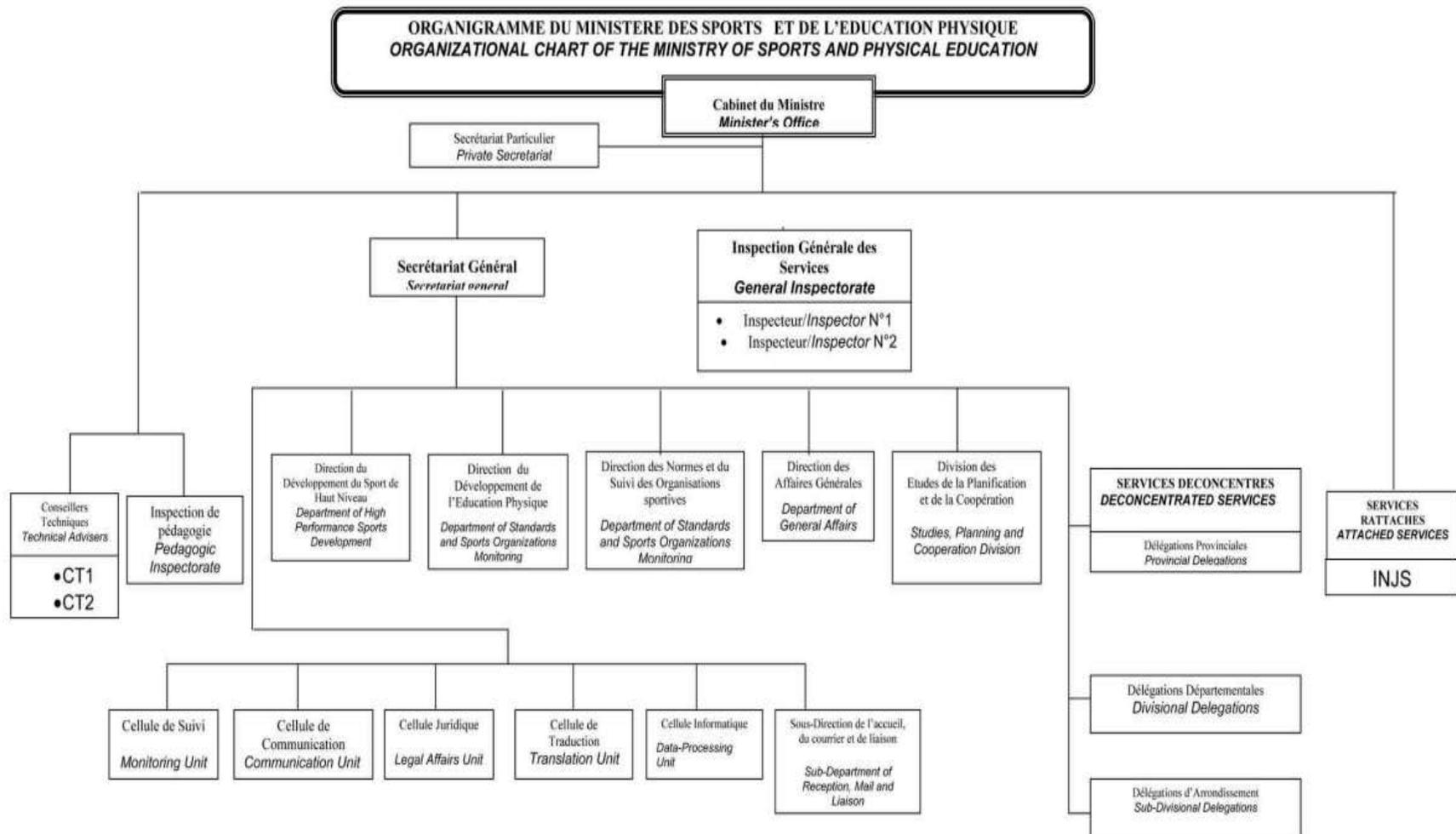
Around the world sport became more and more professional in its management and social implication. This was to meet up with the changing world. Cameroonians also needed to upgrade the managerial system of sport and related issues so as to reap the benefits. At the same

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<sup>82</sup> Maddison, S. and Dennis, R., *An Introduction to Australian Public Policy and Practice*, Cambridge University, press 2009, p. 5.

time sport had gradually become a means of social ascension in the Cameroonian society. The figure below shows the graphic of the organizational chart of MINSEP.

**Figure 1:** Organizational chart of the Ministry of sports and Physical Education of 2006



**Source:** Adapted from Clarke and Sunday Ojo, "Sport policy in Cameroon" ..., p. 193,

On 8<sup>th</sup> December 2004, following the reorganization of the government, Philippe Mbarga Mboa was appointed as first MINSEP minister.<sup>1</sup> In the same move, Decree no 2005/098 of 26 April 2005, organizing the MINSEP, also specified the missions of the ministry which consisted in the elaboration, launching and evaluation of sport and physical education policies<sup>2</sup>.

The lay out of the missions of the ministry were as follows:

- Develop strategies and development plans for sport and physical activity;
- To develop programs for the promotion of elite sport and the improvement of technical and tactical levels of athletes;
- To ensure the follow-up of the implementation of preparation programs for elite athletes in conjunction with the sport federations;
- To develop and promote the Olympic spirit and culture in the society;
- To elaborate texts proposal that will govern the sector;
- To determine the programs of primary, secondary and higher education, public and private, and to follow their execution;
- Build partnerships with the private sector for their investment in sport;
- To develop training and contribute to research in sport science;
- To establish cooperation projects with national and international organizations or friendly countries in the fields of physical education and sports, and ensure their implementation, as well as their evaluation.

Under paragraph 3 of Article 1 which concerns ministerial departments, it says:

- Monitors private organizations and structures in the field of sports or physical education;
- To ensure the supervision of institutions and layout training programs in physical education, professional sport and, sport federations, as well as public institutions in the field of sports or physical education<sup>3</sup>.

In these missions, all aspects linked to youth recreation were transferred to the ministry of Youth Affairs and Civic Education. Issues such as international cooperation, partnership with

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<sup>1</sup> Ndongo Minisoko., *Le livre d'or du sport camerounais...*, p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> Dikoume., *Le service public du sport...*, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> Archives MINSEP, Décret no 2005/098 du 26 avril 2005 portant organisation du ministère des Sports et de l'Éducation Physique, pp. 1-2.

private institutions, scientific research and projects in the domain were introduced to meet up with the global changes which affected Cameroon.

This change in appellation brought about a lot of structural changes, introduction of new services and upgradation of the status of others. The organizational chart was reshaped to adapt to the new political and social vision and stakes sport was to represent. It should be pointed out that this reorganization came after the presidential elections that maintain President Biya in power. Francoise Mbango had just won a gold medal at the Summer Olympic Games in Athens which was the second for Cameroon after that won by the football team in the 2000 Games edition in Sydney, Australia.

The (re)organization effect after this new baptism name, occasioned some changes. However, we should point out that, political involvement has always been visible and concrete in sport. Houlihan evokes three reasons that motivates political involvement in sports particularly the case of Britain;

Many reasons can explain state involvement in sport amount which is that its seeks to use sports as a means of achieving social control in relation to the working class in general and more recently in relation to young urban males in particular persistence of the motive of social control was still evident for example in the view expressed in the influential Wolfenden Report (1960) that ‘if more young people had opportunities for playing games fewer of them would develop criminal habits’ (4). In the 1980s sport was perceived as a potentially effective way of dealing with urban unrest...to using sport as an agent of social renewal and social engagement for ‘those who feel most excluded, such as disaffected young people and people from ethnic minorities’ indicate the pursuit of a class-based hegemonic enterprise, but it might equally indicate a much more open and fluid pattern of policy-making which incorporates elements of moralistic rationalization derived from the assumption that sport builds character;

The second major motive for government involvement reflects, as did the first, the adaptability of sport as a tool for achieving a wide variety of non-sports policy goals and refers to the justification of investment in sport by reference to health objectives.

A third reason for government intervention in sport is because of a growing awareness of its important diplomatic symbolism epitomized by the Cold War rivalry between the US and the former Soviet Union. The positive diplomacy arising from international sporting success and the hosting of major sports events has intensified the willingness of governments to humble themselves before the IOC and FIFA through lavish hospitality and the strategic deployment of presidents, prime ministers, royalty and supermodels is a reflection of the value that governments place on international sport.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, the passion for sports and particularly the game of football creates a sort of social cohesion. This was used by the post independent African leaders to create a spirit of national unity and pride which manifest itself when national teams particularly football are defending national colors during international competitions. Akindes paints the situation in these words:

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<sup>4</sup> Houlihan, “Political involvement in sport...,” p. 193.

The magnitude of the passion for football in Africa, especially when important games by African teams or European teams with African football stars are televised live. An important football game has the effect of emptying the streets by riveting most residents of cities to the television sets in their own homes, in their neighbor's homes, in bars, kiosks, or at any other television set with open access. Taxi drivers often park their cars near an accessible television set. The collective convergence of a whole city or nation is very perceptible and audible. In fact, the raising of a sudden and loud city-wide clamor during a live broadcast of the national team indicates that the local team has scored a goal.<sup>5</sup>

This passion and attraction for sport encouraged state involvement due to its mobilization capacity. This was seen in the fact that which became state property. This involvement was normally done through a well spelled out program. Unfortunately, no policy was designed to meet this structural change no matter the hopes it arose in the actors of the sector. The ministry in her evaluation and follow up mission elaborated a "Plan d'Action" which she defined as follows: "*de manier simple, le Plan d'Action est un outil de pilotage des organization pour leurs permettre d'atteindre les résultats de manier efficace et efficiente. La durée de vie d'un plan d'action est d'un an (Applique au contexte camerounais, le plan d'action est un instrument de la Gestion Axée sur les Résultats GAR).*"<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately this plan had no precise content as it did not specify its missions nor the means and elements to use for its evaluation.

The emptiness of certain programs or the absence of these in certain periods gave way for improvisation and distraction. The amplifying of certain competitions and image of certain *sporters* was a common strategy. Pigeaud, see the translation of this lack of policy in the use of sport victories particularly football as a method of distraction, for idling person and also using the image of footballer like Milla, Eto'o, Mboma to fill the blank left due to absence of planning<sup>7</sup>.

The MYS was conceived in a period of a dual mission: a blend of sports and youth. Cameroon was a young state which had a handful of priorities to handle so could not purely focus on sports which was not at the time professional. In every situation sport was an affair of youths. So having them under the same ministry was normal. Sport also was a medium to inculcate moral values to youths. As sports became professional Cameroon needed to adapte and review her management in the domain.

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<sup>5</sup> Akindes., "Transnational Television and Football ...", pp. 17-18

<sup>6</sup> Archives MINSEP, DEPCO, Recueil des textes Volume III, 2009. Élaboration d'un Plan d'Action du MINSEP, (17 Fev 2011), p.79

<sup>7</sup> Pigeaud, *Au Cameroun de Paul Biya ...*, p. 181.

The split of the Ministry of Youth and Sports into the Ministries of Youth and Civic Education and Sports and Physical Education reorganized management of sport. Our focus will be the impact of the 2005 decree organizing the Ministry of Sports and Physical Education. The super Department of Sports was split: Department of Norms and Monitoring of Sport Organizations and Department of High Performance Sports. They had specific missions which were formerly solely handled in the Department des sports.

The specific missions of the Department of Norms and Monitoring of Sport Orgnaizations:

- the elaboration, publication and implementation of standards relating to the organization and practice of physical and sports activities in Cameroon ;
- the follow-up of the implementation of legislative and regulatory texts concerning the organization of physical and sports activities in Cameroon;
- Coordination, control and evaluation of the activities of national sport federations and organizations;
- monitoring relations between national sport federations and international sports organizations;
- the promotion and the development of popular sports, sports for all and associations life, in relation with the federations and concerned sports organizations;
- support the activities of national sport federations and organizations.

(2) It comprises of:

- a Sub-Department of Norms;
- the Sub-Department for the Follow-up of Sports Organizations.<sup>8</sup>

The Department of High Performance Sports had the following specific missions:

- the development and evaluation of methods and strategies for the preparation of high-level athletes and coaches in collaboration with the sports federations;
- the follow-up and control of the execution of the preparation programs for high-level sportsmen and women, as determined by the concerned sports organizations;
- the management of coaches and athletes in the high performance sports sector;

(2) It comprises of:

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<sup>8</sup> Archives MINSEP, Décret No 2005/098 du 6 avril 2005 portant organisation du Ministère des Sports et de l'Éducation Physique, p.15.

- the Service of continuous Preparation and High-Level Training;
- the Service for the Monitoring of High-Level Athletes and Trainers.<sup>9</sup>

These were the missions of the former super department of sports in the former MYS. They worked here in collaboration with the CNOSC and federations to enable Cameroonian teams and athletes participate at international competitions in optimum conditions.<sup>10</sup>

Before the application of the 1996 constitution which introduced the Regional system, they were called Province. In the past they were called Provincial Delegation of Youth and Sport but today they are Regional Delegations of Sport and Physical Education.

The ministry received all finances to enable her carry-out her activities from the government. MINSEP was allocated a budget from the national budget defined at the National Assembly. The budget has been in a constant increase since its creation.

The missions of these local representations were to organize, supervise and implement the central vision of the state through the ministry on the ground. But it should be noted that delegations be them Regional, Divisional and Sub Divisional and District had difficulties going about the missions assigned to them. Amongst the problems faced by these local units were:

- Limited personnel (some delegations particularly at district level);
- Limited financial means to carry out missions
- Conflicts with other local authorities who did not understand the importance of sport;

These problems did not enable the Ministry to actually achieve her missions. They had to supervise the activities of authorized associations, federations and other activities organized under her jurisdiction<sup>11</sup>. Many associations held sporting activities without authorization and supervision of the head of sport being informed or present and many federations did not organize grassroots activities as was demanded in order to develop their sport at the base. They were not sanctioned as their end of year reports mentioned fake activities but were validated by the delegates concerned.

### **2.1.1. Regulations of Sport Management in Cameroon**

The period before 2004 was relatively fruitful as regards the production of administrative decisions to guid the management of sports. The second period that started in 2004 and ended

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<sup>9</sup> Archives MINSEP, Décret No 2005/098 du 6 avril 2005 portant organisation du Ministère des Sports et de l'Éducation Physique, p.10.

<sup>10</sup> D. Wouassi, 57 years, Yaounde 21<sup>st</sup> October 2018.

<sup>11</sup> Assiene, 49 years, certified graduate PES teacher from NIYS Yaounde, direction of the annex 1 stadium of Olembe sport complex, technical official at FECA Athletic, interviewed in Yaounde on 21-7-2019.

in 2011 also witnessed the production of very important documents to ease sports management. There were two major decisions that will be analyzed below.

### **2.1.2. The design of a national sport infrastructure program: the 2008 PNDIS**

Was there any way we can think of sport with appropriate infrastructure? Cameroon was that country without real sport infrastructure as the last attempt in the domain took place in the 1970s. This program was for massive investment in sport infrastructure by the government to cover the gap with other nations. In this light an inter-ministerial committee was set up in 2008<sup>12</sup>. This program was one of the most ambitious program in the domain of sport ever thought of in Cameroon. The program had four (4) main objectives to attain which in reality were interwoven as said by Minister of sport, Edjoa, during a press conference in Yaounde:

- to make up for our lack of sport facilities,
- to provide all the regional capitals and cities of Cameroon with infrastructures adapted to the practice of sports in general and elite sports in particular,
- enable Cameroon to host high-level sporting events in the short term,
- provide the government and development partners with a document outlining our country's sports infrastructure needs<sup>13</sup>.

It is worth noting that the first fruit of this ambitious program was to be the construction of Paul Biya Sports Complex in Olembe Yaounde. The government signed financial partnership with the Chinese Government. More discussions as to the time frame, the choice of the partner to finance the program will be discussed in chapter four which discusses sport infrastructural policy.

### **2.1.3. A new road map for sport management in Cameroon**

Law n° 2011/018 of 15 July 2011 concerning the organization and promotion of physical education and sports in Cameroon came after a series of humiliations suffered by Cameroon in the sports field. Keno-Keimbou cited by Mbida Nana talked of “de politique sportive conjoncturelle”<sup>14</sup>. This goes a long way to comfort our vision of a non-designed sport policy which is most often circumstantial to patch a broken vessel. The quote below gives reasons for the reformulation of sport policies and management:

*La loi n° 96/09 du 05 août 1996 fixant la charte des activités physiques et sportives au Cameroun n’a pas permis aux acteurs du secteur sport d’atteindre les objectifs de développement de leurs disciplines*

<sup>12</sup> Archives MINSEP, Arrêté n° 048/PM/Cab du 19 mars portant création, organisation et fonctionnement du comité interministériel de supervision du programme national de développement des infrastructures sportives.

<sup>13</sup> Augustine Edjoa in MINSEP Infos n°0 7 nouvelle série Avril-Mai-Juin-Juillet 2008, p. 17.

<sup>14</sup> Mbida Nana, “De nouvelles articulations...”, p. 26.

*sportives. Ce texte n'a notamment pas établi une clarification des rôles dévolus à chaque acteur du mouvement sportif national y compris de l'État, ce d'autant plus que les quatorze (4) textes d'application prévus dans cette loi de 96 n'ont jamais été pris<sup>15</sup>.*

This law carried in her many new changes and innovation as concerned sport practice and management in Cameroon. This new law was to correct past errors as concerns sport management:

- ✓ Creation of National Football Academy (ANAFoot its French acronym);
- ✓ Dispositions as concerns National Team (appellation, bonus to athletes);
- ✓ The implication of councils and local governments in the management of sport;
- ✓ Financial and fiscal advantages for companies and enterprises that will sponsor sport related activities (team, federations, competitions, sporters etc);
- ✓ A status for international *sporter*.

The laws, decrees, circular service notes etc set to codify the play and organization of sports were sufficient to enable a good sport development in Cameroon.<sup>16</sup>

This was proof of the fact that policy was not just the writing of laws based on ideas. The problem in Cameroon resides in the fact that there was no implementation of these laws that rendered them useless and were of no importance to the development of sport and its eventual participation in the development of the nation.

Just as in many other countries one thing is clear about state involvement in sport in Cameroon. The production of regulatory laws and texts to codify the activities denotes this fact<sup>17</sup>.

This also brings us to another fact, which is government ideology in the design of her policy marked here by the laws enacted to manage sport. The intention of a law is important but the implementation is even more essential just as the evaluation for its eventual feedback. The structuring of the ministry of sport gave it very limited means (human, financial and material) to actually implement these laws. Apart from the limited means, there was also no time limit that could boost up the efficiency and the search of tangible results. There was no form of constraints on the actors who were loose and luke warm to the set objects and goals.

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<sup>15</sup> Archives MINSEP, Politique nationale du sport et de l'éducation physique, MINSEP, décembre 2009, (exposé des motifs du projet de loi fixant le régime des activités physiques et sportives), p. 43

<sup>16</sup> Mbida Nana, "De nouvelles articulations..."p.214.

<sup>17</sup> Chien-Yu Lin, Ping-Choa Lee and Hui-Fang Nai., "Theorizing the role of sport in State-Politics", in International Journal of Sport and Exercise Science, 1(1) pp.23-32, 28 Dec 2008, p. 25.

## **2. The Organization of Think-tanks for the Development of Sport**

The ministry of sport adopted the think-tank approach as it enabled exchange of ideas and knowledge on sport related issues from experts and government officials. Brainstorming of these issues enabled actors propose lasting solution to problems faced by the sport sector. Under the MYS only one such intellectual gathering was organized in 1992. The activity regrouped actors of the sports sector and related domains to help uplift Cameroon sports.

### **2.1. The National Forum on Football 2010**

The first of the two think-tanks organized in 2010 was the National Forum on Football. This was so because football was the sport which received the highest level of state attention in terms of human and financial resources. Cameroon was en route for the FIFA World Cup organized by an African nation; the Republic of South Africa. Also the football federation was witnessing mismanagement and conflict with the state.

A National football forum was organized in Yaounde between 25 and 27 May 2010, after what was considered a poor participation at AFCON 2010 in Angola and a few days to the FIFA World Cup to be held in South Africa. Football which was the most played and showed sport in Cameroon was in a difficult situation. There were crisis at the federation, leadership battle in many teams, no major victory at an international competition be it the national team or league teams. There was also the need to reduce the tension with the international governing body FIFA<sup>18</sup>. So, it was thought wise to rebuild what had been their battleship and a symbol of the administrative success particularly to the fact that the competition was holding for the first time ever on African soil. Football also had a place of choice in speeches by the Head of State, Paul Biya, who, just as other dignitaries, use the success of the Indomitable Lions as models for their patriotism and acts of bravo.<sup>19</sup> The forum was also organized amidst shockwaves of the President's announcement that the Higher Institute of Football would be created in the days ahead<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> The government was accused by FIFA for politicising football management particularly over management of national team and treatment given to coaches.

<sup>19</sup> J.P. Yano Yano, 52 years, certified graduate PES teacher from NIYS Yaounde, lecturer at the NIYS Yaounde, former international football junior team player, Yaounde, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2019.

<sup>20</sup> Speech of President Paul Biya to the nation for the youths on the 10<sup>th</sup> February 2010 in prelude to the National Youth Day. The said institute saw the day through presidential Decree n°2014/363 of 25<sup>th</sup> September 2014 was named the National Football Academy (ANAFoot). This was after the humiliation suffered by Cameroon during the 2014 Brazil FIFA World Cup. Decree n° 2016/220 of 28 April 2016 on the organization and functioning of ANAFoot, the same Decree n°2016/379 of 8<sup>th</sup> August 2016 Appointing Board Members of ANAFoot and final Decrees n°2017/243 of 24 May 2017 and n°2017/244 of 24 May 2017 Appointing respectively the Board Chairman and Director and Deputy Director of ANAFoot. The long process to the formal creation of ANAFoot denoted a lack of vision and objective. The first set of footballers of the academy were selected in 2017.

The organization of the national football forum was announced a few months earlier. This was contrary to the long announced and awaited organization of the General Conference on sports and Physical Education. Indeed, after the brilliant performances of Françoise Mbango with a double Gold medal at the last two editions of the Summer Olympic Games (2004 and 2008) in the triple jump event, it was time to reorganize and give other sporting disciplines a place of choice as they could bring honor to Cameroon.<sup>21</sup>

The general theme of the forum was “Development of Football in Cameroon: Strategies and Priority Action Plan”. This was to be divided into 18 sub-themes<sup>22</sup>. The time of the forum could also be questioned, a few days before the FIFA World Cup in which Cameroon was to participate but also after a long series of turbulence both on and off the pitch. There had been a battle between the State and the Cameroon Football Federation (FECAFOOT) over the management of resources and football. It should be noted that during the general sports and physical education conference of 1992, football held an important part of the debates with a whole subsection. The main objective of the forum was highlight in the following words:

*Elaborer et proposer au Gouvernement, à la Fédération Camerounaise de Football, aux partenaires de la société civile et du secteur privé, une stratégie globale et réaliste de développement du football au Cameroun, à court, moyen et long terme afin qu'il demeure leader en Afrique, qu'il continue à contribuer au divertissement des citoyens et qu'il génère, à moyen terme des emplois décents dans tous les corps de métiers de la discipline.*<sup>23</sup>

After the forum, a joint MINSEP-FECAFOOT Commission was set up to follow up the implementation of the resolutions. It was expected that these should resolutions pave the way for a policy paper. Was it just another forum to meet and have mission and participation allowances or an opportunity of meeting old friends? The problem was just the same as during the General Conference on Sport and Physical Education of 1992. Resolutions and recommendations were made and the government expected to formulate and implement them as policy. The reign of impunity encouraged persons to become lazy and unproductive and to use organization of such forums to embezzle state funds and extend their influence on sport management.

## **2.2. The General Conference of Physical Education and Sport 2010**

Sport related issues had become central in world news and diplomacy and for these reasons needed to be managed and handled with tact to reap the fruits. For these to be possible

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<sup>21</sup> Assiène, 49 years, Yaounde, 21st July 2019

<sup>22</sup> Archives MINSEP, Rapport General du Forum National sur le Football, Yaounde 25-27 Mai 2010, p.2.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, p.4.

a blend of human resources, material and infrastructure, policy programs had to be managed between different sector and branches of governmental and non-governmental institutions.<sup>24</sup> The end result is to better manage sport and insert it in the global, national and international policy frame of the country. Sport is as earlier said, an interwoven activity which has different means and values to actors involved in it.

In Cameroon, the solution to the reorientation and management of sport was for actors and other stakeholders to brainstorm together. This came a few months after the National Forum on Football and the fiasco of the South Africa FIFA World Cup<sup>25</sup>. The multiplicity of crisis situations between the management organs between themselves and within them. There was a general drop in the production of performances at international competitions, apart from occasional successes such as the two Olympic Gold medals of Françoise Mbanga. This situation had an impact on sport public policy<sup>26</sup>.

The head of State master and pace setter of state policy, had irerequested for the organization of a General Conference on Sports and Physical Education as far back as August 2008 under the leadership of Minister Edjoa.<sup>27</sup> The budget for the organization of the conference was made available in the 2010 budgetary year and to that effect an organization committee was set up by the Minister of Sports and Physical Education through a Decision.<sup>28</sup> A number of activities organized at the grassroots level had mobilized political social, business, intellectuals and sports analysts around the different subtopics of the upcoming conference. The conference was finally organized in Yaounde between the 18 and 20 November 2010 under the leadership of Michel Zoa, Minister in charge of sports.

The timing for the convening and holding of the conference actually was not accidental. As usual a number of events could justify the organization of the conference:

- ❖ Chaotic and humiliating Cameroonian participation at the FIFA World Cup in South Africa;

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<sup>24</sup> Bergsgards et al, *Sport Policy: A Comparative...*, p.39.

<sup>25</sup> Cameroon recorded her worst ever performance at a FIFA World Cup, conceding 5 goals and scoring 2, and finished last in her group with zero (0) points. Then came the scandal over the use of a located funds and the presence of certain persons in the official delegation.

<sup>26</sup> Archives MINSEP, Rapport General des États Généraux du Sport et de L'Éducation Physique, 18-20 Novembre 2010, Yaounde, p. 6.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Archive MINSEP, Décision n0 245/MINSEP/CAB du 12 Oct 2010 Portant Création du Comité d'Organisation des États Généraux du Sport et de l'Éducation Physique, p. 6.

- ❖ Continuous conflict between the ministry of sports and Federations and also between members of the federations;
- ❖ Some outdated laws and texts governing sports and related activities;
- ❖ The country was on the eve of a presidential election.

The conference was actually to be a gateway to modernity as it had to correct the lapses inherent in the previous law. The main theme of the conference was ‘the Redynamization of sport and physical education’<sup>29</sup> and had six (6) sub-themes:

- Physical Education ;
- Olympic et paralympic sport disciplines;
- None olympic sport disciplines;
- Football ;
- Funding and partnership;
- Sport and physical education training.

This conference had to deal with all issues around sport. Delegates to the conference came from all regions of the nation with proposals from the grassroots. Ahead of the conference consultations had been done at the local level. At the end of the conference just as it was with the conference of 1992 and the football forum, recommendations were listed out. Below are the recommendations:

- ✓ The creation of a National Sport Development Fund (**FONADES**);
- ✓ the elaboration of a standard agreement governing the collaboration between the decentralized local authorities, the sport federations clubs and FEICOM;
- ✓ the use of MINSEP's decentralized services to federate, organize and channel the national effort in the area of sports infrastructure development;
- ✓ the carrying out of a study on the financing of sporting activities through sponsorship, corporate patronage and decentralized local authorities, the involvement of audio-visual media in the financing and marketing of sports;
- ✓ lobbying with partners in order to encourage and promote the setting up of sports infrastructures;

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<sup>29</sup> Archives MINSEP, Rapport General des États Généraux du Sport et de l'Éducation Physique..., p.7

- ✓ upgrading local sport infrastructure in collaboration with the decentralized local décentralisées.<sup>30</sup>

The aftermath of the conference was hopeful as it advanced the putting in place of an inter-ministerial committee to follow up the recommendations. This committee was setup by the Prime Minister and they held their first meeting on 22 March 2011 at the Yaounde Multipurpose sport complex under Minister Michel Zoa.<sup>31</sup> This conference had raised hope in the words of the actors. Joseph Antoine Bell praised the initiative. However he made these remarks:

*Je pense donc que les États Généraux du Sport et d'Éducation Physique étaient forcément une bonne idée...je crois qu'il ne faut pas se leurrer. Les textes n'ont jamais fait marcher quelque chose, ils permettent juste l'encadrement d'une activité. Les textes seuls ne suffisent pas à redynamiser le sport camerounais. Il faut absolument qu'on se penche sur la question de leur application et sur celle des personnes appelées à jouer ce rôle. Ensuite il faut arriver à faire que ces États Généraux ne soient pas tout simplement une période de masturbation intellectuelle. Ce qui fait marcher les textes, c'est la volonté des hommes ; donc c'est la compétence<sup>32</sup>.*

The conference had to give orientation for the modification of the 1996 law. It was absolutely clear that the 1996 Law had not been fully implemented so it had not achieved its goals. There was still a conflicting situation between the ministry of Sport and CNOSC and federation over the use of funds in time of international competitions. Also 14 application texts to enable the implementation of the law had not been signed by the Head of State. In this particular instance the law was simply ignored creating more frustration among actors of the sport sector<sup>33</sup>.

This law carried in her many new changes and innovation as concerned sport practice and management in Cameroon. That which could predict a better future for Cameroonian sports,

- ✓ Application texts on the law on socio-educative and sport equipment had to be signed;
- ✓ Dispositions as concerns National Team (appellation, bonus to athletes);
- ✓ The implication of councils and local governments in the management of sport;
- ✓ Financial and fiscal advantages for companies and enterprises that will sponsor sport related activities (team, federations, competitions, *sporters* etc);

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<sup>30</sup> Archives MINSEP, Rapport General des États Généraux du Sport et de l'Éducation Physique..., p.60.

<sup>31</sup> E. Ngana, "États généraux du sport et de l'éducation physique. Le comité interministériel à pied d'œuvre" in MINSEP Info, Nouvelle série N°002, Mars 2011, p.6

<sup>32</sup> Ibid

<sup>33</sup> Politique nationale du sport et de l'éducation physique..., p. 43

✓ A status for international *sporter*.

The laws, decrees, circular service notes etc... set to codify the play and organization to sport to enable a good sport development in Cameroon. As concerns legal norms in administrative procedures and practices the above cited documents were very important. The law 2011 law was very explicit in defining the missions assigned to each of the institutional and civil actors. This was to avoid conflict and confusion of duties which had been the case with the previous law. The 2005 degree spelling out the missions of MINSEP and the conclusions of the various Think Tanks organized by the government<sup>34</sup>. The problem in Cameroon resides in the fact that there was no implementation of these documents which were rendered useless. Besides, they were of no importance to the development of sport and its eventual involvement in the development of the nation.

One thing is clear about state involvement in sport in Cameroon as was the case in many other African countries. The production of regulatory laws and texts to codify the activities denotes this fact. Sport received different types of attention based on the part of the world where it was played. It was closely associated to hygiene, health, defense, patriotism, integration, and national recognition cultural identity in certain African, Asian and Latin American countries but in Europe and North America it produced huge financial benefits in addition. Chien-Yu Lin et al says, 'sport therefore often, has the quite revolutionary role of being an agent of social change with the state as pilot'<sup>35</sup>.

This also brings us to another fact, which is government ideology in the design of her policy marked here by the laws enacted to manage sport. The intention of a law is important but the implementation is even more essential just as the evaluation for its eventual feedback. The structuring of the ministry of sport gave it very limited means (human, financial and material) to actually implement these laws. Apart from the limited means there was also no time limit that could boost up the efficiency and the search of tangible results. There was form of constraints on the actors who were loose and lukewarm to the set objects and goals.

Not long after the conference (it was the first of its kind in Cameroon in less than 1 year) the Physical and Sport Activity Charter of 1996 was replaced by law n°2011/018 of 15

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<sup>34</sup> Mbida Nana, "De nouvelles articulations ...", p. 214.

<sup>35</sup> Chien-Yu Lin et al., "Theorizing the role ...", p. 25.

July 2011.<sup>36</sup> Keno-Keimbou cited by Mbida Nana<sup>37</sup> described the law adopted in Cameroon “politique sportive conjoncturelle. The fear expressed by Bell was not that of text but their implementation and the actors expected to implement it.

### III. SOME OUTSTANDING ACTORS OF CHANGE IN THE MINISTRY OF SPORT

As already agreed, there was no real policy for sport in Cameroon; it was more of a “politique sportive conjoncturelle ou improvisation”. Some ministers were at the base and/or promoters of certain landmark decisions. Jean Philippe Guiffo quoting Raymond Aron sees history as the study of facts and events that have an impact on the living condition of men<sup>38</sup>. In this same line of thought, there is no history without the action and/or ideas of men who are the actors of the revolution, mutation or transformation<sup>39</sup>.

The art of managing humans is inborn but managing a portion of state power is a blend of inborn capacities, charisma and education. Becoming a state person had never and is not an easy task. This was the reason that the post-independence period was difficult for many African nations (Cameroon inclusive) because there were very few seasoned administrators. At the time of independence those that were appointed at top administrative positions in the government were not prepared intellectually and lacked the experience. They believed the position was because they were very intelligent and managed it for the personal benefit. The nation of nation was not really integrated in the mentalities. Many left government without really implementing a vision of their own<sup>40</sup>. This opinion by of a former state administrator opens up the question of the capacity of those to handle state functions. Notwithstanding a number of leaders emerged in the Cameroonian context and added solid blocks to the foundation of sport.

This section of the study will deal essentially with the presentation of some major architects of our sport movement. Those that will be cited below for the development of sport were chosen for some landmark actors. We are not saying there management of sport was

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<sup>36</sup> This law was again only reviewed in 2018 after the signing of Law n° 2018/014 of 11 July 2018, concerning the Organization and Promotion of Sport and Physical Activities. This was just the materialization of what many had thought about the law. This review came just seven (7) years after and many aspects of the law had never been implemented.

<sup>37</sup> Mbida Nana, “De nouvelles articulations ...”, p. 26.

<sup>38</sup> Guiffo, *Le Cameroun de toujours*, Yaoundé, éditions de l'ESCOATA, 2006, p. 361.

<sup>39</sup> E. Koizah Karh, in “Cattle Economy in Wum Area 1940-2010: A Historical Analysis” Master in History, University of Yaounde I, 2013, p. 13.

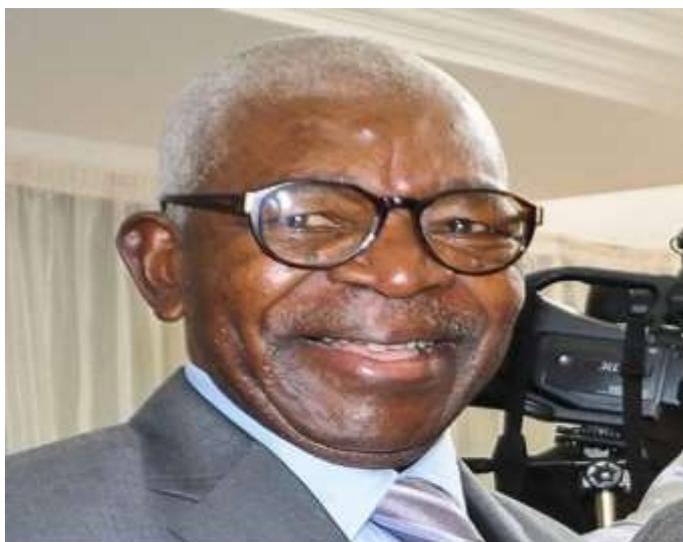
<sup>40</sup> C-T. Kuoh., *Mon témoignage. Le Cameroun de l'Indépendance (1958-1970)*, Paris, Editions Karthala, 1990, p. 133.

perfect or did not have weaknesses. These ministers that enhanced sport in one way or the other will be highlighted in this section. Among those to be cited here are Tonye Mbog Mbombo Njoya, Joesph Fofe, Théodore Lando, Joseph-Marie Bipoun Woum, Bidoung Mkpatt, Augustin Edjoa and Michel Zoa.

### **1. Felix Tonye Mbog 1972-1979**

Felix Tonye Mbog was born in 1934 and passed away into blessed memory in 2019. He was a seasoned administrator serving in top administrative positions particularly during the Ahidjo regime. Amongst the ministries he had the duty of managing, was that of Youth and Sports. He took office through an appointment in July 1972 as MYS and was in office still 1979 making him feature amongst the longest serving ministers in that ministry. He came after the bitter test of home defeat of the Cameroonian football team at the 1972 AFCON in Cameroon. As he said he had to fight vigorously against “improvisation”<sup>41</sup> and try to normalize the sport movement<sup>42</sup>. Some concrete actions taken by him that makes us consider him as an outstanding minister will be outlined below.

#### **Plate 1: Felix Tonye Mbog “the initiator”**



**Source:** <http://www.cameroun-info.net/> Tonye Mbog

Cameroon sports lovers and football fans in particular received a heavy weight professional boxer’s blow after the defeat of Cameroon during the semi-final match of AFCON 72 she was hosting. Minister F. Tonye Mbog had as mission to avoid such a humiliation to

<sup>41</sup> Ndongo Minisoko., *Le livre d’or du sport camerounais ...*, p. 205

<sup>42</sup> G. R. Obama, 54 years, sports journalist with the private media and sports analyse, Yaounde on 10<sup>th</sup> August 2019.

Cameroon. He stayed in office for seven years (July 72 - Nov 79). As of what concerns football he started by giving a baptismal name to the Team: The Indomitable Lions. Kepseu of the online magazine shows the minister's dynamism in these words: Tonye Mbog expliquait que ses instructions à ses collaborateurs étaient de choisir un 'animal fort et connu de toutes les aires culturelles du Cameroun'. C'est ainsi que le lion fut choisi, à quoi le ministre accola le qualificatif "Indomptable"<sup>43</sup>.

He also permitted the National Football team to have a statute and attributed a statute to local team that participated at international competitions (particularly football). A number of Cameroonian football players and teams conquered Africa during his reign at the head of this ministry. Also the statute of EPS teacher was reviewed. The structure of the functioning of the NIYS was modified as will be seen in chapter four (4). He can be considered as the great master-minder of Cameroon sport.

### **1.1. Ibrahim Mbombo Njoya 1983-86/ 1990-1992**

Ibrahim Mbombo Njoya was in office for 3 years 4 months (July 83- Nov 86) and again from September 1990 to April 1992 (1 year 7 months). He was the sixth (6) and eight (8) minister to hold office in this ministry. But it should be noted that he had managed sport affairs before the creation of the ministry: first as General Commissioner for Youth, Sports and Mass Education between July 1964 to May 1965 (10 months) then as Deputy Minister in Charge of Sports and Mass Education from May 1965 to June 1970 (4 years and 11 months). He was the last in office before the upgradation of the Department to a full ministry. He kept his own blueprint during his double stay.

During his stay in office he brought in precious sport victories to Cameroon. Cameroon's first Summer Olympic Games (Silver medal in Boxing) won by Joseph Bessala (1968). And again he was in office when Ndongo Ebanga won Cameroon's second Summer Olympic Games medal (Bronze in boxing) during the 1984 edition in Los Angeles (USA).

A few months after his appointment, Cameroon won her most awaited sport victory at the continental level: AFCON 1984 in Abidjan (Cote d'Ivoire). This victory came along to wash the bitterness felt by Cameroonians after their home defeat in 1972. Cameroon defeated Nigeria at the finals. It was Cameroon's debut on the African and world scenes as concerns football.

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<sup>43</sup> JP Kepseu, "Felix Tonye Mbog, createur du label « Lions Indomptable », a 84 ans," retrieved from <https://www.icicameroun/2018/05/nos-gens/felix-tonye-mbog-createur-du-label-lions-indomptable-a-84-ans>, on 3-10-2019, at 11 :40am

**Plate 2: Sultan/ Minister Mbombo Njoya in his royal palace in Foumban**



**Source:** <http://www.cameroun-info.net/> Ibrahim Mbombo Njoya

In the field of diplomacy, Minister Njoya did his best to enable Cameroon enter decision milieu. He coached and supported his then Secretary General at the minister to grasp a position at the Executive Board of African Football Confederation (AFC) in 1986<sup>44</sup> and later became President of the African Football Confederation. And Issa Hyatou became Vice President FIFA as from 1992.

At the organizational level he worked for the split of the office of the school and university game. As from 1985 the institutes of higher education were separated from secondary school students<sup>45</sup>. This approach was the base for the later creation of distinct federations for educational sports federations which played an important part in national integration policy.

### **1.2. Joseph Fofe 1986-1990**

He was the person in between the two office terms of Minister Ibrahim Mbombo Njoya: he served between July 1986 and Sept 1990 (4 years 2 months). He was in the period of Cameroon sport conquering expeditions in and out of the sport arenas. He is today of blessed memory as he passed away in October 2010. He had been president of the Cameroon Boxing Federation.

<sup>44</sup> Obama, 54 years, Yaounde, 10<sup>th</sup> August 2019.

<sup>45</sup> Ndongso Minsoko, 56 years, Yaounde, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2017

### Plate 3: Joseph Fofe the 7th Minister of Youth and Sport



**Source:** retrieved from [http://www.cameroun-info.net/Joseph Fofe](http://www.cameroun-info.net/Joseph_Fofe)

On the field of play, Cameroon won AFCON 1988 in Morocco for the second time in history. This brought more prestige and honor and placed her as one of the leading football nations in Africa. Two years later Cameroon was quarter finalist at the FIFA World Cup in Italy 1990<sup>46</sup>. It was the best performance ever for an African team in this competition. Again, Cameroon qualified for the Volleyball World Cup in Japan. It was a historic qualification.

He had also initiated reforms at the level of training institutions particularly the NIYS: two presidential decrees reorganizing the NIYS<sup>47</sup>. The NIYS benefited from a financial support from UNESCO for the functioning of the newly created High Performance Sport Center (HPSC). This was to be like an incubator for elite athletes<sup>48</sup>. With a planned relocation of the NIYS from Ngoa-Ekelle to Ahalla where it had received land for the purpose as the current campus was very small. He served the nation as best as he could.

#### 1.3. Ismael Pierre Bidoung Mpkwat 2000-2004

He was a graduate from the NIYS graduate in the Youth and Animation department and was the former Director. He came just after Cameroon had won the 2000 edition of AFCON. He was witness to major victories in the field of football. Cameroon Indomitable Lions kept their

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<sup>46</sup> The indomitable lions started the competition by defeating cup holders Argentina who had in her squad the world's best football player Armando Diego Maradona. The lone goal of the match was scored by Francois Omam Biyick After a victory over Romania she suffered a Defeat to USSR but was qualified for the eight finals. At this stage she defeated Colombia and faced England in an epic encounter which saw the victory of England by 3-2 after during extra time. Albert Roger Milla 38 years old at the time and finished the competition with 4 goals and had the famous dance at the corner flag.

<sup>47</sup> Décret n°91/255 portant organisation de l'INJS, qui est désormais doté d'une personnalité juridique et d'une autonomie financière

<sup>48</sup> Wouassi

AFCON crown in 2002 and played the final of the FIFA Confederation Cup losing to France in France in 2003. Unfortunately, Cameroon lost one of her key players during the tournament, Marc Vivien Foe.

In 2000 during the summer Olympics in Sydney Cameroon became the second African nation to win the Olympic football tournament after Nigeria four years earlier. One of the domains in which he excelled was animation display during ceremonies. The welcome ceremonies to victorious sports witnessed a display of Cameroons' cultural display and the amplification of their talent and performance.<sup>49</sup> He succeeded in organizing a tour of the town for the national female handball lionesses after they received their decorations at the presidency for their gold medal at the AAG in Abuja Nigeria in 2003.

Many of his predecessors were known for the total attachment to football at the expense of minor sport. However, he increased the bonuses given these athletes and also imposed a medical follow-up for athletes injured during competitions.<sup>50</sup> This was a major motivation for these athletes to be considered.

**Plate 4: Ismael Pierre Bidoung Mpkwatt the 'metteur en scene'**



**Source:** retrieved from <http://www.laverite.net>

Two major decisions marked his term of office. The first was the modification in the recruitment process into NIYS. Before then students were recruited for a four and five year

<sup>49</sup> A. Oloko 53 years, Retired PES Teacher, National trainer for throws, former international athlete (throwing), competition speaker with African Athletic Confederation, Yaounde 28-11-2018 at 2 pm

<sup>50</sup> Interview with Toukene

course to graduate as either assistant or PES teachers. University degrees were not considered, in 2001, the second cycle was opened only for university degree holders of all academic backgrounds.<sup>51</sup> This was a major change as it changed the perception and regard on the institute and modified the courses.

The second was the organization of the Chantal Biya Cycling Grand Prix. This competition even became more popular than Cameroon cycling tour as it benefited from more state subventions and attention.<sup>52</sup> All of the organization was done in the ministry which collaborated with the cycling federation for the technical aspects. He was again appointed Minister of Sports and Physical education between Oct 2015 and Jan 2019.

#### **1.4. Augustin Thierry Edjoa 2006-2009**

He was one of the few ministers in charge of sports that had been a former *sporter* particularly athletics and had headed a federation (regional league then national president of the Cameroon athletic federation). He was a French language teacher by profession and had been principal of Lycée General Leclerc of Yaounde.

#### **Plate 5: Augustin Edjoa the Minister of ‘Infrastructures’**



**Source:** [www.cameroun-info.net/Augustin](http://www.cameroun-info.net/Augustin) Edjoa

He was appointed into government as minister in charge of sport, just days after Cameroon had lost her qualification ticket for the FIFA 2006 World Cup in Germany<sup>53</sup>. Some

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<sup>51</sup> Interview with Dikoume

<sup>52</sup> Interview with Ndongo Minsoko

<sup>53</sup> During Cameroon's last group match at home she needed a victory against Egypt to main her position as group leader in front of Cote d'Ivoire who played and defeated Sudan. Unfortunately P. Wome sent the ball off target during a penalty awarded Cameroon during injury time. The lives of many players of the quad were threatened and their property destroyed particularly Wome. It was said for Cameroon who after four (4) consecutive participation was to watch this edition on back at home. It was a said Sunday for Cameroonians sports lovers and football fans.

sport analysts and experts had thrown the blame on P. Mbarga Mboa his predecessor. The Yaounde Ahmadou Ahidjo Omnisport and the Reunification stadium had been threatened for suspension from international sport competitions as they were considered outdated and risky for use.

Cameroon was in a serious crisis situation not only in terms of their absence from the upcoming FIFA World Cup but also in terms of the lack of sport amenities (infrastructure). He initiated a grand short and longterm sport amenities policy. This was the National Program for the Development of Sport Amenities known as PNDIS in French. It aimed at furnishing and equipping each region with standard sport amenities. Cameroon had just been on the top of the world with F. Mbongo Etone grasping Gold in the triple jump event at the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games.

This ten-year program was the first ever national policy program to build sport amenities and make them available for the whole nation. It was to enable Cameroon enter the new millennium in grand style in the domain of sport. Besides, it was to be a game changer for Cameroon. In 2008 the Yaounde Multipurpose sport Complex was inaugurated by President Paul Biya. The project had been launched in 2004 under Minister S. D. Etame Massoma but work actually started in 2006.

### **1.5. Michel Zoa 2009-2011**

He is the last minister in our list and it happens to be that he was also the last in office in our study interval. He came in to the office in 2009 to replace Minister Edjoa. So he had the duty of implementing the PNDIS. In December 2009 the first stone for the construction of the Paul Biya Omnisport Complex of Olembe was placed.

The grand infrastructure program was not the magic strike to solve all the problems of Cameroon sport. Federations were in crisis and open conflict with the ministry due to the fact that many of the texts used for managing sport were outdated. The 1996 Sport and Physical Education Chart had not really been implemented and there were a lot of inconsistencies in it with the modern sport management<sup>54</sup>. In an effort to get lasting solution for the management of sport two (2) major conferences were organized in 2010.

In May 2010 the National Forum on Football was organized in Yaounde, a few days to Cameroon's participation at the final phase of the FIFA 2010 World Cup in South Africa. The

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<sup>54</sup> Madoukou Adamou, "La tutelle du MINSEP sur les acteurs du sport...", p. 9.

national sport was sick and in serious agony. This situation placed the government in a difficult position. Interesting resolutions came out and just needed implementation.

**Plate 6: Michel Zoa ‘the conferencier’**



**Source:** <http://www.cameroun-info.net/> Michel Zoa

Some few months later (November 2010) the General Conference on Sport and Physical Education was held in Yaounde. This conference which had been envisaged during the past years was now prompted by the catastrophic and humiliating performance of the Indomitable Lions during the South African World Cup.<sup>55</sup>

A year before the organization of the conferences, that is in 2009, he had initiated a working group at the level of the Department of Development of High Performance Sport to produce a reference document for the payment of bonuses. The change was important as it came in to solve the conflict with and the tense atmosphere amongst athletes as they never knew how much they were to receive as bonuses.<sup>56</sup> For the first time there was a document available indicating the different bonuses to be given to athletes based on the level and standard of the competition.

A few months after the General Conference on Sport and Physical Education, the Prime Minister signed on 15 July 2011 Law n°2011/018 for the promotion of sport and physical education. This law had in it many of the recommendation's made during the General Conference. It came to outlaw the 1996 Charter which had not been fully implemented and had

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<sup>55</sup> Interview with Ndongo Minsoko

<sup>56</sup> Interview with Ombga

a lot of contradictions. This law was revolutionary as it enabled Cameroon not only to have an updated reference document for sport but clearly defined the missions and functions of the stakeholders.

## **2. The Cameroon's Sports Diplomacy**

The creation of the MYS in 1970 and the organization of AFCON in 72, coupled with other victories such as that of Joseph Bessala in 1968 Olympic Games brought sport to the frontline of Cameroon diplomacy. According to S. Bainel: "Pierre de Coubertin wanted Olympics to bring peace not through the political means but the situation changed rapidly; government policies were really influenced by sports. It has been like a trigger mechanism, everyone has understood how to use sport for diplomatic relations and it is a safe and harmless war."<sup>57</sup> Sport diplomacy became part of the soft power arsenal of nations as athletes from different political ideological backgrounds could be part of the same team. Sports had brought down some barriers. So many nations used it to get closer to former enemies.

Cameroon was a 'third world' nation. So she had little say in international sphere and had not developed an interest for sport diplomacy which was a perfectly used soft power weapon by more developed first class nations. These countries, to extend their influence in Cameroon, did a subtle mixture of traditional diplomacy and soft power diplomacy to maintain their cooperation and influence over Cameroon.

It should be noted that the cooperation agreements existed in the field of sport between Cameroon and other African nations. In many cases the agreements were not really enforced and were only made reference to during sport competitions or revision of cooperation agreements. We can here cite the case of Cameroon and Senegal through a correspondence of the direction of sport at the MYS. Cameroon and Senegal in the bilateral relations gave a prominent place for sport. There had to apart from international competition, organize freely competitions to strengthen their cooperation in this domain<sup>58</sup>. Sport had no impact on the diplomacy of these countries simply because their exchange in the economic domain was low and sport was not viewed as a real diplomatic tool. In terms of capital would have no impact on the income of both countries as sport had not been developed to an industry.

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<sup>57</sup> S. Bainel, "Sport and politics: a study of relationship between international politics and football", Masters in international and European relations, Linköping's University, January 2005, p. 4.

<sup>58</sup> Archive MINSEP, Direction des sports. Note à l'attention de monsieur le secrétaire général du ministère de la jeunesse et des sports du 29 mai 1981, p.1.

What we understand after reading through this working document is that the existence of this cooperation agreement had almost no incidence on the field. Actually no cooperation mechanism had been set into motion to make this agreement a reality. So we can consider some of the cooperation agreements in the domain of sport as ‘phantomatic’ or ghost agreements. It was the case with many other African countries that preferred enforcing their sport cooperation with western countries that could assist them technically, financially and materially.

There were other few and limited cases of sport cooperation between Cameroon and her immediate neighbours. In the first case we can cite although under the banner of CONFÉJES, the admission of other African nationals to the Cameroon’s National Institute of Youth and Sports (NIYS), for example, from Chad, Gabon, Congo, Central Africans, Niger, Benin etc.

A second instance in this sport cooperation domain was the participation of friendly neighboring countries during certain sport competition. We can here mention the case of Nigerian athletes that were invited to Cameroon and actually participated in 2003 at the 6<sup>th</sup> edition of the University Games hosted by the University of Yaounde I as they were preparing the All African Games to be hosted by Nigeria in Abuja<sup>59</sup>. It was the first in its kind in this domain. In the same vein Cameroon and Gabon and other countries of the Central African region under the UDEAC and later CEMAC Games usually celebrated their friendship through sporting encounters. Unfortunately these Games or meetings were not regular; they were more circumstantially fashioned by stakes of immediacy than researching a permanent durable activity.

### **2.1. The Use of Sport Diplomacy by Foreign Diplomats in Cameroon**

It is well known that many African nations signed cooperation treaties with the former colonial power to have expertise in certain domains. Sport was not left out of this package as it was under the cultural assistance domain. Sport was a geostrategic game. In the case of Cameroon, France provided her with experts and advisers to develop the activity as was the case with other former French territory<sup>60</sup>.

This bilateral and multilateral agreements and ties ensured the sending to Cameroon of experts in the domain of sport by France for technical assistance<sup>61</sup>. Unfortunately for

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<sup>59</sup> J. Tiemuncho, “Cameroon: University Games: Nigerians Add Impetus”, Cameroon Tribune, 2 May 2003, retrieved from <https://www.Allafrica.com> on 14-11-2018, at 9:04 am

<sup>60</sup> D. Compaoré, “Le sport analyseur de la place de l’Afrique dans la coopération internationale: l’exemple de la politique sportive de la France en Afrique-Burkina Faso (1960-2010)”. Tome 1. Thèse de Doctorat en Sciences du Sport et Société, Université Paris Sud II, 2012, p. 111.

<sup>61</sup> Mouelle Kombi, *La politique étrangère du Cameroun...*, p. 131.

Cameroonians, Britain did almost nothing in terms of sport cooperation. But due to the international context of Cold War, at certain instances they stood behind the French and other members of the capitalist block to face the communist/socialist opposing block.

The development of soft power diplomacy has largely contributed to the implantation of many cultural civilization models. This diplomatic tool was defined by certain authors. According to Joseph Batora soft power is “the influence and attractiveness a nation acquires when others are drawn to its culture. It embraces activities of state and non-state actors that contribute to the maintenance and promotion of a country’s culture, education, national image and influence which was part of its public diplomacy.<sup>62</sup> Judith Trunkos quotes Joseph Nye who is considered as the conceptor of the concept of soft power. He defines it as:

The ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payment which include “culture, values and foreign policies”...the ability to affect others through the co-optive means of having the agenda, persuading and eliciting positive attraction in order to obtain preferred out-comes<sup>63</sup>.

As seen in the above definitions soft power, belongs to the foreign policy or public diplomacy of many nations. Sport was part of this attractive cultural force of persuasion used by Germany in Cameroon. Sport was a complex and challenging political and societal issue in international relations. It was bound up in the interplay between the policies and practices of states and the strategies and activities of transnational cooperation’s and non-governmental organs.<sup>64</sup>

In the strict tradition of diplomacy, ambassadors represented their nations in friendly countries. In this context, their ambassadors had many times visited MYS/MINSEP to offer their country’s support in the sport domain. It also occurs that they need Cameroon’s support at the international level in a project as as bidding for the organization of the Olympic Games.

This is a clear institutionalization of sport and it projects the administrative dimension of sport. But how well had Cameroon sold herself through sport will be the question at this level. Another interesting aspect will be to understand why this sport diplomacy was not offensive. Many at time it was expected that the MYS/MINSEP or top level elite athletes were

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<sup>62</sup> J. Batora, “Culture of Fairness: Sport in for Foreign Policy Opportunities and Challenges,” IFA-Edition Culture and Foreign Policy, Conference Report, Brussels 10 December 2014, p. 2.

<sup>63</sup> J. Trunkos, “What is soft power capability and how does it impact foreign policy?”, in Cultural Diplomacy, January 2013. [http:// www.sportdiplomacy.com](http://www.sportdiplomacy.com), accessed on 13-7-16 at 8 pm, p. 1.

<sup>64</sup> Cui Shijun, “Sport power in the perspective of soft power development strategy” in MD Forum <http://www.Sciofluemountain.com>, accessed on 10-7-16 at 10 pm, pp. 1-2.

to travel for an official visit with the President of the Republic. Unfortunately, that had never been done.

The British ambassador to Cameroon Bharat Joshin during a visit to the MINSEP in March 2010, while soliciting Cameroon's support for her candidacy or the organization of the 2018 FIFA world cup bids had evoked the fact that there were no better ambassadors in a country than sports men in general and footballers in particular<sup>65</sup>.

The G2G diplomatic approach served in many domains. Every foreigner who was sent to Cameroon was on mission to brand and market their nation to Cameroonians. German, France and other countries used sport as a diplomatic tool to enforce cooperation ties with Cameroon. It was a springboard to get to other fields of cooperation. The German strategy is revealed here by Balla:

*Dans le cadre de la coopération, l'Allemagne Fédérale avait placé pas mal de ses ressortissants dans les pays africains. L'opération était d'autant plus appréciée que les gouvernements ne déboursaient pratiquement rien. Tout était pris en charge par l'Allemagne Fédérale...si l'on souligne régulièrement le rôle des entraîneurs français en Afrique, on évoque plus rarement celui des techniciens allemands souvent dépêchés par un organisme fédérale d'aide au développement ; la Gessellschaft fur Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) société pour la coopération technique. On peut citer Karl-Heinz Weigang, Wilfried Schaffer, Peter Schnittger<sup>66</sup>.*

We have already mentioned the primordial state involvement in the promotion of sports. This involvement also comprised the support of nationals who wanted to occupy positions at international institutions.

As we have earlier mentioned governments was greatly involved in the promotion of their nationals to important management positions aboard. This offensive diplomacy was not only practiced by capitalist nations, communist nations also made use of it. Below is the diplomatic offensive of Soviet Union in negotiating for their nationals to become trainers of the Indomitable Lions of Cameroon: "Honors to forward herewith, copy of *Embassy Diplomatic Note N°166/n* of August 25, 1988 and to inform you that the state sports committee of the Soviet Union is prepared to dispatch Messrs Nepomniachtchii and Brovarskii to Cameroon as coaches for the indomitable and junior lions stop"<sup>67</sup>.

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<sup>65</sup> L.R. Thobi., "Cameroun-Grande-Bretagne, la coopération, passera par le football", in MINSEP infos n° 9 nouvelle série, Mai 2010, p. 125.

<sup>66</sup> B. Balla., "la saga des entraîneurs étrangers dans le football africain", 14 septembre 2001, retrieved from <https://cameroun-info.net> on 27-7-2016 at 7: 16 am.

<sup>67</sup> Archives MINSEP, Conveyed message from Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Ministry of Youth and Sports. Subject Dispatch of Soviet Football coaches to Cameroon, 7 September 1988.

These two coaches later wrote their names in golden letter in the sport annals of Cameroon and Africa as Cameroon's Indomitable Lions under their leadership became the first African nation to attain the quarter final of the FIFA World Cup during the 1990 FIFA World Cup in Italy. Their recruitment came after the dismissal of French born coach Claude Leroy who had also benefited from the assistance and support of his government during his recruitment as head coach for Cameroon in 1985. Under his leadership, Cameroon had won AFCON 1988 hosted by Morocco. But his stay in Cameroon was costly for the country which was entering in a period of economic crisis and could no longer provide all these advantages to him again. The recruitment of the Soviet technician was a diplomatic victory for the Eastern communist bloc in the long rivalry with the capitalist west.

This chapter focused on the foundation and evolution of sport administration institutions. Through the new institutional approach, it was seen how and why state put in place institutions on which she directly and indirectly implements her policies as concerned sports. The full implication as was showed for French Cameroon was as far back as the colonial days while this implication was limited in British Cameroon.

The over centralization of sport management by the state caused administrative bottlenecks that brought in tension and conflict between stakeholders. At the same time it reduced efficiency and productivity that would have fully contributed to full use of the potential of sport for development. The missions of the ministry have to be reduced and given to other stakeholders as they lack sufficient human resources and material and financial resources. The ministry also championed Cameroon's sports diplomacy which was multi form. Cameroon signed cooperation treaties with certain international organizations and formal institutions but failed to fully use the available potential in terms of soft power: Cameroon top sports at world level. Could it be different based on the political conception, view and consideration given to sports? Is the situation to be improved due to external changes that impact on governmental policies and orientation? The current management was far from delivering the expected goods.

**CHAPTER TWO: v TECHNICAL MANAGEMENT ORGANS: CNOSC,  
NSB, FEDERATIONS.**

The 21<sup>st</sup> century is proving to be the century of sport. The one-time leisure has become an industry. Sport today assembles many different resources for its expansion and practice. This quest for visibility based on the ‘*willingness to pay*’, command managerial skills for the industry to expand and yield fruits<sup>1</sup>. This brought in a vertical and horizontal management at the national and international levels in sport institutions and industries. All the sports played around the world were not governed by the same roles, play style, playground, dressing code, equipment etc. Football is different from judo, just as they are both different from athletics and swimming. Each sport needed an institutionalized. Federation were management institutions existing back each sport at the international level with codified roles and regulations and legal backing. At the local level national federations worked on the implementation of rules and organized the practice of the said sport in a country<sup>2</sup>.

Our focus will also be to understand how these institutions created enhanced state control over sports, related issues and diplomacy. It shall outline some reasons for the creation of institutions like the National Olympic Committee, the National sport committee, federations etc. Also, we shall see Cameroon’s sport diplomacy through her presence and steering role at international sport management organs. All of this will be done through a historical evolution.

Cameroon’s stakeholders (institutions) as concerns sport were of two types: those with national competence (CSC, NSO) and those that were born from international institutions (CNOOSC, Paralympic sport committee, Federations, Associations). The interwoven actions of these institutions at the national level were to enhance Cameroon’s image at the international scene.

In the first instance, we shall analyze the creation of the national committees, their missions, organization, financial and human resources, membership and reasons for their eventual failure and to some extent their dissolution. The questioning will be of what importance were they to enhance sport? Were they simply government musical boxes? Then, in a second instance, we shall analyze the reasons and ideology that upheld Cameroon’s affiliation to international sports institutions. This will lead us to Cameroon’s sporting diplomacy. Here we shall analyze the ideology, objectives and the display in the field with its

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<sup>1</sup> W. Andreff, “État des lieux de l’économie du sport”, in *Problèmes Économiques*, No 3131, première quinzaine, 04-2106, 2016, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Patrick Bouchet, Existe-t-il un « modèle sportif » dans les pays africains francophones ? retrieved from [http://www.cairn-info/article.php?ID\\_article:STA-065-00078Docid=336168](http://www.cairn-info/article.php?ID_article:STA-065-00078Docid=336168), retrieve on 21-7-2016, at 6am, p. 1.

impact on Cameroon and also take a look at which were those actions that fashioned this diplomacy. The underlying question is to what extent was the policy designed?

## **I. THE CREATION OF SPORTS REGULATORY ORGANS IN CAMEROON.**

Colonial domination of Africa was justified by the will of advanced western societies to civilize the retarded backward populations of Africa, South America and Asia. Under this civilization mission as they called it, sport was included and held a place of prime importance in the weapons used<sup>3</sup>. It is in this light that the French administration present in Cameroon via the League of Nations mandate and later the Trustship Council of the UNO created sport management institutions to oversee its implantation, management and practice. Megne M'Ella point out that education and physical education were some of the objectives pursued by colonialist as it had to produce quantitative labour. This was only possible through a number of regulatory activities at the level of its organization and functioning<sup>4</sup>. The putting in place of regulatory organs was to respond to a given situation. In the case of Cameroon sport was to benefit from government grants to fulfill her mission of public utility as it had an impact on the education and health of the population.

The sporting interest was not very deep but all was done in a way to maintain state hold on all governing mechanism. Then we shall see how these institutions kept the pace after the creation of the MYS and eventually the MINSEP and those that were called to manage then while maintaining state ideology. In a nutshell, France just as the other colonial powers did not only introduce sport but particularly infused her ideology through it. All French colonies/territories had the same structure and organization of sport. The next section will present and analyze the institutions. Before getting to the post-independence institutional reforms it's important to step back to the past where the real ideology lay. Two majorland marks fashioned the creation of sport management and regulatory organs.

The civilization mission also introduced "modern" management technics, bureaucracy and specialization that became central in the day to day running of the affairs. This was to enable sport to archeive the set and expected objectives. As from 1949, the French colonial administration in Cameroon created a Consultative Committee for Physical Education and

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<sup>3</sup> Megne M'Ella, "L'organisation sociale du sport au Gabon....," p. 258.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

Sport. It was to propose to the colonial administration the orientation to be given to sport in general and be the mouth piece of the sport movement in Cameroon.

The committee members came from four (4) different sections of the administration, department of finance, department of external relations, presidents of sports leagues, president of OSSU and Olympic Centers. This committee had competence in every activity related to sports in the territory. Under its supervision the first edition of the School and University Games (Office des Sports Scolaires et Universitaires -OSSUC) was held in Yaounde in 1954<sup>5</sup>.

A decision of the High-Commissioner from France to Cameroon created the Territorial Committee of Sport through decree n° 6833 on 16 October 1956. The missions and prerogatives of this territorial committee were far deeper than those of the consultative committee<sup>6</sup>. In this text the Territorial Committee of Sport did not only coordinate, manage and supervise sport but had to design programs and advise the High-Commissioner on all sport related issues.<sup>7</sup> The mission of this territorial committee showed the importance sport had in the colonial machinery to achieve their objectives. This passed through a total grip on sport management by the administration. That is why the committee was composed of persons of the central administration (head of youth and sport service, Director of Finance and the Director of Public Health Services). It goes a long way to show the interwoven nature of sport and other sectors of the administration.

A number of questions can emerge from the changes occurring in sport management at this point in time. These questions came from: the pressure mounted by nationalist movement, the availability of PES teachers and the socio-political evolution of the territory. To start with the Union des Population du Cameroun (UPC) had in their nationalist struggle started an insurrection against the colonial administration in May 1955<sup>8</sup>. There was a gradual use of sport by the local population to defy authority. This prompted the putting in place of the new committee in 1956. It should be noted here that the political and social evolution of the world and French Cameroon gently impacted on the orientation and evolution of sport. The direct rule used by France in Cameroon was authoritarian giving little or no room for nationals to express themselves. To this effect, sport which was a perfect form of body art expression through

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<sup>5</sup> Ndong Minsoko, *Le livre d'or du sport camerounais...*, p. 180.

<sup>6</sup> NAY 2AC file 6256, Création d'un comité territorial des sports au Cameroun 1956. (Annexe Arrêté n° 6833 portant, Création d'un comité territorial des sports au Cameroun 1956)

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>8</sup> Gaillard, *Le Cameroun*, tome 1, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1989, p. 203.

popular display, from it arose a lot of emotions and passion which could be used by “rebels” for their propaganda to defy established order.

The first mark was the colonial heritage and the second were post-independence circumstances. At independence, Cameroon kept the missions of some organs left behind by the colonial power (France). Although Cameroon had a dual colonial heritage, it's the French heritage that was more influential due to the almost complete submergence of the Anglo-Saxon culture<sup>9</sup>. Most of the institutions that will be studied here will be of French Cameroon colonial heritage

### **1. The Setting up of the National Sports Board**

Cameroon got its complete independence in 1961 following the reunification of both territories and the birth of a federal state. This new situation implied a number of adjustments and adaptations in the political, economic, social, and cultural domains with sport included. In 1962, the Cameroonian Sport Charter was promulgated by Decree n° 62-DF-250 of 16 July 1962 which spelled out the missions of sport federations and the National Sports Committee (NSC).

As concerns the NSC, the decree read as follows: “A public establishment shall be created in Cameroon endowed with financial autonomy and legal personality with the mission of encouraging the development of sports. This public establishment shall be called: “the national sports committee”. Its head office shall be in Yaounde”<sup>10</sup>.

This NSC had a number of missions to carry out for the development of sports in the country. Amongst them were the following:

- Creation and management of sports facilities;
- Supervise activities of sports federations;
- Establish general rules for the organization of competition by associations and federations as well as receive finances for the sponsoring and maintenance of facilities and their functioning;

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<sup>9</sup> Nantang Jua and Piet Konings, “Occupation of public space Anglophone Nationalism in Cameroon ”, in Cahiers d'études Africaines, 3, n° 175, 2004, p. 610.

<sup>10</sup> Archives MINSEP Decree n° 62-DF-250 of the 16 July institution a Sports Charter in Cameroon of 1st August 1962, p. 840.

➤It oversees the strict respect of the law and it dishes out disciplinary sanctions to defaulters, (federations, association and sportsmen)<sup>11</sup>.

A close look at the missions attributed to the NSC reveals, that its missions were the same attributes of the Territorial Committee for sport. The colonial legacy was seen in this institution just as in many other institutions during the transitions from pre-independence to post independence. We note the full involvement of the state in the managing and control of sports from financing to appointments of members of the institutions.

As far back as the colonial era and contrary to what many believed, sport management was not apolitical. The creation of structure, mission and objectives of these institutions respected a specific political and ideological agenda<sup>12</sup>. Sport was used as a state propaganda medium in the field. Sport competitions were organized to celebrate political victories and/or during political gatherings.

The politicization of sport also included the choice of men to handle the institutions. During the French colonial period we had soldiers heading certain sport institutions and federations. Sport was to create the notion of obedience to rules and orders and aptness to physical efforts, which created discipline in the population. Sport is the respect of rules and discipline and *sporters* keep to rules to avoid sanctions. This same model was to be used in the social promotion of sport. Likewise, after independence, the government placed at the head of these institutions men that would best implement state ideology.

In this light a well-organized system was put in place which was not built on merit and hard work as one would have expected. The system devised other mechanisms for leadership based on who was part of the system or a close person to the person in office. The system was founded and structured during the colonial day and with the UPC uprising and rejection of empty independence; only persons that could ensure the survival of the system were appointed. It was also a way to sanction and impose a non-physical trauma on those against the system<sup>13</sup> and report of Crisis Group describes the situation of Cameroon in the following words:

*Avec les ressources et pouvoirs d'affection résolument entre les moins Ahidjo développe un système politique basé sur la cooptation des élites. Les promotions économiques et politiques sont entièrement dépendantes des faveurs du " Prince " et les démonstrations de la loyauté au pouvoir central deviennent un fait courant de la vie politique. Le système*

<sup>11</sup> Archives MINSEP Decree n° 62-Decree n°16 July Instituting a Sports Charter in Cameroon of 1<sup>st</sup> August 1962, p. 840.

<sup>12</sup> P. Charistas., "Les conditions d'émergence du développement sportif olympique en Afrique analyse comparée entre le Royaume-Uni et la France (1944-1916)", Rapport du programme de la bourse pour chercheurs post gradués concours 2008, Centre d'Etudes Olympiques du comité International Olympique, Lausanne (Suisse), université paris-Sud 11, UFR STAPS, 2008, p. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Pigeaud., *Au Cameroun de Paul Biya ...*, p. 80.

*de cooptation d'Ahidjo est financé par une économie en pleine expansion qui permet à « un système hiérarchique et clientéliste de récompenser suffisamment les groupes potentiels d'opposition pour assumer la stabilité du système. Le système clientéliste ne peut pas coopter toute opposition potentielle et est maintenu par un appareil sécuritaire sophistiqué<sup>14</sup>.*

This system of cooptation and appointment through bribery and corruption as will be seen was introduced in all sectors and administrative units. Sport was not left out in this management approach. In the Sport management domains, those called up to head institutions, Federations, association, clubs, national trainers and national technical directors generally were appointed on the bases of cooptation and not always on merit. One of its proofs was the longevity at the head of certain institutions by certain leaders. In this line of things, there is a direct link between leaders and efficiency and performance of an institution. The change of leadership between Ahidjo and Paul Biya did not really change in this aspect as it was a continuation due to fact that most of the inside men did not move and president Biya was part and parcel of the Ahidjo system.

### **1.1. Funding and Membership of the National Sport Board**

In the above section mention was made of the fact that the National Sport Committee was also the photocopy of the Territorial Committee of Sport that existed during the French Colonial era. During the end of the 1960s and the 1970s the NSC was visited in its missions on the field. We could see it very active in the contract for the construction of the Yaounde and Douala stadia in 1969.

There was a line of conduct to be followed by each government. So, there was need to reduce pressure on central services. In certain western countries the electorate and the political ideology of the party in power, orientated and conditioned the resources awarded for sports. It put in place agencies to assist in the implementation of her ideology on the field. In the case of Australia district there existed an independent commission with statutory authority which implemented government policy and represented sporting interest<sup>15</sup>.

There was clearly a stated need for the creation of governmental agencies to manage sporting activities. In the case of Cameroon contrary to Australia, the NSC was completely in the hands of the government and had no real independence. The membership of the committee was highly illustrative of this fact. The 1962 Decree instituting a sport charter provided in its

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<sup>14</sup> International Crisis Group, Rapport Afrique n° 160, 25 Mai 2010, p. 10.

<sup>15</sup> Stewart et al., *Australian sport: better by design?...*, p. 58.

article 11<sup>16</sup>, the 1985 Decree n° 85/829 of 7/6/1985. In its article 14 specified the membership of the NSC modifying that of 1962: the modified article read: Are members of the National Sport Committee:

- The Minister in charge of sport or his representative;
- The Director of Sports ;
- Representative of the Minister of Armed Forces;
- Representative of the Minister in charge of National Education;
- Representative of the Minister in charge of Higher Education;
- Representative of the Minister in charge of Women Affairs;
- The president National Olympic Committee;
- The president of Board of Directors of the National Sport Board;
- The presidents of Sport Federations;
- 5 members appointed by minister in charge of sport;
- Representatives from organizations in charge of scholl and university sport.<sup>17</sup>

This institution was inconsistent in its functioning as from the end of the 1980s its missions were added after the dissolution of the National Spot Equipment Board (NSEB) by letter n° B1102/SG/PR du 11/9/89, by the head of state<sup>18</sup>. It had to take up activities such as:

- management of stadia;
- production of entry tickets;
- management of national teams<sup>19</sup>.

The slow-down in sports activities during late 80s and early 90s due to the economic crisis and later the socio-political crisis reduced the impact of the NSC as it did no longer have state funds to sustain her activities. This was seen in the fact that NSC held between 1992 and 2001 only two general assemblies. The turmoil through which Cameroon was going impose NSB to review its policies and functioning mechanism, reduce state dependence and adapt to

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<sup>16</sup> Under the high authority of the president of the Republic, the National sports committee shall consist of: an ex-officio chairman, the general commissioner of youth, sports and Mass Education, 3 ex-officio members:

- the chief inspector of Youth and Sports;
- the head of the service of Physical and Sports Education;
- the chairman of the Olympic Committee; 7 members appointed by the president of the Republic upon proposal of the General Commissioner of Youth and Sports; 10 persons elected in general Assembly by representative of the sports federations.

<sup>17</sup> Archives MINSEP Decree 85/829 of 7/6/1985 modifying law n° 84/14/94 of 23 November 1984 reorganizing the Sports Charter.

<sup>18</sup> Archive MINSEP Affaires Générales plan de présentation Comité National des Sports.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

the changes imposed by the context. This was to be done by sport lovers and particularly members of the NSC.

The NSC that had at as from the 1990s been invisible, not to say a ghost institution with a very unclear statute. This period runs between 1992 and 2001 when nothing was said of her. The General Conference on Sport and Physical Education of 1992, recommended the merge of the National Olympic Committee and the National Sport Committee under the name “Cameroon National Olympic and Sport Committee.”<sup>20</sup> This left us with a contradictory situation and the following questions arose: Did the transformation of the CNOC to the CNOSC respond to the 1992 recommendation? Why was nothing said about both institutions in the 1996 Sports and Physical Activity Charter? This new institution was put in place without any clear road map to guide her in the execution of her activities.

The 1996 charter on Physical and Sport activities made no mention of the NSC. Articles 16 and 20 of this law<sup>21</sup>, cited by certain documents as making mention of the NSC instead talks of duties and missions of federations. This period witnessed no increase in sports infrastructure.

In 2001, under the leadership of the Minister of Youth and Sports, Bidoung Mpkwat, an extraordinary session of NSC was held in Yaounde on the 27<sup>th</sup> June and an ordinary general assembly on 15 October 2001<sup>22</sup>. Just as those sessions were held, they also immediately disappeared like water poured in a sand desert. Nothing really explained why the NSC reappeared or resurfaced at that particular point in time. No text, decree nor law had dissolved or suspended the activities of the NSC, but we note that just as the 1996 Law, the 2011 law on the organization and promotion of physical and sports activities makes no mention of the NSC. We can consider that it was outlawed due to the fact that other management and control mechanism institutions were created by these laws. It meant that Cameroon-info-net saw things right as in the following remark, “reste à croire que ce ne sera pas un autre moyen de dépenser les fonds publics sans justification tellement les éléphants blancs au Cameroun, ça ne se compte plus.”<sup>23</sup> According to Assiene following what happened the missions of NSC had to be

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<sup>20</sup> Archives MINSEP Synthèse thématique des conclusions des États généraux du sport et de l'éducation physique tenus à Yaoundé du 21 au 23 septembre 1992, p. 14.

<sup>21</sup> Le CNS a été créé en application des dispositions du décret n° 84/194 du 23 novembre 1984 et des articles 16 et 20 de la loi n° 26/09 du 5 août 1996 fixant la charte des activités physiques et sportives. La renaissance du comité national des sports in Cameroun-info net [www.cameroun.info.net-la-renaissance-du-comité-national-des-sports.net](http://www.cameroun.info.net-la-renaissance-du-comité-national-des-sports.net), p. 2. It should be mentioned that the CNS was not created in 1984 but in 1982 by Decree n° 62-DF-250 of 16 July 1962.

<sup>22</sup> Archive MINSEP Compte rendu de l'assemblée générale ordinaire du comité national des sports.

<sup>23</sup> La renaissance du comité national des sports retrieved from Cameroun.info.net, p. 3.

redefined to meet up with the realities of our time before it could be resurrected.<sup>24</sup> Such an institution had a prime function in the management and organization of sport in Cameroon an interface of governmental institution.

The NSC was a state managed and particularly financed sport management institution. As was under the French colonial period, the government of independent Cameroon adopted the same approach. Most institutions in post-independence Cameroon were a continuation of French institutions. In this light they were a reflection of colonial methods in management and organization. This institution to a greater extent was financed by state funds. Besides the NSC was the National Sport Board which later became the National Sport Equipment Board.

## **1.2. Mutations in the Missions of the National Sports Board**

The dismay and bitterness of Cameroonians provoked by the poor performance of the national football team at the 8<sup>th</sup> edition of AFCON 1972, hosted by Cameroon had a lot of consequences on the sport landscape. The creation of the National Sport Board (NSB) (better known in French as Office National des Sports [ONS]) came as a response to this poor performance. If we may question what were its real missions? Why did it transform to the National Sport Equipment Board and just like a magical illusion in a circus it was dissolved? Why were some of its missions assigned to the NSC? It was out lawed in 1989, how should we understand this act? Was it a move to reduce bureaucracy in sport or lack of efficiency? Or was it another move by the government to adjust to the economic crisis? The truth was that this institution had a very short life span.

### **1.2.1. Vision and Missions of the National Sports Board**

The NSB was another administrative sports management institution created in 1973. The financial embezzlement and mismanagement the sparked after AFCON 1972 led to landmark changes in sport management. So the state through the MYS created this institution to act as financial secretariat and bank for the sports sector. This was to harmony management and distribution of resources via a unique institution.

According to former Minister of Youth and Sports, Tonye Mbog, the NSB had just one main mission: “L’Office National des Sports avec pour rôle essentiel la collecte de ensemble des finances sportive d’où qu’elles viennent, pour toute le mouvement sportifs. A l’instar des subventions de l’État, de la CAF ou de la FIFA et devait faire les répartitions conséquentes à

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<sup>24</sup> Interview with Assiene

travers toutes les fédérations”<sup>25</sup>. This institution was charged with the improvement of the sports sector by collecting and distribution funds for the different stakeholders. Members of this institution were appointed by the minister of Youth and Sports.

The state had objectives to attain through this institution so its missions were improved upon. In addition to its previous missions it also had to prepare and organize the participation of teams for international competitions.<sup>26</sup> This was to reduce the work load of the MYS that had this responsibility.

This institution was suffering from mismanagement, which did not enable it execute its missions. This handicapped the development of sport and the wellbeing of *sporters*. Amongst its missions there was the managing of sport facilities and the printing and selling of entry ticket during sport competitions. The latter, was production and selling of entry tickets for sports competitions particularly football, was the major source of income of the NSB<sup>27</sup>. The funds were not always accounted for by those called to manage it. It received funds from the budget of the ministry of sports whereas they had to generate its own funds. The 1981-1982 budget mentioned that:

*Il est prévu une subvention de 250.000.000 pour l'ONS qui traverse maintenant une grande crise à cause du stade de Yaounde et de la détérioration des installations électrique de celui de douala. Au cours de l'exercice 1980/1981, cet organisme a pu fonctionner grâce à la subvention de 100.000.000 de francs accordée par l'État<sup>28</sup>.*

The initiative to put in place these institutions was well thought of by the government. But intention alone does not make a successful policy. The most important reside in the implementation and follow up. The failure of the NSC and NSB was proof that the policy was not well thought of. The government failed to put in place during the creation of these institutions the conditions for its success: well-trained human resources, financial resources and follow up mechanism to implement her policies. The fact that the 1996 opened the fortress and broke the walls of cooptation of presidents of federations and other sport management institutions did not solve the problem of implementation of policies. It brought in democratic and free electoral laws as demanded by international organizations but weakened government bureaucratic grip on certain sport management institutions. The NSEB disappeared and its

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<sup>25</sup> J.B. Akono, “Felix Tonye Mbog: Mfandena était reserve au village Olympique,” in Mutation of 25<sup>th</sup> Oct 2008, cited by Cameroon-Info.Net retrieved on 2th August 2021 at 2pm.

<sup>26</sup> Minsoko Ndongso Minsoko, 56 years, Yaounde, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2017

<sup>27</sup> Archive MINSEP, Office National des Sports, Rapport du contrôle des recettes des stades phase « retour » du championnat national de football saison sportive 1980/1981.

<sup>28</sup> Archive MINSEP, Note présentation du projet du budget de fonctionnement de l'exercice 1981/1982 du M.J.S, p. 3.

missions were attributed to the NSC. We shall present and analyzed below sport management institution which needed international affiliations: the Olympic Committee and Federations.

## 2. Cameroon National Olympic (Sport) Committee

This regulatory organ in sport management in Cameroon was found between the state, federations and international federation. The CNOSC was the supreme consultative sport organ in Cameroon: a pivotal link between the state, national federations and international sports institutions and federations<sup>29</sup>.

This organ which was not a Cameroonian specificity was an international supra national sport organ under the International Olympic Committee (IOC). It was the supreme organ as concerns sports in the world. The IOC federated all sports played during the Olympic Games (Summer, Winter and Paralympic). So all National Olympic Committees (NOCs) were members of the IOC. In turn they federated National Sports Federations (NSF).<sup>30</sup> Cameroon became a member of the IOC in 1963 and participated at the Tokyo summer Olympic in 1964 and had her first Olympic medal in 1968<sup>31</sup>. It should be noted that before independence French Cameroon had taken moves toward the country's integration of the Olympic system as presented by F.C. Dikoume

*Le 12 octobre 1959, le Secrétaire d'État à la Présidence Charge de l'Information, de l'Éducation Physique et de la Jeunesse et des Sport prend contact avec la chancellerie du CIO pour connaître des modalités de création d'un CNO. Le 25 mai 1963, des représentants des fédérations camerounaises d'athlétisme, de football, de cyclisme, de boxes, de judo, de volley-ball, de handball, d'haltérophilie, paraphent les statuts du CNO et portent à sa présidence l'ancien champion d'athlétisme, Ernest Wanko. Ce dernier transmet le dossier de reconnaissance au CIO qui, quelques semaines plus tard, l'accepte lors de sa session de Baden-Baden. Le COC est ainsi reconnu le 12 Octobre 1963<sup>32</sup>.*

The primary mission of COC was to perpetrate the Olympic spirit and values amongst Cameroonians particularly athletes. In this section, we shall go into the presentation of the (COC) and CNOSC then we shall focus on the role played by this institution for the development of sports and the aftermath of the drift from the CNOC to the CNOSC. Also, we

<sup>29</sup> Betala, "Le sport au Cameroun", in MINSEP info, n° 7, nouvelle série avril-Mai-Juin-Juillet 2008, p. 106.

<sup>30</sup> A specific situation about the CNOSC which actually grouped all sports federation even Non-Olympic Sports. This was just the consequence of the dissolution of the NSC and no true orientation given to avoid mix up in terms of management of sport institution. The reinstating of the NSC will certainly solve this problem.

<sup>31</sup> Joseph Bessala, won a Silver Medal during the Mexico 1968 Olympic Games boxing tournament in the Welterweight, he was received by the head of state Ahmadou Ahidjo. He died in 2010 without any real national honors. For a person who gave Cameroon her first ever Olympic medal. This was synonymous to national pride and international recognition just a few years after independence and in the heart of the cold war.

<sup>32</sup> Dikoume., *Le service public du sport...*p. 40.

shall examine the implications of the change of appellation, on the missions and positioning of the CNOSC on the national and international scenes.

### **2.1. Cameroon and the Olympic Movement**

The Olympic system was a disguised hegemonic plan to enhance globalization through the formalization of a sporting language. This was done through the setting of rules for sport events and their practice which was the universal language of sport and the universality of its practice. The IOC was the globalizing institution as it strictly applied the roles and regulations issued by the different International Federations. The IOC was a multisport institution that was an umbrella most sport federations.<sup>33</sup> She also strictly applied norms for those who wanted to be part of the system and participated in their events. And it promoted western sport and fast buried local and traditional sports which were part of the local traditional and cultural identity. In this subsection we shall analyze the endeavors of the CNO(S)C to the protection of national traditional and cultural sports and the expansion of the modern sport though the Olympic system was a link between the state federation and the IOC.

The evolution of the Olympic movement was different in Cameroon during the colonial period. It should be noted that British colonies entered the Olympic System earlier than those of French Africa. Most British colonies were members of the IOC even before their independence. The Nigeria National Olympic Committee was created and recognized by the IOC in 1951.<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately we could not trace any South Cameroonian with an Olympic background. But in 1956 the Nigerian National Olympic Committee (NNOC) requested financial support from Cameroonians for the participation of the territories at the Melbourne Australia Commonwealth Games.<sup>35</sup>

There was an ideological difference between British and French colonial policies in Africa. The recognition by the IOC was not acceptable by the French who saw this as a platform for political show for independence. The French delegate at the IOC saw the admission of Nigeria unacceptable owing to the fact that had not fully had its independence and that it was to pave the way for other former colonies<sup>36</sup>.

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<sup>33</sup> Dikoume, *Le service public du sport...*p. 34.

<sup>34</sup> P. Charitas, "L'Afrique au mouvement olympique : Enjeux, stratégies et influences de la France dans l'internationalisation du sport africain (1944-1966)", thèse de Doctorat en Histoire, Université Paris Sud 11, 2010, p. 95.

<sup>35</sup> NAB File n° P 940 vol 2, Sports general correspondance. Preparation and Participation of our athletes at the Commonwealth Games in Melbourne Australia, 1956, p. 453.

<sup>36</sup> Charitas, "L'Afrique au mouvement olympique : Enjeux..."p. 103.

This shows why France never accepted the entry of members of her colonial empire in the IOC before their independence. This was more so because USSR had become part of the Olympic System and was an anti-colonialist activist. So, France feared sport could be used internationally to challenge her hegemony as the cold war was still going on<sup>37</sup>. During this period France had opted for the organization of Regional Games between territories of her empire. This permitted her to better extend her grip on these territories and act as their mediator and spoke person at international circles. Most of the African talents during this period competed for France during international competitions. The candidacies of French African territories for the IOC were presented by France after having authorized the creation of NOCs. Sport was a battle field of geopolitical and geostrategic interest. France was working to continue standing out clearly of her African colonies at the level of international organization. This enabled her to impose her view as per certain decisions<sup>38</sup>.

Based on the above analyses it is clear that there is one thing to say about the Olympic System in French Cameroon before 1959. The French had intentionally refused to integrate Cameroon in the system. So, Cameroon/IOC relationship officially started on *12 October* 1963 when Cameroon became a member. There was an evolution in the appellation of this institution.

- Cameroon Olympic Committee (COC) 1963-1972
- Cameroon National Olympic Committee (CNOC) 1972-1996
- Cameroon National Olympic and Sports Committee (CNOSC) 1996- to date

## **2.2. The National Olympic Committee**

The CNOC had a number of missions to accomplish to be able to attain the requirements of the IOC and the government. The IOC expected her to spread the Olympic values. In terms of standards, it was a consultative organ not a decision taking organ<sup>39</sup>. The CNOC was Cameroonians' voice at the IOC and was in charge with the duty of registering Cameroonian athletes for competition such as Olympic Games (summer and winter), All African Games (AAG), Commonwealth, Francophonie and Islamic Game. Article 8 sub 2 of the statutes of the CNOSC reads "«le CNOSC doit constituer, organiser et diriger la délégation camerounaise aux Jeux Olympiques et aux compétitions multisports régionales ou mondiales patronnées par le CIO conformément au paragraphe 2.1 du texte d'application des règles 28 et 29 de la Charte Olympique» cette compétence lui est «exclusive »" au terme de l'article 9 desdits statuts"<sup>40</sup>. It

<sup>37</sup> Charitas, "L'Afrique au mouvement olympique : Enjeux...", p. 171

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, p. 170.

<sup>39</sup> Betala, "Le sport au Cameroun"... , n° 7, p. 206.

<sup>40</sup> Dikoume., *Le service public du sport...*p. 173.

was also Cameroon's sports representative and flag bearer at international sports management institutions.

It should be mentioned that there exists a Non-Olympic Committee (NOC) which promotes games either because they are not sufficiently representative or lack sufficient ethical values. Through the IOC, the CNOC had organized training programs for staff of sport federations and other association also assisted athletes through the Olympic Solidarity Fund (OSF).<sup>41</sup> The CNOC was not a non-profit making institution. So it was financed by the state and subventions from the IOC with funds generated by the OG through sponsors and broadcasting rights.

As concerns structure and organization Article 16 of the statutes and bylaws of CNOSC of 2005 the following organs are presented: General Assembly, Board of Directors, Executive Bureau, Regional Olympic and Sports Committees, Permanent Commissions of the CNOSC and a Conciliation and Arbitration Chamber.

From NOC to CNOSC has throughout its existence been headed by three persons. Of the three on Kalkaba had the privilege of maintaining himself in office through an election. Below is a list of the three Cameroonians that had headed this committee: Ernest Wanko was appointed on 25 May 1963 in to office till 4 December 1972. Pr René Essomba was appointed on 4 December 1972 and he died in office on June 1998, Col. Kalkaba Malboum acted as interim between 1998 and 2000 when he became the first elected president still in office in 2011.

As concerns the structuring and management of CNOC, the state had always decided on whom to be president of this strategic consultative organ. This organ was as said above a consultative one and the presidents were appointed by the president of the Republic<sup>42</sup>. This was the case particularly before the year 2000 when elections were introduced in the institution. Other departments existed in this institution to facilitate the accomplishment of the mission assigned to her. There was a general secretariat with a Secretary General and technical and administrative staff. It should be noted that part of the administrative staff of the Committee was PES teachers formerly working with MINSEP<sup>43</sup>.

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<sup>41</sup> P. Chefflet and S. Gouda, "Olympisme et identité nationale en Afrique noire francophone", STAPS, n° 41, 1996, p. 5

<sup>42</sup> Ndong Minsoko, *Le livre d'or du sport camerounais...*, p. 245.

<sup>43</sup> F. C. Dikoume, 72 years, Yaounde 12<sup>th</sup> May 2019.

Amongst these organs, Conciliation and Arbitration Chambers was a regulatory body to settle sport related disputes with national competence<sup>44</sup>. This organ that had the last say in matters of sports disputes. It was only the International Sport Tribunal (IST) better known in French as *Tribunal Arbitral du Sport* (TAS), which was above its decisions had powers over all sport related conflicts. Through a communiaué on the IOC, of 27<sup>th</sup> April 2000, the IOC expected that all NOCs<sup>45</sup> integrate in their organs a regulatory organ analogue to TAS after the revision of its statutes. Point 12, read:

**12. Tribunal Arbitral du sport (TAS)**

*Exemple de formule à insérer dans les statuts de vôtres C.N.O.*

*“Toute décision rendue par [insérer le nom du tribunal disciplinaire ou de l’instance analogue de votre C.N.O., constituent la dernière instance interne] peut être exclusivement soumise par voie d’appel au Tribunal Arbitral du Sport à Lausanne, Suisse, qui tranchera définitivement le litige conformément au code de l’arbitrage en matière de sport. Le délai d’appel est de vingt et un jours des réceptions de la décision faisant l’appel”<sup>46</sup>.*

It also had as mission to settle differences and conflicts through the Reconciliation and Arbitration Chamber (*chambre de conciliation et arbitrage*) which is the higher jurisdiction as concerns sport in Cameroon. It was answerable only to the International Sports Tribunal known in French as Tribunal Arbitral du Sport (TAS) in Lausanne Switzerland. In Cameroon, the name of this regulatory organ was Chambre de Conciliation et d’Arbitrage and its first officers were appointed by Hamad Kalkaba Malboum, president of the CNOC on 25<sup>th</sup> October 2001.<sup>47</sup> The bureau was composed of the following personalities: *President: Monsieur Tonye Mbog Felix, Vice president: Monsieur Bah Oumarou Sanda and Rapporteur: Monsieur Yap Abdou*

This appointment only occurred after the approval of the conformity of the CNOSC with the Olympic Charter as attested by a correspondence of 18<sup>th</sup> January 2001, from the IOC to the president of CNOSC.<sup>48</sup> The composition of this bureau was very intriguing as two of the members were former ministers of the Republic, Tonye Mbog was as said the first minister of Youth and Sports. This organ was to play a vital role in the building up of the sporting movement. Does the fact that this organ had amongst its leading members former state officers make it neutral in rendering its decision? This organ has been very active particularly during elections in managing bodies of the sporting movement (federations, associations and sport

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<sup>44</sup> Idem

<sup>45</sup> Private archives of F. Dikoume, correspondence to C.N.O, Revision des statuts des C.N.O, Lausanne 27<sup>th</sup> April 2000.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>47</sup> Private archives of F. Dikoume, décision No 648/PDT/CNOSC portant nomination des Membres du bureau de la Chambre de Conciliation et d’arbitrage signed on 25th october 2001.

<sup>48</sup> Private archives of F. Dikoume, CIO, Approbation des statuts, Lausanne le 18th janvier 2001, réf. no 1105/2001/cby.

clubs). A lot of conflicts arose from disputes after elections in these bodies owing particularly to the fact that the state through the ministry has always wanted to choose who to be president of civil sport federations. The old method of appointment has not disappeared. So, they try to influence the voting of their candidates. Kingue Dihang talks of *élu/nomme, that is elected/appointed*.<sup>49</sup> This is portray the fact that most federation presidents were actually imposed on the electorate in complicity with the rolling of the chamber which was always in favor of the candidate backed by the ministry through the department of norms and monitoring of sport organizations.<sup>50</sup> More of this analysis will be done in a later part of this chapter.

### 2.2.1. Evolution of CNOSC and its New Missions

The COC was acting side-by-side with the NSC and the NSO<sup>51</sup>. In 1989 the NSO was outlawed and dissolved. Part of its missions were attributed to NSC which was later assigned to the CNOSC<sup>52</sup>. The '*sport*' that was added to the CNOC gave her the ability to prepare and manage teams in competitions falling under her competence but also in the same vein organize sports competitions. The fusion of the NSC and the CNOC was proposed during the 1992 General Conference of Sport. The CNOSC then had to work hand in hand with the Department of Sport of the Ministry in charge of sport as they had similar and complimentary missions.

In the search for talents that will honourably represent Cameroon in competition under her umbrella, the CNOSC undertook to organize National Games that received the baptismal name of DIXIADES<sup>53</sup> Games. The DIXIADES<sup>54</sup> (National Games) will be well explained in chapter (5) five.

The CNOSC has, like many institutions, been subjugated by the ministry in charge of sports. This explained the battle over the organization of the DIXIADES Games as to who had to manage it. Who had the competence to do it? The CNOSC based on the non-mention of any limitation by the law and following the example of the IOC considered it had the capacity to do so. It was no longer just a NOC but was also a sporting committee.<sup>55</sup> Officials of the ministry

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<sup>49</sup> Kingue Dihang, 46 years, Yaounde 15 November 2017.

<sup>50</sup> *Idem*

<sup>51</sup> Ndongo Minsoko., *Le livre d'or du sport camerounais...*, p. 177.

<sup>52</sup> Archives MINSEP Synthèse thématique, p. 34.

<sup>53</sup> Ndongo Minsoko., *Le livre d'or du sport camerounais...*, p. 179

<sup>54</sup> In French Dixiades, Regions of Cameroon, Ten days of competition, ten sports disciplines first edition in Yaounde, 2008- theme "10 regions, 1 nation held between 10 and 20 December 2008. Second edition was held in Ngaoundéré in 2010. The Games were to be held every two years. But in 2012 two sports disciplines were added taking it to 12.

<sup>55</sup> A. Oloko Nikoy, 53 years, Retired PES teacher, National Trainer for Throws, former international athlete, competition speaker with Cameroon Athletics Federation, Sambo Federation, AAC, and Francophonie, Yaounde 24 June 2018.

in charge of sport argued that it was not the mission of the CNOSC to organize competition but the ministry had no department that could carry out such a mission. This polemic situation would never have existed if the NSC had not been dissolved as this was part of her missions.

As time went on a lot of questions arose over the capacity and legal statute of CNOSC to organize the Dixiades Games. Cameroon did not have any national civilian sport competition in the model of the Olympic Games, African Games which assembled many different sport events. The first question that came up was to know if CNOSC had the competence to organize such a competition. Members of CNOSC put forth some major arguments to justify their project.

The first argument was that they had decided to organize such a competition to fill a blank space that existed<sup>56</sup>. No competition had a national coverage which involved students and semiprofessional civil *sporters*. The introduction of this competition permitted the coming together of the best athletes of various sports disciplines from each region of the country to a national final which was a cultural festival. The idea was to create a convivial and conducive melting pot for Cameroonian *sporters*. This was the vision in line with the vision of the head of state who prescribed national integration through sport.<sup>57</sup>

The second argument advanced by the conceivers of the Games was that they, just like their mother the IOC, had the prerogative of organizing multidisciplinary sport competitions.<sup>58</sup> The All African Games, Commonwealth, Francophonie, Islamic Games were all organized under the model of the Summer and Winter Olympic Games as they brought together athletes from different cultural, linguistic, ethnic and ideological backgrounds and territories.<sup>59</sup>

These arguments were meant for those who were against the organization of this competition by CNOSC. To them, it was to be the prerogative of the ministry in-charge. But against it should be mentioned that all national civil sports federations were members of CNOSC and recognized its supremacy in this domain.

The democratization process that was almost imposed on sport federations by the IOC brought a lot of changes in the management of sport federations particularly as regards the

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<sup>56</sup> F. C. Dikoume, 72 years, Yaounde 12<sup>th</sup> May 2019

<sup>57</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>58</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>59</sup> It should be recalled that Baron Pierre de Coubertin used the atrocities witnessed by the entire planet after WWI, to advocate for the use of sport as a peace building instrument. He talked of the *vivre ensemble* in 1924 before the Paris Olympic Games and lobbied greatly at the League of Nations then at the UNO for them to endorse the Games. The UN today acknowledges the IOC as a partner in the peace building process in this world of conflicts.

management positions. Cameroon had consecrated by the 1990 law of freedom of association, the possibility to elect their leaders by the members. Previously, the leaders of these federations were appointed by the minister in-charge. Kingue Dihang<sup>60</sup> is of the opinion that, just as in the political field democracy in the civil sport federation actors and members were not prepared for this change. This brought a lot of internal managerial conflicts and almost crumbled these associations. In the section below we shall present the structure particularly as concerns membership and sources of funds. In this aspect both periods will be concerned as there was no great change.

### **2.3. Membership and Sources of Funding**

Every institution, association or organization establishes clearly the conditions to obtain membership. The CNOSC outline its conditions for membership in article 11 of its statutes:

- Any Cameroonian member of the IOC;
- All sports federations affiliated to international sports federations recognized by the IOC and recognized by CNOSC based on the Cameroonian law in the domain of sports;
- Cameroon national sport federations affiliated to international sports federations recognized by the IOC and even when the sport is not part of the Olympic program;
- Multisport federations recognized by the Cameroonian law and accepted by CNOSC;
- School and university sports federations recognized by the Cameroonian law and accepted by the CNOSC;
- Sports inclined national organizations recognized by CNOSC;
- Presidents of Regional Olympic and Sport Committees;
- Presidents of international or continental sports federations whose sports federation is recognized by CNOSC of Cameroonian nationality;
- Associate members;
- Presidents of the Organization of Military Sports in Africa and/or the International Council of Military Sports of Cameroon nationality;

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<sup>60</sup> Kingue Dihang, 46 years, Yaounde 15 November 2017. Also read Dikoume's thesis which also trashed the issue of democratization in the field of sport management.

- Two active or retired athletes having participated in the Olympic Games.<sup>61</sup>

These were the generally laid down condition for membership in the CNOSC. Of these members came members of internal organs which were either by vote, appointment or cooptation. All members had to fulfill the financial engagement toward the CNOSC in order to keep their membership. This contribution of members was amongst the sources of income and acquisition of funding of CNOSC<sup>62</sup>.

For every major activity that the CNOSC was to organize such as the National Games (DIXIADES) almost all the finances were provided by the ministry of finance after validation by the presidency and some sponsors and subventions from the IOC. The lack of financial independence made her very dependent on the state which at the end of the day slowed down her activities as the disbursed amount was not always that demanded and was not always disbursed on due time. In addition, this competition was organized by CNOSC administratively in collaboration with civil federation were the technical organs. The IOC organized the OG, whereas CNOSC organized the competition in collaboration with federations that came along with their technical staff and used their international norms and standard roles to animate the competition<sup>63</sup>.

The CNOSC came from the fusion of the COC and the NSC, which means that the mission assigned to the new institution handling all activities which were formerly handled by the NSC. But some missions were not handed to this new body. The ministry took over the national teams and the organizing and management of national and international sporting events, the management of sports facilities and printing of entry tickets for sport events. This exposed the fact that the state wanted to keep superpowers over the most important symbols of her strength in the field of sport diplomacy. The withholding of this management of national football team had another problem, that of special financial allocation during international and national competitions.

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<sup>61</sup> Dikoume, *Le service public du sport...*pp. 169-170.

<sup>62</sup> Kingue Dihang, 46 years, Yaounde 15 November 2017.

<sup>63</sup> Dikoume, 72 years, Yaounde 12<sup>th</sup> May 2019.

always disbursed on due time. They were also to organize refreshment and capacity building seminars for personnel of federations, trainers and coaches, athletes on the value of Olympic spirit. Salaries of permanent staff of CNOSC were paid under a special budgetary line from the Presidency of the Republic via MINSEP as from 2006<sup>64</sup>.

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A number of critics can be made to the CNOSC considering it as a killer of national traditional sports as it promotes and enhances only Olympic sports. In their various activities they did not introduce any traditional sport. By so doing they developed no values based on local cultures and traditions. The DIXIADES considered Cameroon's NG did not give space for any traditional sport.

## **II. FIELD MANAGEMENT AND TECHNICAL ORGANS**

In the field of sport management and operational organs were federation. They are specialized in managing technical issues as concerned the particularities of their sport. All national sport federations in Cameroon were affiliated to their respective International Federations (IF). These IFs established rules, regulations, training of technical officers and organized competitions. In 1962 after independence President Ahidjo signed Decree n° 139 of 30 August 1962, stipulating that sport should be practiced in Cameroon<sup>65</sup>. This decree authorized 25 sports disciplines in its article 1. Athletics, judo, badminton, basketball, boxing, cricket, cycling, fencing (Equitation), football, golf, gymnastics, weight lifting-handball, field hockey wrestling, rugby, tennis, table tennis, volleyball, yachting and sailing. All of these sports leagues had federations governed by the charter under the supervision of the ministry in charge

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<sup>64</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24 June 2018.

<sup>65</sup> Betala, "Le sport au Cameroun", p. 105.

of sports. By 2011, Cameroon numbered 44 federations as the ministry in charge of sport had signed authorizations for the creation of other federations.

We have talked much about institutions in charge of organizing sport competitions. Federation had the duty of assisting the state in organizing competitions. These federations were civil organizations affiliated to international federations of their specific sport discipline. They were to align to national and international laws and were placed at the national level under the supervision of the ministry in charge of sport<sup>66</sup>.

Cameroon and many other African countries placed sports federations under the direct supervision and control of the ministry of sport except for military sport federations which were under the Ministry in charge of Defense<sup>67</sup>. However, these federations were the main focal points in the development of sports competitions as they were the only once authorized to do so. They had accreditations by international bodies to act in this domain<sup>68</sup>.

The above situation was not unique to Cameroon. Actually Africans copied this approach from western nations. Charlotte Klein confirms the presence of the state in sport management in France: *“les fédérations sportives françaises ont été étroitement associées à l’État pour la gestion du sport par le biais de la mise en place d’un véritable modèle d’organisation au niveau national”*<sup>69</sup>.

Sport federations were given important missions or objectives by the government to attain. First to note is the fact that sport federations were considered public utility. That is the reason why they received state financial support and legal backing. In the case of Cameroon the 1996 Law instituting a Charter of physical and sports activities defined federation and specified their missions. Articles 13 to 19 of the law read:

Article 13(1): A sports federation is a nationwide grouping of several sports associations, sports societies and licensed athletes of one or several sports disciplines. It may be civilian, military, school or university, or involving sports for people with disabilities.

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<sup>66</sup> Megne M’Ella., “L’organisation sociale du sport au Gabon...” p.185.

<sup>67</sup> Dikoume, *Le service public du sport...* p. 97.

<sup>68</sup> Megne M’Ella., “L’organisation sociale du sport au Gabon...” p.185.

<sup>69</sup> Klein, “Réformer la gouvernance des fédérations...”, p. 9.

(3) It shall be obliged, except in cases of derogation granted by the competent authorities, to bring together sports associations, sports societies or licensed sportsmen throughout the national territory.

Article 14(1) Civilian sport federations can be created around one or more sports disciplines.

(2) The military, school, university or disabled sports federations bring together associations and members of several sports disciplines. These associations or athletes can join a civilian federation of their choice.

Article 15 Sport federations participate in the execution of a public service mission. As such, they:

- Are in charge of the organization and promotion of physical and sports activities and ensure, in collaboration with the administration in charge of sports and the national Olympic committee, the training and upgradation of their executives;

- Issue sport licenses and federal titles;

- Have disciplinary powers, in compliance with the laws and regulations in force, as well as with the general principles of law, with regard to the sports associations, sports societies which are members and their athletes;

- Set the regulations governing their discipline(s) and ensure their application as well as that of the rules laid down by the National Olympic Committee or the International Olympic Committee and the international sport bodies to which these federations are affiliated as regards technical standards.

Article 16 (1) The sports federations are placed under the control of the Minister in charge of sports, with the exception of the military sports federation which is placed under the authority of the Minister in charge of defense who exercises it in conjunction with the Minister in charge of sports<sup>70</sup>.

A decree for the implementation of this law shall specify the terms and conditions for the control of sports federations by the Minister of Sports, the terms and conditions for the enforcement of the authority of the Minister of Defense over the military sports

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<sup>70</sup> Archives MINSEP Loi No 96/09 du 5 Aout 1996, Fixant la Charte des Activites Physiques et Sportives,

federation, and the relations between the military sports federation and other federations.

(3) The Ministers of National Education, Higher Education, Social Affairs and Public Health participate, when need arises, in the appropriate definition and implementation of the objectives of the school, university and disabled sports federations, depending on the situation.

Article 17(1) In each civil sport discipline, only one federation is entitled to organize, in compliance with the international regulations, competitions or sports events at the end of which titles are issued at the level of all administrative units and to proceed to the corresponding selections.

Each federation is obliged to inform the Minister in charge of sports of the modalities of organization of the said competitions or sport events.

(2) The Minister in charge of sport is informed of the organization of international sport competitions or events.

(3) The approval of the concerned federation is required for the organization by a private individual or legal entity, of a sport event in which associations or sports companies that are affiliated with it or its members participate.

(4) Any sport association or company, any licensed person who participates in a sport event which has not been authorized by the federation of which he is a member is exposed to the disciplinary sanctions set by the rules of the concerned federation.

Article 18 (1) all sport dispute between sport associations, sports companies, members and sport federations are resolved according to the rules of each federation.

(2) However, at the request of one of the parties, a dispute may be submitted to the National Olympic Committee for conciliation.

Article 19 (1) Each civil sport federation determines its statutes and regulations, accordance with the laws and regulations of the international sport organizations to which it is affiliated as far as technical standards are concerned.

The minister in charge of sport is kept informed.

(2) The functioning of school, university or disabled sport federations shall be determined by a decree implementing this law<sup>71</sup>.

It is evident that most states have always wished to have a grip on sports organizations in their territory. Various reasons which were legitimate due to their policies, orientations and objectives could account for this state presence. This had brought friction between political entities within the system for the control and orientations of policies of these organizations. Baller and Saavedra have this to say about this:

*Les parties politiques, les syndicats, les entreprises et l'Église ont utilisé le sport pour éduquer les masses, contrôler leur temps libre. La compétition entre différentes entités politique pour le contrôle des associations et des infrastructures sportives au niveau local et national. Depuis que l'État reconnaît les associations sportives et les finance ceci, comme le sport est autonome par rapport au politique. Pourtant « de manière de plus en plus marquée » l'arène sportive est devenue l' « un des enjeux de la lutte politique »<sup>72</sup>.*

It will be actually impossible for any state to house an association that it can not control and that doesn't follow its orientation in the various domains. This battle for the control is just legitimate as it will enable the smooth implementation of the state vision. The management institutions were the link considering that sport was an integral component of state policy. The friction was more between members who wanted to use these entities for their personal positional and prestige<sup>73</sup>.

### **1. Federations as a Major Actors in Sport Management**

Federations played a vital role in the practice and management of sport. Each in its specific domain organized competitions based on norms, rules and regulations established by the concerned IF. Cameroon sport federations were made up of clubs, associations recognized by the national institutions which were under the MYS/MINSEP and other Ministries like Education (Basic, Secondary and Higher) and Defense<sup>74</sup>. Every federation had to organize itself to normalize its relations with the CNOSC and the Non-Olympic Committee and the ministry of sports (Department of Norms and Monitoring of Sports Organizations). But how well had the federations promoted their various sports and what had been their relation with the state? How did they get funds to finance their activities? The government financed federations which

<sup>71</sup> Archives MINSEP Loi No 96/09 du 5 Aout 1996, Fixant la Charte des Activites Physiques et Sportives,

<sup>72</sup>Saavedra et Baller, "La politique du football en Afrique: Mobilisation et trajectoires", in *Politique Africaine*, 2010/2, n°118, p. 9.

<sup>73</sup> Yatie Yakam, "Les Formes d'Échange et de Pouvoir dans le football...", p. 53.

<sup>74</sup> Archives MINSEP Decree n° 62-DF-250 of 16th July instituting a sports charter in Cameroun of 1st August 1962, p. 839. Also read n° 96/09 of 5<sup>th</sup> August 1996, instituting a charter of physical and sporting activities, chapter III, pp. 5-7.

were public utility organization and could justify their implications in the management of the federations. Betala justifies state implication in the management of federations is due to the fact that the state in her sectorial management of the domain invested heavily. For example, handing over 100 or 150 million to a federation president without followup for its effective use for the designed purpose, so state agents with appointed to sure its proper use<sup>75</sup>.

This shows the mechanism used by the state to have a grip over federations which were association affiliated with international institutions. They fell under international laws and conventions which were to limite state interference in the management. But the power of money owned by the state enslaved the federation. This grip had been at the origin of conflict between federation and the international institutions against the state of Cameroon. This conflict situation had almost caused Cameroon's suspension for international competitions. Table 1 below is a list of officially authorized NSF in Cameroon as of 2009.

**Table 1: List of federations, names of their presidents and contact number for the 2008-2012 Olympic Period.**

	<b>FEDERATIONS</b>	<b>NOMS ET PRENOMS DU PRESIDENT</b>
1	ATHLETISME	MBOUS Jacques Sébastien
2	BADMINTON	BELINGA Jean Paul
3	BASEBALL AND SOFTBALL	SONE WINSLOW Kingsley
4	BILLARD	MVENG Didier
5	BASKET-BALL	TENDONG NDUKU Samuel
6	BOXE	MENDOUGA Bertrand
7	CATCH	YOSSA Innocent
8	CRICKET	AGBOR Victor NSO
9	CYCISME	NJELE François
10	DANSE SPRTIVES ET ASSIMILEES	KEMAJOU SYAPZE Jonas
11	FOOTBALL	IYA MOHAMMED
12	GYNMASTIQUES	HAMANI Yves
13	GOLF	AHANDA ASSIGA Yves Marin
14	HANDBALL	MOUDIME NDJALLA Jules
15	HALTEROPHILIE	BOUKAR TIKIRE
16	JEU DAMES	MBOLO Marc
17	JUDO	EWANE ESSAMBO
18	KARATE	WAKAM Emmanuel
19	KARTING	EMA Basilie Junoir
20	KICK-BOXING	ESSISSIMA Emmanuel
21	KUBUDO-KENDO	FEUTSE Roger
22	KUNG FU	FOULETIER Victor
23	LUTTES	DARWE François-Xavier

<sup>75</sup> Betala interviewed by Samuel Zo'ona Nkono in MINSEP info n° 09, nouvelle série, Mai 2010, p. 21.

24	NAMBUDO	MBASSI François
25	NATATION	MAMOUDA ALI
26	PATINS a ROULETTES	METOUK Parfait
27	PETANQUE	NJOCK Parfait
28	POWER LIFTING	TCHAMA Jean Pierre
29	RUGBY	MONTHÉ Patrice
30	SAVATE	ALI ADJI
31	SPORTS du TRAVAIL	OMGBA Blaise
32	SPORTS EQUESTRES	KAMSOULOUM ABA KABIR
33	SPORTS NAUTIQUES	LONGO Paul dit SOSSO
34	SPORTS POUR TOUS	IBRAHIM TALBA MALA
35	SPORTS POUR PERSONNES HANDICAPEES	ABENG MBOZO'O
36	TAEKWONDO	TCHOQUESSI Edouard
37	TENNIS	ABOUNA Jean Marie
38	TENNIS de TABLE	BAGUEKA ASSOBO Alfred
39	TIRS SPORTIFS	AYISSI Dieudonné
40	VOLLEY-BALL	TIMBA Majoré Louis
41	FENASSCO A	MANDENG Samuel
42	FENASSCO B	EKOBENA Jean Claude
43	FENASU	BEKOLO EBE

Source: From MINSEP infos n°08 Nouvelle Serie, Mars 2009, p.59.

## 2. Missions and Membership of National Sports Federations (NSF)

The first thing to note at this level is that almost all NSF are mono-sport and private associations. They all execute missions of public interest which includes:

- Putting in place of a medico-sports control system;
- Fight against drug abuse and toxicomania in collaboration with ministries in charge of Health, Sport and education and CNOSC and the Cameroon National Paralympic Committee (CNPC);
- Promotion of sports ethic in collaboration with government;
- Preparation and management of National Teams in collaboration with ministry in-charge of sport, CNOSC and CNPC in view of honorably representing the nation during their participation at international competitions;
- Putting in place and management of a system of competitions at the national level;
- Organization, animation and control of the discipline or disciplines under her control in line with the general objectives determined in collaboration with the ministry in-charge of sports;
- Exercises her disciplinary powers on leagues, clubs, associations and athletes and all other organs she created affiliated with her;

- Training of staff in collaboration with training department of the ministry in-charge of sports;

In 2011 a law was signed by the Prime Minister for the organization and promotion of physical and sport activities. It introduced some new notions which increased state grip over federations although giving them autonomy. Chapter III article (2) talking of federations reads: *“Elle peut être reconnue d’ utilité publique”* that which did not feature in the 1996 Charter.

Article 36 (1) Sport federations participate in the execution of a public service mission.

As such, they are responsible for:

- the implementation of a medical-sport control system;
- the fight against doping and drug abuse in sport, in coordination with the Ministry of Sports, the Ministry of Health, the National Olympic and Sports Committee and the Cameroon National Paralympic Committee;
- the establishment of a system for the promotion of sports ethics in collaboration with public authorities;
- the preparation and management of national teams to represent Cameroon at international competitions in collaboration with the Ministry in charge of sports, Cameroon National Olympic and Sport Committee and the Cameroon National Paralympic Committee<sup>76</sup>;

It will be actually impossible for any state to accommodate any association that it can control and that doesn't follow its orientation in its domain. This battle for the control is just legitimate as it will enable the smooth implementation of the state vision. The battle was more between members who wanted to use these entities for their person positional and prestige.<sup>77</sup> The missions assigned to federations had to enable them develop sportsmanship and human social values. This was to be done via the training of trainers and coaches and organization of competitions for athletes to showcase their talents. This aspect will be analyzed in chapter 5 which deals with national and international competitions. The education based federations will be presented and analyzed below with their special statutes. Then the outcome and implications of the relationship between NSF and ISF.

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<sup>76</sup> Archives MINSEP Loi No 96/09 du 5 Aout 1996, Fixant la Charte des Activités Physiques et Sportives

<sup>77</sup> Yatie Yakam., “Les Formes d’Échange et de Pouvoir dans le football... ”, p. 53.

## **2.1. Education Based Federations**

Sovereignty federations were education based sports federations. In Cameroon there were two federations with a very particular status. These federations are education based in their setting and orientation: The National Federation of School Sport Federation best known in its French acronym FENASSCO (Federation Nationale des Sports Scolaires (League A & B) and National Federation of University Sports best known in its French acronym FENASU (Federation Nationale des Sports Universitaires). The missions were education oriented and had two major hierarchies: the Ministry of Basic and Secondary Education organized FENASSCO B & A league competitions and Higher Education for University Games. The MINSEP was a partner ministry as it dealt with the technical aspects of the organization of competitions. Before the birth of these two there existed the Office National des Sports Scolaires et Universitaires du Cameroun<sup>78</sup> (OSSUC).

### **2.1.1. The Origin of Education Based Sport Federations. The Creation of OSSUC**

FENASSCO and FENASU were born of the challenges faced by the National Office of School and University Sports better known as OSSUC. Its office was created by the French colonialist during the colonial period. In 1954 was created the Office du Sport Scolaire et Universitaire was created in 1954 by decree n°3959 by the High-Commissioner of the French Republic on 27<sup>th</sup> July.<sup>79</sup> This was a state organ put in place to enable school pupils and students to get involved in sports competitions. It was also a means to have grip on the population and particularly youths. It helped in the scholarization process that had been initiated by the colonial administration which made available all necessary funds and resources needed for her functioning.

The OSSUC was a legacy of the French colonial heritage in Cameroon. The system of sport competitions was not well developed in British Cameroon. There was no such school games formular in British Southern Cameroons during this period. The lone competitions was the Empire Day competition organized at local level. The French colonial administration created this board to regulate the practice of sports in the educational sector.

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<sup>78</sup> L'encyclopédie de la République Unie du Cameroun. La Jeunesse et les sports, Douala, Eddy Ness, Les nouvelles Editions africaines, 1981, p. 69.

<sup>79</sup> Ndongso Minsoko, *Le livre d'or du sport camerounais...*, p. 181.

## 2.2. The Creation of Specific Education Based Sports Federations

The federations had a short lifespan. FENASSCO and FENASU were created both on the ashes of “Office National des Sports Scolaires et Universitaires du Cameroun”<sup>80</sup> (OSSUC) with the mission to organize national competitions for the category of “*sporters*”. The federations were multisport as their competitions involved a variety of sport events, ranging from football, basketball, to athletics and gymnastics<sup>81</sup>.

As concerns internal management, a decree specified their missions. These federations were the state itself; because they handled a vital mission which enhanced social cohesion through sports animation. Different sectors of the government united their efforts to support their activities. They are sovereignty federations so their presidents came from within educational institutions for FENASU. The president was also the one heading the Rectors conference of state universities<sup>82</sup>. The presidents of FENASSCO league A & B were appointed by their respective minister and was simply endorsed by MINSEP<sup>83</sup>. These two federations were very close to the political views and the themes for each edition portrayed this fact. The theme of the FENASSCO league B in 2008 was “*Sport and education for all*” in line with the fight against illiteracy.

## 2.3. Membership into Education Based Federations and Sources of Funding

The membership into these two federations was very selective. As earlier stated, the education based sport federations were administered and managed by the ministries in charge. They received technical assistance from the other federations via the ministry in charge of sport during the organization of competitions. The FENASSCO A and B members were appointed by their respective ministers and the appointees were members from that educational sector.<sup>84</sup> Only actors of the educational sector could be members and all commissions were handled by them. Presidents of the different technical commissions were appointed by the federation president after approval by the minister<sup>85</sup>.

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<sup>80</sup> L'encyclopédie de la République Unie du Cameroun. La Jeunesse et les sports, Douala, Eddy Ness, Les nouvelles Editions africaines, 1981, p. 69.

<sup>81</sup> Dikoume, *Le service public du sport...*, p. 110.

<sup>82</sup> National Federation of University Sports, 20th edition, university of Bamenda, 22-29 April 2017, p. 14.

<sup>83</sup> Ndongo Minsoko, 56 years, Yaounde, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2017.

<sup>84</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24 June 2018.

<sup>85</sup> J.S. Mbarga Bikie, 41 years, PES teacher, former international athlete and 2007 African long jump gold medalist, Coordinator For athletic FENASSCO A, Yaounde 21-5-2019.

The committee and board members of FENASU were all in service either at the Ministry of Higher Education or in one of the State Universities. The president of this federation was a Rector of a State University, generally the oldest rector in service.<sup>86</sup> The board and general assembly members were from state universities and para-public and private institutes of higher education who participated in the University Games. The technical committee members were selected from the different federations for the organization of competitions. All decision making and taking of positions were occupied by top university officials and persons from the Ministry of Higher Education. As for FENASSCO the officials were delegates from the ministries in concerned and particularly from the sports department.

### III. CAMEROON'S DIPLOMACY VIA NATIONAL SPORTS FEDERATIONS

The last days of the 20<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century saw sport events capturing more audience than any other known event. The FIFA World Cup and the Summer Olympic stood captured the highest audience. *Sporters* in this context just as artist became the greatest ambassadors of a country. Sport became an obstacle breaker and was used as such by many governments. During the cold war China and USA used the Ping-Pong diplomacy to bring some appeasement and establish some sort of cordial relations between nations. *Sporters* were considered ambassador of their nations. Youcef Fates said:

*Les athlètes d'élite sont les soldats, les ambassadeurs du sport et les représentants de la nation, ils sont des "combattants" pacifiques, des "drapeaux vivants" dont le but est la victoire, l'affirmation et la reconnaissance sur la scène internationale, de l'État-nation. Le sport sert essentiellement à donner une meilleure visibilité internationale au pays*<sup>87</sup>.

In this context, the Cameroon sport diplomacy and cooperation had an important mission. But how far and how well was this diplomacy, put in place to the benefit of all sports. We shall analyzed this sport diplomacy through the history of international competitions and in a second phase through hosting and housing of international competition and sport organization and finally through the handling of international sport organizations by cameroonians.

#### 1. Cameroon Hosting Policy

Cameroon had been and is a land of sport champion and record brokers. Many Cameroonian *sporters* had written their names on marble on the sporting arenas around the

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<sup>86</sup> G. P. Beling Nkoumba Elemva, 50 years, Deputy director of the Department of Health University sports, sociocultural and leisure Activities at the MINESUP, Secretary General of FENASU, Yaounde 22-6-2018.

<sup>87</sup> Youcef Fates, « sport et tiers monde », in géopolitique revue de l'institut international de géopolitique sport et politique n° 66, juillet 1999, p. 75.

world. The hosting of international competitions is a diplomatic act which involves the involvement of the highest level of administration and governance. At this juncture, it will be interesting to analyze the competition hosted by Cameroon and why Cameroon's diplomacy had shortcomings in pursuing this diplomacy.

### 1.1. Hosting International Sport Competitions

Amongst the tools of sport diplomacy, we have the hosting of competitions which focalizes attention and command a lot of negotiations to obtain the place to host. A country which has decided to attract international attention through the organization of sporting competitions in the world was the small Arabic state of Qatar, which pays host to twenty international sport events between 1993 and 2011 of which ten were organized yearly. In the DiploSPORT Review Qatar diplomacy is described as follows:

*L'organisation de multiples compétitions sportives. Parmi les différentes formes que revêt la diplomatie sportive du Qatar, il s'agit de l'investissement de plus visible. Le Qatar participe aujourd'hui à la multi polarisation du monde sportif. Aujourd'hui, le Qatar s'impose déjà comme un spécialiste dans l'accueil de ces grandes messes sportives. C'est surtout depuis le milieu des années 1990 que le Qatar a cherché à se spécialiser dans la réception de compétitions. Selon la liste des événements sportifs organisés ou bientôt organisés par le Qatar. Il apparaît que la stratégie d'obtention de ces compétitions n'est pas dirigée vers un ou quelques sports en particulier. L'éventail des disciplines concernées est large, entre sports d'extérieur ou indoor, sport médiatisés ou pas. Le pays accueille denombreuses compétitions asiatiques, mais ne se limite pas à une stratégie régionale. De multiples championnats mondiaux (natation, squash, tennis, football, handball, moto, athlétisme, etc.) ont été organisés ou sont programmés sur le sol qatari<sup>88</sup>.*

This approach has not only been used by others Cameroon had in the past paid host to major 'semi-mega' sports competitions. Below is a list of competitions hosted by Cameroon since independence.

**Table 2: Some Major competitions hosted by Cameroon between 1974 and 2011**

year	Event	Discipline
1964	2 <sup>nd</sup> Edition Coupe des tropiques	Football
1972	8th Edition AFCON	Football
1996	African Athletics championship	Atheltics
From 1974 to 1991 Since 2002(Yearly)	Cameroon (International) cycling Tour	Cycling
Since 2001 (Yearly)	Chantal Biya Cycling Grand Prix	Cycling
1973-1992 (yearly)	Guinness Mont Cameroon Race	Athletics
Since 1995 (yearly)	Mont Cameroon Race of Hope	Athletics
2003	African amateur boxing championship	boxing

<sup>88</sup> La diplomatie sportive Qatarie. Le « sport power » : le sport au service de la reconnaissance international du Qatar, in DiploSPORT, Note n° 1, IRIS/CSFRS, 2012, p. 4.

2008	African Military football Cup	Football
2009	1 <sup>st</sup> edition of Yaounde international table tennis tournament	Table-tennis
2009	31 <sup>st</sup> edition of African Female Handball championship	Handball
2010	3 <sup>rd</sup> round men qualification tournament for CAN/World Cup	Volleyball
2011	African men Olympic Games qualification tournament	Volleyball
2010 Since 2001(yearly)	African judo championship Yaounde international Judo tournament	Judo

**Source:** By Koizah Karh based on field work data.

The above takes into consideration only continental competitions. All sub-regional competitions are not included because they have a limited score like the CEMAC competition: Be it football, basketball, volleyball, handball.

Organizing mega sport events was an attraction force for prestige and pride and a lot for geostrategic positioning. Cameroon could use this competition to project another image from what was already known. In the above layout of competition hosted by Cameroon, we discover that the most attractive continental multisport jamboree such as the All African Games had never been organized by Cameroon. Besides, after AFCAON 1972, it was only in 1996 that Cameroon organized a major continental competition of great Magnitude the African Senior Athletic Championship. The construction of the Yaounde multipurpose sports complex was an opener to the organization of indoor sports such as handball, basketball, volleyball, table tennis etc. This can partially be explained by the absence of quality infrastructure to host such competition.

### **1.2. Hosting of international sport organization**

As part of her sport diplomacy, Cameroon was host to some international sport institutions. The country was considered a state of peace and hospitality. While many African counties were facing civil war or serious social hazards and instability Cameroon was very peaceful and stable. So far Cameroon had housed certain international sport organizations headquarters in her nation's capital Yaounde. The following organizations had their head offices in Yaounde:

1. Supreme Council for Sports in Africa since 1968-SCSA/ CSSA. Replaced by the Consultative Council for Sports in Africa since 2012
2. African Association of National Olympic Committees (later transferred to Nigeria) -AANOC/ACNOA

3. Organization of Military Sports for Africa- OMSA/OSMA since 2010
4. African Labor Sports Organization- ALSO/OSTA since 2006

Cameroon was still to house more powerful sports organization. This could be thought the integration in the diplomacy of former sports champions who could use their image to capture votes for the Cameroon's candidacy.

## **2. Cameroon's Soft Power Sport Diplomacy**

Cameroon has been slow in adopting the visible and attractive policy of organizing competitions but was very smart in the occupation of top management positions at continent and intercontinental sport organizations as well as the hosting of some continental sport organizations. We shall present some of the Cameroonian nationals who were at the helm of international sport institutions. Besides, we shall see the sport organizations whose offices were based on Cameroonian soil.

### **2.1. The Occupation of Leadership Positions in Continental Sport Organizations**

Cameroon first demonstrated her diplomacy during the organization of AFCON 1972. This organization and the numerous victories of Cameroonian athletes and teams at continental and intercontinental competitions brought Cameroon to the limelight of sport diplomatic spheres. All this came only after Cameroon had become member of (inter) continental organizations as from the 1960s.

In this line of thought, the decisions to host international competitions were all decisions taken at the highest level of the executive power. This also implies that all Cameroonian nationals received the 'go ahead' to stand for elections at international organizations from the presidency of the Republic. The Head of State was the only person entitled to define Cameroon's diplomacy. Mouelle Kombi had this to say about the issue: "Au total, le chef de l'État a une main mise ferme sur les matières internationales, à propos desquelles il ne délègue Presque jamais de pouvoirs. Il demeure le responsable suprême des laboratoires où s'élabore la politique étrangère du pays"<sup>89</sup>.

The persons that were coopted to represent Cameroon were representatives of the president and the voice of Cameroon in that sphere. They also received the anointment of the top executive and were flag bearers of a system. Their decisions and opinions counted less as

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid, p. 12.

Cameroon's policy and image were to be preserved and later projected. But was this sport diplomacy to be only in the hands of chosen administrators?

Cameroon besides having excellent sports ambassadors also had talented world class athletes who thrilled the world with their performances. Be it Roger Milla who was appointed roving Ambassador in 2000, Samuel Eto'o, Françoise Mbango, the state authorities had hardly associated these names in the diplomatic strategies. They had not operated the drift from Government to Government G2G diplomacy to Public Diplomacy (2). This diplomatic approach which was a mixture of both government, groups and individuals influencing directly or indirectly another government and national's attitude toward them was the most used by western countries.<sup>90</sup>

Some Cameroonians distinguished themselves in the administrative arena of sport management. They had received the anointment and approval of the highest state person and were accompanied by the minister. The following Cameroonians headed (inter) continental organizations: Issa Hayatou, Kalkaba Malboum, Talba Malla, Malic Evele, and Emmanuel Bitanga just to cite these few. Table 3 shows the Cameroonians and the organizations they headed.

**Table 3: Cameroonians heading international sport organizations**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Institution/Organization</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>Period in Office</b>
Issa Hayatou	-AFC -FIFA	President Vice President	1988-2016 1992- 2017
Kalkaba Malboum	-African Athletics Confederation -International Military Sports Council	President President	2003-still date 2010-2014
Malik Evele Atour	-African Labour Sport Organisation (ALSO)	President	2004-still date
Talba Malla	-Union Africaine du Sport Pour Tous/ -Zone 4 (afrique centrale) Sport Pour Tous	President President	2003-2010 2003-2010
Emmanuel Bitanga	-Centre International d'Athlétisme de Dakar (CIAD) tous	Technical Directeur	1998-2006

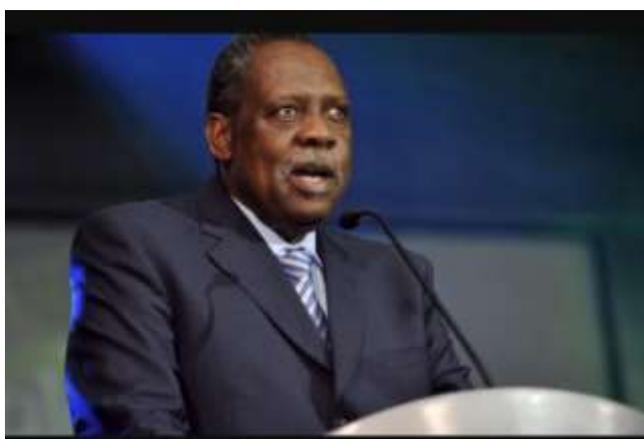
**Source:** By Koizah Karh based on field work data.

<sup>90</sup> Snow, "Rethinking public diplomacy" in Snow and Philip, Taylor Routledge handbook of public diplomacy New York, London, Routledge Taylors Francis Group, 2009 p. 5.

### 2.1.1. Issa Hayatou at the service of CAF and FIFA

In the domain of sport diplomacy, after the hosting of AFCON 72, came the election of Issa Hayatou as president of the African Football Confederation in 1988, before becoming president he was member of the executive committee since 1986<sup>91</sup>. From 1990 to 2008, he was vice president and member of the executive board of FIFA. In 2002, he stood for elections to the presidency of FIFA and lost to Sepp Blatter. In terms of administration in the sport spaces, he occupied the highest and most precious position as he was received as a head of state. He was also member of IOC executive board.

#### Plate 7: Issa Hayatou Vice President of FIFA and President of CAF



**Source:** From [https://www.investiraucameroun.com/issa\\_hayatou](https://www.investiraucameroun.com/issa_hayatou)

In terms of diplomacy of attraction and symbolism, he promoted and was a torch bearer for Cameroon at international space. Through him and the position he held, Cameroon was always present and admired. How well was he able to grip more attraction for Cameroon?

As president of the AFC and vice president of FIFA, he was part of the efforts that led to the increase of the number of African participants at the FIFA World Cup from two (02) in 1990 to five (05) in 2010. He was unable to convince the Cameroon authorities to organise AFCON during his term of office. In the same light, Cameroon was at the verge of suspension for poor, out dated and inadequate sport facilities for international matches as will be seen in chapter four (4).

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<sup>91</sup> Aboubakar Yacouba CAF: 30 ans au pouvoir, la recette du tout puissant Hayatou <http://www.afrique.latribune.fr/politique/gouvernance/2017-03-15/caf-tout-puissant-hayatou-vers-un-huitième-mandat.html>, retrieved on 06-3-18 at 11:20 pm.

### **2.1.2. Hamad Kalkaba Malboun: The Military Sporter and Diplomat**

Another name that had become a '*brand name*' of Cameroon sport diplomacy is Kalkaba Malboun. After being at the helm of national sports federations, he became the first elected president of CNOSC. He became a vibrant actor of Cameroon's sport institutional diplomacy by occupying top positions at continental and intercontinental sport organizations. President of African Athletics Confederation in 2003.

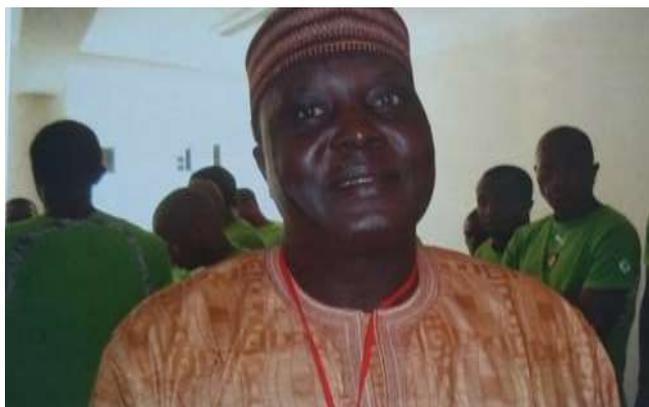
It should be mentioned that he was a soldier by training and profession more precisely a member of the Cameroon Gendarmeries corps where he retired as Colonel (senior army officer) but devoted his energy to the development of sport through its management. He was a pure product of the Cameroonian system: who was coopted in 1975 as president of the Cameroon Handball federation. He was later appointed president of the Cameroon Athletics Federation (CAF). He became Vice President of the organization for Military Sports in Africa then President and in 2010 was elected President of the International Military Sport Council.<sup>92</sup> Below is a picture of Col. Kalkaba Malboun.

In the context of change in consideration and approach to sport diplomacy, Cameroon had few actors in the international scene. Was it intentional or just coincidental? Cameroon was slow to deplore full diplomatic strength to be among the decision makers in other sports. One of the reasons for this was that the ministry refused giving their support for the candidacy of certain Cameroonian sport actors because the latter did not work the way the ministry expected: '*the heady presidents or persons*'<sup>93</sup>.

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<sup>92</sup> Bihina-Eric Benjamin, Kalkaba-Malboun: officier des sports in <http://www.Camerlex.com/Kalkaba-malboun-officier-des-sports-1499/retrieved> 8 march 2018 at 2:20 pm.

<sup>93</sup> Kingue Dihang, 46 years, Yaounde 15 November 2017.

**Plate 8: Kalkaba Malboum President CNOSC, President of African Athletic**

**Source:** From MINSEP Infos, n°7 nouvelle serie..., p. 64.

This chapter that we are concluding focused on the setting up of technical stakeholders of the sport sector. In line with our initial approach in the neo-institutional and deconstruction theory, we had seen state involvement in sport administration. The creation and put in place of certain organs with un-clear and poorly defined mission have worked against the floutishing of sport. From the national sport federation to CNOSC passing through the NSC and NOS state management and administrative centralization caused the disappearance of some institutions and fragilized the functioning of the others.

The absence of a real vision and over dependence on punctual and circumstantial events put Cameroon sport management in a vicious circle. It was evident that with weak administrative and managerial institutions and instruments, field activities could not be better. Should the state be the financial, project designer and field manager of sport? Can decentralization be also applied to the sport section? These questions still need to be examined. The 2011 July law proposed solutions to some of the above cited problems but will need to be implemented.

**CHAPTER THREE: PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORTS  
GOVERNANCE**

Sport in the later part of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Century became an instrument for development. Its consideration as an integral element of public policy made its analysis more important to understand modern societies. Physical Education (PE) used in the educational sector enables socialization and the understanding of social constructions and clichés<sup>1</sup>. What physical education ‘means’ is embedded in and expressed through the interactions of the participants; the teachers and students, the designers of lessons and programmes, the builders of facilities and the creators and suppliers of equipment. This double target of PE crystallized state public actions to implement her visions. Particularly to the fact that Cameroon had a high growth rate with a dominant youth population. Including sport in the academic and educational programs denotes of the state’s willingness to structure the environment. In the layout of this chapter, we shall essentially appraise the formulation and implementation of a physical education and sport policy. This will be done by streamlining the origin of PES in Cameroon from the colonial days to the creation of the Ministry of Youths and Sports (MYS). Then the major text produced by the government via ministries in charge of sports and education to coding PES in Cameroon till 2011 will be presented and the outcome analyzed. After this attention will be turned to those on the field who implement these decisions (teacher). The recruitment and training of Physical Education and Sports (PES) teachers and masters will be put under the microscope for analysis.

For a long period, there was a debate about relation and difference between physical education and sport. The question has been highlighted in the introduction of this research in the definition of concepts. Simply put, physical education is the academic side and sport is the competition. It was introduced in the educational system of Cameroon during the colonial era by the colonial powers: Britain and France.

## **I. A MODERN CONCEPTION OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT**

The concept of physical education and sport are inseparable. Physical education and sport go together in a fusion, with physical education for educational reasons and implemented by state institutions and sport for civil activities with indirect state presence<sup>2</sup>. This approach is based on the fact that physical education is part of the formal education and sport is the competition amongst students (Class competitions, inter-class-interschool competitions etc).

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<sup>1</sup> Skille, “Understanding sport Clubs as Sport...”, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> Koissi Houedakor, “ L’action sportive organisée au Togo : réalité nationale, contraintes et perspectives de développement. Essai d’analyse comparée avec le Sénégal et le Bénin”, thèse de Doctorat STAP, université Victor Segalen, Bordeaux, 2, 2010, p. 8.

Irrespective of our stance concerning the colonial authority, Physical Education (PE) was used as a control mechanism. The situation of PE and Sport today in Cameroon is a result of the foundation built during the colonial era and subsequently the decisions taken by the government after independence. Policies put in place to ensure the implication and use as an educational instrument was a choice made by authorities referred to by Maddison and Dennis as “authorities’ choice in decision making”<sup>3</sup>. The role of researcher is to understand and dig along the lines and extract the substance out of these decisions taken by authorities. Critical realism will be used as it advocates for the explanation of decisions and outcomes through the questioning of the origin and evolution of events<sup>4</sup>, just as neo-institutionalism which projects the government as central actor in the decision and implementation mechanism.

## **1. The pre-1970 Physical Education and Sport Policy Implementation**

It will be an aberration to say that European introduced Physical Activities (PA) in Africa and that Africans had no notion of P.A. By the time colonial power invaded the African continent in the name of their so called “civilization mission”, African had PA rendering different services to the local communities. In this section focus shall be made on considerations of PA in African before colonial implantation, then the approaches used by the two colonial powers of Cameroon, and the situation between independence and the creation of the MYS in 1970.

### **1.1. A New Orientation to Physical Education and Sport in the Educational System**

PES was not sidelined by social reconstructions and perceptions. Actually it was one of the elements on which governments focused their actions as it enable them solve other ills (violence, alcoholism, social integration, gender equality, physical and mental health). Physical and intellectual (brainstorm) activities had always been and till occupies today a core position in the education of children. These activities which were generally based on age and sex, situates the youngsters in the society and initiates them to the rules that govern and bind social order. This was true of pre-colonial society of Cameroon and Africa as a whole when PA formed the base of a mode of transmission of social and cultural values<sup>5</sup>.

Mgbor in the same opinion says that “physical activities such as running, jumping, wrestling, tree climbing and swimming, provided an opportunity for all round development and formed traditional sports in Nigeria. He further specifies that traditional education had two

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<sup>3</sup> Maddison and Dennis, *An introduction to Australian public policy...*, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> G. Easton, “Critical realism in case study research” in *ELSEVIER Marketing Management*, 38(2010), p. 123.

<sup>5</sup> Akpe Amatala, “Les loisirs au Cameroun sous administration française...”, p. 32.

cardinal physical education aspects to build in the youths: developing children's latent physical skills and building character among youth<sup>6</sup>. These were till the foundation policy of education and PES during the colonial era as well as today. This guides us to study the introduction of PE and sport during the colonial era in Cameroon under British and French administration.

The school was created to enable the incubation and transfer of knowledge in different forms to enable the learner fit in the society. Physical education had core values to transfer to the learners based on sociocultural, political and economic version of the institutions in charge. These values included team work, individual self brief, discover body potential, self esteem, fair play, respect of roles which all enable a better personal and social development.<sup>7</sup>

### **1.2. PES in Cameroon under British Administration**

Traditional societies had a lot of cultural value shared as concerns the education of their younger ones. The arrival and implantation of Western values did not upset some of the cultural values and initiation to adult life. As earlier said PA had other values than mere leisure for children. The introduction of PES in the formal western educational system instituted by the colonial administration came to play the same role.

The introduction of PES in Cameroon was in line with the general ideology of the colonization. They acted as if Africans had no knowledge. So through their different forms of power, they imposed their vision of the world<sup>8</sup>. This new vision of the world was introduced through the creation of schools where young Africans were educated with European values and culture to enable them better serve the colonial administration.

The display of colonial power and ideology was materialized in the partition of former German Cameroon into two. The part under the Queen's authority was administrated as part of Nigeria. In British Cameroon, most of the laws applied to Nigeria were also implemented in Cameroon education.

*School programs in colonial Nigeria did not differentiate between the components of physical education, health education, and recreation (Omoruan 1996). The programs also were beset by problems, such as lack of qualified staff and inadequate teaching facilities and equipment, as well as the misinterpretation of the values inherent in physical education. Physical education was regarded as a nonacademic and*

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<sup>6</sup> Mgbor, "Issues and Directions of physical education...", p. 135.

<sup>7</sup> D. Kirk, "The Idea of the Idea of Physical Education: Between essential relativism in studying the social construction of physical education", eJRIEPS (online), 18/2009, URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/ejrieps/5482>, retrieved on 10-2-2022 at 10:43 pm, p. 35.

<sup>8</sup> Mbembe, *On the post colony...*, p. 26.

*extracurricular activity that should take place after the normal academic work of the day*<sup>9</sup>.

Sports was included in the educational system of British Cameroons via changes in Nigeria. It was to bring together and build values in youths who were to become the future leaders. It was from 1933 with the revision of the 1909 and 1911 syllabus which emphasised on enjoyment, creation and physical exercises and lesson notes by teachers in camping ball games, athletics and gymnastics<sup>10</sup>. According to Mgbor “a breakthrough of high magnitude occurred in the curriculum and teaching of PE in Nigeria-Cameroon in 1957 when the Nigeria College of Arts, Science and technology Zaria was created with a specialized College of physical Education for the professional preparation of Physical Education Teachers.”<sup>11</sup> Out of the educational domain, sport was witnessed in the territory as Empire Day was Celebrated with sporting competitions in both Nigeria and Cameroon. Both territories under British administration jointly presented athletes for the Commonwealth Games in 1950. Nnamdi Azikiwe<sup>12</sup> represented the Nigeria- Southern Cameroons territory at the Commonwealth Games and Empire day competition in London in 1950<sup>13</sup>.

In colonial Cameroon under British administration, PES had one major ideology. According to Mgbor “physical training, as it was known at the time, primarily was used to maintain discipline among the children”<sup>14</sup>. The gradual increase in state primary schools did not change much the situation of PES in British Southern Cameroons. Before 1950, there were more missionary owned schools in the region. They gave PES an extracurricular leisure time position in the educational system and in the minds of the population. It was organized after lessons and to crown it all was handled by extremely unqualified staff and no real efforts were made to improve on amenities<sup>15</sup>. Compared with the situation in Cameroon under French administration where sport was part of the academic program, this lack of consideration affected the way student/pupils viewed sport in society. Inter-school competitions were the most awaited sports period where the following disciplines were performed: gymnastics, running, climbing,

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<sup>9</sup> Mgbor, “Issues and Directions of physical education...”, p. 135

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, p. 134.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, p. 135.

<sup>12</sup> A Nigerian state-man usually called “Zik”, He became president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria between 1963 and 1966, after being Governor General between 1960 and 1963. He practiced football, boxing, athletics, cricket and founded the Zik’s Athletic Club to promote these sports amongst youths. He won many medals during his sporting career in and out of Nigeria. He died on 11<sup>th</sup> may 1996.

<sup>13</sup> *National sports policy of Nigeria*, 2009, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Mgbor, “Issues and Directions of physical education...”, p. 135.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*.

football, netball. These different sport discipline also enabled the pupils develop their sense of self-esteem, self-confidence and accept team work for better results under obedience of the law.

As earlier mentioned, education was a major weapon used by the colonial authorities to format youth's mental and behavioral mechanism. The British approach to PE was not a full fledged subject in the educational curricular, but it was used in dismantling the existing mental and social structure of the population. In a report presented to the UN Trusteeship Council in 1947 by the British Colonial authorities, they mentioned the presence of PE in the educational system. The report was as follows:

- In the infant school or Department Physical Training was compulsory in the two year course;
- In the primary school or Department I-VI years, there was compulsory Physical Training for both boys and girls;
- As concerns secondary education, secondary school classes I-VI physical training was a minor part in the program but was an optional subject in the Teacher's Higher Elementary Certificate Examination for boys. Girls had to replace this with domestic science (child welfare advance), dressing, and infant school methods.<sup>16</sup>

This report was an evidence that the British paid limited attention to PES coupled with the fact that they made it gender discriminatory as girls were excluded as they grew older. They were orientated towards household activities.

We can question why girls were exempted from participating in physical education while they needed such exercises to sustain the day to day physically strenuous activities-knowing these children had to trek for many kilometers to get to school and back, trek to get to the farms and even to get water. If the aim was to protect them because the girls were considered fragile and weaker sex then it was an error on their part. This had a lot of consequences on the acceptance of girls in the PES sphere in West Cameroon after independence. The non-consideration and introduction of sport as a full fledged academic subject was a result of this colonial conception and heritage. It can be noted that this approach to PES as a non-curricular subject was particular to British Colonies. Koffi Bini évoques the situation of PES in Kenya in

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<sup>16</sup> NAB, Report by his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and North Ireland to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations of the Administration of the Cameroons under UK Trusteeship for the year 1947, London: His Majesty's stationary office 1948 Colonial No 2221, 78, Issued by the Colonial Office, p. 99.

this words: “*une matière sans aucun contenu académique et est facultative, laisse dans le fond au choix des responsables d’establishment*”<sup>17</sup>.

The situation in Cameroon in the early days of independence was a mixture of attraction and repulsion on the part of both states. The uncertain political situation had greatly influenced all decisions affecting the smooth running of affairs. It is in this light that we can analyze the decisions to suit the educational approach adopted, by each federal state which wanted to preserve its identity. The former West Cameroon avoided modification as it was a form of assimilation particularly through their educational system. P. Gaillard summarizes it in these words “...*les Anglophones avaient pour souci essentiel de préserver autant que possible leurs particularités*”<sup>18</sup>.

## **2. Physical Education and Sport in French Cameroon**

After the partition of German Cameroon between the British and the French, each took upon herself to infuse her vision into the population. In education which was the best way to build a new class of ‘Cameroonian French citizens’, Physical education was included. The approach given to these activities did not respect and conform in any way with local values and realities. It was essentially tilted towards facilitating a total brain wash of the population<sup>19</sup>.

### **2.1. Institutionalization of Physical Education in French Cameroon**

In their conception of civilization the colonial powers had to format through compulsory activities African youths from their ancestral values. P.E was imposed de facto to youths “physical education was a compulsory for all and the schedul was pre-established by the ministry in charge of education<sup>20</sup>. And it continues in the following words:

*Sport éducatif: son intérêt est incontestable pour la formation du caractère et l’acquisition de la notion d’idée sociale: esprit d’équipe, altruisme modestie dans la victoire, acceptation joyeuse de la défaite... Chez les scolaires qui bénéficient des conseils de leurs éducateurs, ces buts peuvent être atteints assez facilement*<sup>21</sup>.

The values promoted through the practice of PES were: discipline, collaboration, acceptance of difficulties and fair play. The best persons at the time to enable the transmission of such values and qualities were former military monitors<sup>22</sup> in Cameroon as well as other

<sup>17</sup> Koffi, R. Bini, “Marginalisation de l’éducation physique et sportive...”, p.54.

<sup>18</sup> P. Gaillard, “Pluralisme et régionalisme dans la politique camerounaise”, in *Afrique 2000 Revue* publiée de L’Institut Panafricain de Relation Internationales, trimestriel n0 11 : Octobre-Novembre-Décembre 1992, p.106.

<sup>19</sup> Ndong Bekale, “Les influences françaises dans la structuration... ”, p. 2.

<sup>20</sup> NAY, 3AC 4123, Procès-verbal comité de l’éducation physique et des sports, 20 Mai 1953, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Koissi Houedakos, “L’Action sportive organisée ... ”, p. 65.

African colonies. These monitors had as mission to tame the “lions” in the African youths through the respect of rules, discipline and sanctions. This was in-line with the general tendency in France within the interwar period and the post war period. It was also a problem due to the lack of qualified staff in the colonies. The plate below shows a PES lesson in French Cameroon

**Plate 9: PES lesson in a French Cameroon school in 1958-1959 school year**



**Source:** From P. Charitas, “Les Conditions d’émergence du développement sportif ...”, p. 68.

## 2.2 Training of PE Staff in French Cameroon

In the case of French Cameroon, the colonial authorities opted for the creation of an institute in charge of training future PES monitors, *centre pour l’éducation physique et sportive* (CEPS) was created in Dschang in 1950. This enabled them to extend PES lessons to a wider number of schools which had not been privileged to have obligatory lessons due to their absence of qualified staff. As from 1952 there was a slight improvement in the learning of PES in French Cameroon with the graduation of the first batch of teachers from the CEPS of Dschang who were posted to schools and colleges around the urban areas such Yaounde and Douala<sup>23</sup>.

The female sex was marginalized and sidelined from the sports. This was based on a number of preconceived ideas based on scientific knowledge of the time. There existed few feminists movement and also equal rights movements for women. Women were excluded from many sport disciplines on the bases that it was risky for their health. Girls could not be awarded the *Brevet sportif* also called *Brevet Populaire de Sport* created in 1950 to reward sport excellence amongst school students. This certificate was for students with outstanding performances in rope climbing, high jumping, sport, shot put throw<sup>24</sup>. As can be seen, few those of the females were not admitted in physical activities so could not receive this certificate.

<sup>23</sup> Ella Menye, “La femme face aux activités physiques e sportives ”, in MJS info, n° 5, Juin-Juillet 1985, p. 18.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

By the time Cameroon was to attain independence in 1960, the French authorities and the Cameroon authorities continued in the training of PES monitors who were assisted by professional expatriates<sup>25</sup>. The table below shows some of the PES French professional expatriates in French Cameroon at the eve of independence and early days of independence.

**Table 4: Some French professional expatriates in the Field of PES and their Period of Activity in Cameroon**

Name	Discipline	Statut	Year in Cameroun
Henri Gal	Athletic Football	Maître d'EPS et conseiller sportif	1956
Marcel Petit	Boxe	Conseiller sportif, entraîneur	1967
Pesller	Football	Entraîneur	
Dominique colonna	Football	Entraîneur national	1966-1983
André Raux	Football	Entraîneur itinérant INSY	1961
	Boxe		
Laffond	Basket	Entraîneur itinérant INS	1961
Simon	Handball	Entraîneur	1960
Henri sarnier	Professeur EPS		1958
Roger Portal	Professeur EPS		1958
Mlle Frappa	Professeur EPS		1961
Joigneau	Professeur d'EPS		1961
Madame Manthon	Professeur d'EPS, INS		1961
Madame Wadel	Professeur d'EPS, INS		1961
Mlle Clément	Professeur d'EPS, INS		1961
Rochez	Professeur d'EPS, INS		1961
Calligari	Professeur d'EPS, INS		1961
Bourdngé	Professeur d'EPS, CREPS Dschang		1961
Gachet	Maître d'EPS CREP Garoua		1961
Simon	Maître d'EPS CREP Garoua		1961
Roger Ehrel	Inspecteur principal jeunesse et sport et conseiller technique du ministre		1959-1961
Jean Schneider	Inspecteur Jeunesse et sport au CREPS de Garoua		1960-1961
Marchandise	Directeur INS Yaoundé EPS		1961
Labadie	Directeur CREPS Dschang		1961

Source: By Koizah Karh, based on field work data

<sup>25</sup>Compaoré, "Le sport analyseur de la place de l'Afrique dans la...", p. 54 ; also Kemo Keimbou, "L'Etat et le sport au Cameroun. Rhétorique et réalité ...", p. 16.

These persons played an important and crucial part in rebuilding the Cameroonian society through the development of PES. They were assisted by military personnel and instructors who considered physical activities as being the bases of strength and mental up bringing and imposition of discipline. We also see that the base of the expansion of a civilization is the academic institutions. That is why the training of future designed Cameroonian staff was central to the stability of the colonial system and its ideology. These colonialists were actually the ones who designed the sport programs and ideology that formed the backbone of the educational system at post-independence. A glance at the table reveals that most of the professional expatriates left after independence. President Ahidjo wished to *Cameroonize* the administration. That was the reason behind the departure of many colonialists which did not mean Cameroon had sufficient skilled experts to take over. The CEPS of Dschang had been training just monitors and instructors while National Institute of Sports in Yaounde had just been created and had no sufficient trained staff. Cameroonians at this point in time had not acquired the necessary expertise and skills to be able to formulate prospective programs for PES just as in other administrative domains.<sup>26</sup> The departure of the colonialists was a purely political decision which at the long run had negative repercussions on the evolution and perception of sports.

### **3. Physical Education and Sport in a New Political Context**

In 1961, the Federal Republic of Cameroon was born after the Reunification with British Southern Cameroons of 1 October 1961. The political, social, cultural, economic and strategic administration of the country changed. The new state had to handle issues that were to fashion state building and sovereignty. During their period, there was the shift from democracy in terms of multipartism to the one party system under a centralized political, economic and socio-cultural and military power.<sup>27</sup>

As concerns PE, the Sport Charter of 1962 became the measuring rod and compass. Unfortunately, they maintained the existing status quo as concerned the practice of and playing of PES in the educational system. Each federal state maintained its colonial educational system. The two in one system was reinforced as the West Cameroon educational system was resisting from being absorbed by the other. The state ideology was aimed at francophonizing the nation<sup>28</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup>Kuoh., *Mon Témoignages. Le Cameroun de l'Indépendance...* p. 56

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> International Crisis Group, "Cameroon's Anglophone crisis at the crossroads", African Report n° 250, August 2017, p. 4.

In general terms, the educational system of a nation like Cameroon had to enable the country have sufficient and qualified human resources for the implementation of here policies. So the edification of educational programs were to be in line with the general objectives of the government. But F. Belinga in his blog article says the contrary about the success of the mission of the educational system of Cameroon. He described the situation as follows:

*Il apparaît ainsi de manière incontestable que le système éducatif camerounais peine à assurer les missions qui lui sont assignées : le poids d'une demande massive par rapport à une offre insuffisante tant qualitativement que quantitativement, un taux de perdition mélangeant abandon et redoublement scolaire, une surpopulation des apprenants contre une sous-représentation et une sous qualification d'une frange du corps enseignants, un déficit de structures, mais aussi une inadaptation des programmes scolaires qui remontant pour la plus part à la période post coloniale, une aggravation des inégalités de chances scolaires et une disparités selon les régions, sont autant de maux qui minent profondément le modèle.<sup>29</sup>*

This remark exposed the whole educational system and shows the marginalization of PES in Cameroonian educational system. Things got worst with time as none of the laws were implemented. It was, therefore, clear that the missions of PES could not be achieved based how the educational program of the country was crafted.

Actually the main difference between the Anglophone and Francophone educational subsystem, was that sport was a subject on its own and was considered as such in the Francophone educational system. The following throws light on this affirmation: “ physical education was part of the official examination subjects from the primary to Advance Level and was compulsory in certain institutes of higher education<sup>30</sup>.

In 1963, the first major administrative change occurred in the domain of PE. A new program layout replaced the official French Instruction of 1959. It clearly laid-out the periods for PES in the academic timetable in the country. It was change of orientation in the teaching and consideration of PES. Table 5 shows the new program for PES in the French educational subsystem while picture 10 shows a PES lesson in CPC Bali College 1965.

**Table 5: Educational Level and Duration of PES in the French Educational Subsystem of Cameroon in 1963**

Educational Level	Duration of lessons per week
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<sup>29</sup> F. Belinga., “Le système éducatif au Cameroun”, from [www. Overblog.net](http://www.Overblog.net), retrieved on 12 October 2015 at 9 pm, p. 8.

<sup>30</sup> L’encyclopédie de la République Unie du Cameroun « La jeunesse et les sports », Douala, Eddy, Ness, Les nouvelles éditions africaines, 1981, p. 69.

SIL	2 hours
Class 2 to 6	1 hour
Secondary schools form 1 to Upper Sixth	45 mins

**Source:** By Koizah Karh based on field work data

**Plate 10: Students displaying during a PES lesson in CPC Bali, 1965**



**Source:** From Cameroon Times News Paper, “Sports of the times”, Thursday 4, March 1965, p. 9.

The lessons comprised of gymnastic (see plate, athletic and a collective sport)<sup>31</sup> The fact that there were trained teachers and that this subject was totally part of official examination psychologically obliged students to be present and focused as it could negatively affect their results<sup>32</sup>.

This state of things was kept in a status quo based on political decision by authorities who thought of their personal rather than national interest: why should we have two systems and two considerations for the same subject addressed to students of the same country, having the same dreams and aspirations? There was a direct and strong bond between school PES lessons and civilian competitions as it formed the foundation for initiation of future young champions.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> C-E. Abolo Biwolé, “Les repères historiques de l’éducation physique au Cameroun de 1960 à nos jours”, séminaire sur la réactualisation des programmes d’EPS au Cameroun, Yaoundé, 15-20 Juillet 1990, p. 10.

<sup>32</sup> Contrary to the French educational subsystem in which academic results were based on the general marks of the student to determine his personnel and class average (statute), the Anglophone subsystem was based on individual subject passed (success). The final results of the student depended on the number of individual subject he/she passed or failed, PES had even to date no matter the 2011 Law on P.E and sport demanding the increase in the coefficient of P.E and making it a compulsory subject in the GCE Board that is introducing it in the General Certification on Education GCE’O’ and ‘A’ levels. Some considered the law passive and does not really impact on “Anglophones”, who do not really participate in sport due to this regard on PE and sport in the education.

<sup>33</sup> Abolo Biwolé, “Les repères historiques de l’éducation physique... ”, p. 15.

The post Reunification period was not as smooth as it seemed. The administration had to adjust to the new state of affairs in order to implement policies. The federal head of service in the ministry of youth sports and popular education, visited West Cameroon in 1962 to see into the question of harmonization of PES. The regional inspector of physical education for West Cameroon, Ngoh, had this to say: “The department of physical education, youth movement and popular education is just being established in West Cameroon. I am faced with many difficulties arising from the great shortage of professional and certified staff which is normal at the initial stages of a new venture”<sup>34</sup>.

This state of affairs was just not easily sorted out until 1967; the desired uniformity had not been achieved. A conference was held under the supervision of the Francophonie, which inspired a change of programme for Cameroon’s PES policy such as more during PES lessons<sup>35</sup>. Unfortunately, the publication or printing of this program was very slow in West Cameroon. Even up to 1968 English version of the PES textbooks had not been done, although they had a subvention from UNESCO<sup>36</sup>.

### **3.1. Adapting PES Lessons to the New Context**

Besides, the dual system of education in the country, other elements had a negative impact on the institutionalization of PES. The first of the obstacles faced by PES in its implementation were state policies. PES was meant to discipline the youths to respect rules and regulations. It also initiated youths in getting into civil sport competitions and performances. But one could question the introduction of PES in the educational curricular<sup>37</sup>. This question is based on the fact that two major problems were faced by PES: limited staff and amenities.

The second major battle to be won by the government was to have adequate well trained staff. Since 1954, sport was institutionalized in Cameroon just as in Gabon by the colonial administration<sup>38</sup> which continued in the years after independence. Certainly, with the limited number of schools and staff only a limited privileged number of pupils had access to PES lessons.

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<sup>34</sup> NAB, file N° P. 940, vol 2, Sports general correspondence, letter to P.M. West Cameroon by C.N. Ngoh RIPE, 6 April 1963, p. 138.

<sup>35</sup> Abolo Biwolé, “ Les repères historiques de l’éducation physique... ”, p. 17.

<sup>36</sup> NAB, file N° P. 940, vol 2, sports general correspondence, printing of physical education, textbook, 1968, p. 382.

<sup>37</sup> B. Noah Atangana, “ les fondements philosophiques de l’éducation et l’éducation physique au Cameroun de 1960 à nos jours ”, during séminaire sur la réactualisation des programmes d’EPS au Cameroun, Yaoundé, 15 au 20 Juillet 1990, p. 3.

<sup>38</sup> Megne M’Ella, “L’organisation sociale du sport au Gabon... ”, p. 259.

The third obstacle was the priority given urban areas when it came to the posting of PES teachers due to limited financial and material resources. Many more qualified PES teachers were trained through the creation of training centers such as National Center for Youth Sport and Popular Education which opened its doors for training in 1960. But these institutions did not produce sufficient teachers to satisfy the increasing needs on the field. More about the training of PES teachers and the working conditions will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

Another crucial question to handle by the state was the availability of sports amenities for PES lessons. In the absence sports amenities for PES lessons, skill transmission and acquisition becomes difficult. The teacher had a lot of difficulties preparing, and handling their lessons as they also lacked enough working material. PES in this case became a marginalized subject as its objectives could not be attained neither by the teacher nor the students<sup>39</sup>. The lack or inadequate availability of PES didactic material such as football, handball, volleyball and shot-put and working space for long jump, shot-put, handball and basketball courts, and football pitches demotivated both the teachers and the students (pupils). This can be summarized by Belinga in the following:

*Par ailleurs, il faut relever qu'en milieu urbain comme en milieu rural, l'offre éducative reste insuffisante. Il existe un déficit non seulement du nombre de classes, mais aussi de personnels enseignants. On en arrive alors à une situation de surpopulation dans les salles de classe notamment dans les établissements publics. Notamment, on peut rencontrer des classes de plus de 100 élèves pour un seul enseignant. Dans les zones enclavées, la situation peut même s'avérer pire dans la mesure où se rencontrent des établissements publics qui n'ont d'existence que de nom, sans structure et avec un seul enseignant chargé du suivi de plusieurs classes en commun. Face à cette carence de l'offre publique, l'offre d'enseignement privé peine à suivre, malgré plusieurs mesures de financement apporté déjà par l'État à ces structures.<sup>40</sup>*

With regard to the youthfulness of the newly independent Federal Republic of Cameroon, PES was not really a priority for the authorities. The philosophy given to PES was virtually the same as in the colonial era, with some few changes like the Cameroonization of teaching staff but as concerns content there was a continuation of the colonial heritage. Notion of obedience, team work, faire-play, discipline, body hygiene and physical strength to work were still the underlying pillars. But PES was more not just this as it described here after

*Éducation physique ne dit rien du tout au profane bien qu'elle soit à n'en pas douter un élément important du système générale. Cette éducation physique consiste en l'ensemble des soins que*

<sup>39</sup> Laker, *The sociology of sport...*, p. 149.

<sup>40</sup> Belinga., "Le système éducatif au cameroun...", p.4.

*l'on prend et des efforts que l'on fait pour maintenir le corps humain dans un parfait état d'équilibre physiologique pour lui donner toute la perfection dont il est capable...car un âme saine dans un corps sain telle était déjà la devise des anciens.<sup>41</sup>*

The concept of national unity under the self-determination and planned development gave the government the sole powers to give content to PES in the educational system. The implementation of PES was a mission given to two ministries in Cameroon: National Education and MYS. The technical aspect of it was assigned to the MYS which had to undergo a certain structural organizations to be up to the expected task.

## **II. REORIENTING AND REORGANIZING PES IN CAMEROON AFTER THE CREATION OF THE MINISTRY IN CHARGE OF SPORT**

The creation of the MYS in Cameroon was a major political move by President Ahmadou Ahidjo. Two years earlier that is 1968 Cameroon had won a major international medal in the sport field and this had brought about a lot of attention and projected light on her. This ministry in her organization was to define government's policy in terms of PES.

Before the 1970 change, PES was handed by the General Commission of Youth, Sport and Popular Education at the Presidency of the Federal Republic of Cameroon<sup>42</sup>. It was followed by a Decree organizing the general commission in which there was a Bureau of PE with its mission mentioned in Article 3<sup>43</sup>. With the suppression of the general commission of Youths sports and popular education, and reorganization of the ministry of education of youths and culture, PES was placed under the authority of the latter as stipulated by Art 10 of Decree N° 65/DF/374 f 28 August, 1968.<sup>44</sup> We see from the above that matters concerning PES gradually evolved in administrative setting for a bureau to a service. What changes came with the 1970 decree?

### **1. Framing and organizing PES under the MYS**

The creation of the MYS came with major procedural and organizational changes in the management of PES. Institutions convey management visions of the conceptors. The executive

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<sup>41</sup> J-P Ekoola, "Le problème de l'éducation physique au Cameroun au centre d'un débat ce soir au Centre Culturel Français", in *Cameroun Tribune* (No 1119) dimanche 12 et lundi 13 mars 1978, p.11.

<sup>42</sup> Archives MINSEP [Décret](#) n° 62/DF/106 of 31 mars 1962, portant création d'un commissariat général à la jeunesse aux sports et à l'éducation populaire, p. 2

<sup>43</sup> Archives MINSEP Décret n° 62-DF-107 du 31 mars 1962, portant organisation du commissariat Général à la jeunesse, au sport et à l'éducation populaire, p. 1.

<sup>44</sup> Archives MINSEP Décret n° 65/DF/374 du 28 août 1965, Abrogeant les dispositions des archives 10 et 11 du Décret n° 65/DF/350 du 5 août 1965 portant réorganisation du ministère de l'éducation, de la jeunesse et de la culture et les remplaçant par les dispositions nouvelles.

improved a vision of PES through the text assigning missions to the MYS. The appellation Ministry of Youth and Sports was in line with international transformations affecting France and French African countries. A France a Ministry of Youth and Sports had been created in 1966<sup>45</sup>. In Cameroon the decree creating the MYS, chapter IV article 15-19 disclosed the orientation that the state wished for PES<sup>46</sup>. It had gone from a bureau to service and became a Department under a Director and worked in close collaboration with the Ministry of National Education and had handled the academic curricular and was charged with its implementation nationwide.

The new decree had widened the scope and activities of PES, extending its tentacles to services such as:

- ✓ programs, research and internship,
- ✓ sport equipment,
- ✓ Pedagogic control<sup>47</sup>.

This was to reinforce the implementation of PE and Sport in Cameroon. Its main ideology as indicated by Abolo Biwole was “l’option de l’éducation physique à base sportive se propose de faire du système un moyen d’éducation”<sup>48</sup>. In this light PES was to play a major part in the upbringing both physically and mentally of the young Cameroonian leaders of tomorrow. As concerns the place and content of PES program in the school system we shall discuss it in a later part of this chapter.

Amongst the major corner stones in the foundation building of PES in Cameroon, we can mention the UNESCO International Charter of Physical Education and Sport of 1978 stipulating in its Article 1: “*la pratique de l’éducation physique et du sport est un droit fundamental pour tous*” and in Article 2: “*l’éducation physique et le sport constituent un élément essential de l’éducation permanente dans le système global d’éducation*”<sup>49</sup>. The introduction of the notion of “fundamental right and being part of the global education process” was additional consideration on the part of the government.

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<sup>45</sup> Bouchet, “Existe-t-il un « modèle sportif » dans les pays africains francophones ?”..., p .9. ; Megne M’Ella., “L’organisation sociale du sport Gabon...” , p. 189.

<sup>46</sup> Archives MINSEP Annex Décret n° 72/470 du 15 septembre 1972 portant réorganisation du ministère de la jeunesse et des sports, pp. 4-5.

<sup>47</sup> Archives MINSEP, Décret n° 72/470 du 15 septembre 1972, p. 4

<sup>48</sup> Abolo Biwole, “Les repères historiques de l’éducation physique au Cameroun...”, p. 18.

<sup>49</sup> Charte Internationale de l’Éducation Physique et du Sport UNESCO, 1978, Paris, p. 3.

The General Conference of Sport and Physical Education which x-rayed the 'patient physical education' in 1992 took place in Yaounde under the patronage of the MYS. This conference came up just two years after a seminar on the Reactualization of PES in Cameroon. The 1996 Charter on Physical and Sport Activities didn't bring any major change in PES.

### **1.1. Innovations in PES Management under the Ministry of Sports and Physical Education 2004**

Cameroon had evolved and the consideration for sports and its importance had grown worldwide. It was a state duty to her population and fundamental right to youths. The measures were to be taken to meet up with the new challenges. The 2004 creation of MINSEP had structural and organizational impact on PES. In article 1 of the decree organizing MINSEP, it stipulated among other missions of the ministry that it was to design and adopt all teaching programs of Physical Education or sport in all levels of education: primary, secondary and high schools (public and private) and in their implementation<sup>50</sup>.

In Article 7 the post of Pedagogic Inspector was introduced which had as mission to supervise teachers, teaching methods, control didactic material, organize, refresher seminars elaborating, evaluation criteria for PE.

Second innovation was the creation of the Department of Development of Physical Education headed by a Director with three (03) deputy directors.

- One (1) in-charge of Basic Education;
- One 1 in-charge of Secondary Education;
- one (01) in-charge of Higher Education;

**Under Deputy Director of Basic Education were two services under chief of service.**

- One (1) in-charge of exams programs;
- One (1) in-charge of Pedagogic Propection and methods;

**And under the chief of services for Exams and Programs we find:**

- One (1) chief of bureau for exams;
- One (1) chief of bureau for programs;

**And under the chief of service in-charge of pedagogic propection and methods we find**

- One (1) chef of bureau for internships;
- One (1) chef of bureau for pedagogic propection.

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<sup>50</sup> Archives MINSEP, Décret n° 2005/098 du 06 Avril 2005 portant organisation du ministère des Sports et de l'Éducation Physique, p. 1.

This division applies to secondary and higher education services.

In the light of this organizational chart, we clearly see that there had been no evolution as concerns the state's will to promote and control PE in the educational System. The creation of departments in-charge of each level of education to have activities that correspond to their aspirations and needs enabled a better management and evaluation of PES programs. It also notes the hyper control of the system by state bureaucracy.

As an examination subject that depended on the collaboration between ministries an inter-ministerial circular was signed in 2008 in view of the 2008-2009 academic year exams between the MINSEP and Basic Education for the smooth running of the Certificat d'Études Primaires (CEP) for the French educational subsystem and First School Living Certificate (FLSC) in the English subsystem<sup>51</sup>. In the following section we shall focus on the place allocated to PES in the different levels of the Cameroonian Educational System.

## **1.2. Implementing PES Programs in the Educational System**

The best area to convey government philosophy was through education to the youth who were to take over rule and could fight for the nation. Fidel Carlos aptly said "only through education can we mould Cubans that can fight and die for the motherland"<sup>52</sup>. So, education was to be a good channel for the transmission of such values as one of the lessons taught in schools. Laker criticizes the functionalist approach which is that of encouraging and implementing social reproduction<sup>53</sup>. For this reason, the state had to strengthen the foundation of PES through its technical organs. As seen above, there was statutory evolution of PES in Cameroon as the seasons and years passed by. We question the evolution, impact and the consideration for PES: Was there sufficient space and amenities for PES lessons? Was there quality working material for students and teachers? This brings us to the question of consideration by the state for the subject through the implementation of her policy. Was there a real adequacy bond between what the state officials said and did on the one hand and the demands and needs of the population on the other hand?

We should start by recalling again that PES was part of the basic and fundamental duties of the state to her population. For this reason they had to provide funds to carry out missions

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<sup>51</sup> Archives MINSEP, Lettre circulaire interministérielle portant instructions relatives à la gestion des épreuves d'EPS au CEP/au FLSC du 1<sup>er</sup> décembre 2008

<sup>52</sup> J.C. Holguin, "German soft power: from the fall of the wall to the 2006 World Cup", Master in Development Management and policy, University of Georgetown, 2013, p. 46.

<sup>53</sup> Laker, *The sociology of sport...*, p. 9.

and human resource and equipment to attain these objectives. We can quote President Ahidjo who pointed out that:

Sports as far as Cameroon is concerned, are a vital means of strengthening national unity and developing the educational and civic values of citizens at home... We must therefore reconsider the role of physical education and sports in the training of the Cameroonian citizen particularly during the formative years of his youth, and ensure that our educational system includes as integral elements not only an initiation to manual work but also physical and sport having as a complete school and university discipline<sup>54</sup>.

### **1.2.1. PES in the infant and primary school system**

The institutionalization of PES in the Cameroon educational system provoked lasting consequences. Among this was the recognition of this subject as other subjects of the academic curricular at the primary school level. The 1996 Cameroonian constitution stipulates primary (basic) education is compulsory. This is called “fundamental education”. The following clearly illustrates the importance of PE for infants:

Educators all over the world agree that the elementary or primary school is the foundation of formal teaching and learning of any skill or knowledge necessary for the maximum development of the child. Therefore, this level of education should provide a fertile base for a diversified and development of the beneficiaries. As far as sports development is concerned, the primary school should be the ideal ground for its take-off, through a sound programme of elementary physical education. A good physical education programme makes use of the natural activity drive of children, who even the most timid, enjoy movement. Nowhere in the world does sports develop in isolation of physical education which starts in the school through a formal graded instruction under experts trained for this purpose.<sup>55</sup>

In every educational system, there is a certain degree of consideration, value and importance given to each subject. PE had and today serves to the nursery or infant pupils as a relaxation distraction, developing body coordination and kinesiology, fun and play. However, those in charge of drilling them during this allocated time frame lack the basic elementary qualities. The classroom teacher was to teach students in a subject he had almost no knowledge about its technics.

The situation was not very different in the primary level. In the lower classes little attention was given to PE in training of the youths. In some schools, teachers ignored PE partly because they considered it not important and also because they lacked qualified specialists. President Ahidjo admits this situation:

Although in secondary and university education institutions physical and sport education can be undertaken to a large extent by specialist, it is clear that at the primary school level the same is not possible at the present time. It is, therefore, necessary to take adequate steps to ensure that the

<sup>54</sup> Speech by Ahmadou Ahidjo during a reception at the palace in Honor of Cameroonian sport team, p. 386.

<sup>55</sup> Lawal I. Yazid., “Sport development; The Nigerian Way: A review”, in *International Journal of Physical Education, Sport and Health*, 1 (4), 2014, p. 23.

training of primary school teachers will be widened now that these subjects are to be included in school curricula, in order to enable teachers to give lessons in physical education in the same way as they do for other subjects<sup>56</sup>.

If we agree that there was to be more credit given to this subject, it was necessary that measure be taken to overcome the difficulties in order to improve upon its perception. With a high ever increasing Cameroonian population from about 7 million during the population of 1976 to over 10 million in 1987 and about 17 million in 2005, the government had to check for solutions. Of this population those below 25 years represent about 43.2% of the total population<sup>57</sup>. The figure confirms the fact that Cameroon had a youthful population. The government had much to do in terms of extending education to all.

As of 2006 it was estimated that for the pre-nursery and nursery schools, Cameroon disposed of 3562 schools which hosting a population of about 1.238.716 pupils for the nursery and about 2.937.239 for the primary pupils.<sup>58</sup> The table below shows the evolution of primary school attending population in Cameroon.

**Table 6: Evolution of primary school attendance in Cameroon between 1995 and 2003**

year	1995/96	1996/97	1997/98	1998/99	1999/00	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03
population	1,874,873	1,931,129	2,023,809	2,133,707	2,237,083	2,689,052	2,723,371	2,798,523

**Source:** From Rapport d'État du Système Éducative National Camerounais. Éléments de Diagnostic pour la Politique Éducative dans le contexte de l'EPT et du DSRP, 2004.

Based on the above report we see evolution of the pupils in the primary section. These pupils were enrolled in 10,553<sup>59</sup> schools around the national territory both public and private. This implies that Cameroon was to dispose of 10,553 PES teachers to have at least 1 teacher per school. Unfortunately, this was not the case, as we shall see later; the intake into PES teacher training colleges was low. The state was the only one with the ability to train PES teachers and also was the major employer. To add to these schools all needed to have a field or sufficient space for PES lessons which had become compulsory in both educational subsystems of Cameroon.

The needs of PE in such a context were difficult to handle and achieved because of the unequal and uneven distribution of pupils and schools that hosted them. While we witnessed a high density in the urban areas, it was a different story in the rural areas with less schools and

<sup>56</sup> Speech by Ahmadou Ahidjo during a reception at the palace in Honor of Cameroonian sport team, p. 387.

<sup>57</sup> Rapport national sur l'état de la population du bureau central des recensements et des études de population (burcrep), édition 2014, pp. 12-13.

<sup>58</sup> Rapport initial sur la mise en œuvre de la charte africaine des Droits et du bien-être de l'enfant, 2007, p. 43.

<sup>59</sup> Rapport PASEC Cameroun 2007. Le défi de la scolarisation universel de qualité, octobre 2007, p.21.

teachers. This was coupled to difficult access to adequate sport facilities as had been seen above and also the shortage of didactic material and to crown it all the inadequate number of trained PES teachers. President Ahidjo during a speech in 1976 re-mentioned the fact that PES has not been sufficiently valorized in the academic curricular and promised that efforts will be made for it to be regarded as a normal subject. It read:

...it is clear that at the primary school level the same is not possible at the present time. It is therefore necessary to take adequate steps to ensure that the training of primary school teachers will be widened, now that these subjects are to be included in school curricula, in order to enable teachers to give lessons in physical education in the same way as they do for other subjects<sup>60</sup>.

As concerns sports infrastructure for the practice of PES lessons, they were lacking. The 1974 law that stipulated that every school was to provide space for the construction of sports infrastructure was not respected. It was so frustrating that even the government created without space provided for PES lessons. As seen in chapter four, the official in charge of controlling the conformity of school to the law were all corrupted and no school was sanctioned for not respecting the law.<sup>61</sup>

Many schools both in the primary and secondary particularly private schools imposed and sold sport wears to pupils. Parents paid between 2000-5000 F CFA for sports wears for their children who never did sport.<sup>62</sup> This situation was not a Cameroonian particularity; it was similar in Cote d'Ivoire.<sup>63</sup> In the nursery schools the classroom teacher was to conceive exercises for the pupils as he wished because he had not received real background training to handle this. If we turn to the complexity of PES and the dangers it represents for the child if it were not well administrated, it can be said the state created a 'minute bomb' by handing innocent pupils to unskilled PES staff in schools particularly private. Taking into consideration that PE gave the basics for children to move into civil sport, then it was visible that this approach failed to create self-awareness, motivation and dreams in children at the base.

Sport was instituted as a subject in the official examination of end of the primary cycle for both the educational subsystem in Cameroun. For the first time about 1993 the pupils of the English educational subsystem had to go in for sports to have their First School Leaving Certificate. We should specify here that contrary to what is done in the secondary school where PES has a pedagogic academic schedule for follow up and organization, there exist none of such for the nursery and primary; it was solely for animation. Teachers who were charged with

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<sup>60</sup> Speech by President Ahmadou Ahidjo in Honour of sportsmen, p. 388.

<sup>61</sup> Assiène, 49 years, Yaounde, 21st July 2019.

<sup>62</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>63</sup> Koffi Bini., "Marginalisation de l'éducation physique...", p. 257.

the lessons (trained or untrained) did what they imagined could be good for the children.<sup>64</sup> This disorder had a negative impact on the children who do not benefit from the values and benefits that had to be derived from this lesson.

### 1.2.2. A System of differentiation for PES in the Secondary Educational System

The post-independent and reunited Cameroon had to focus on education to have the necessary human resources capable of ensuring the smooth running of the society and administration. So, the government continued to create secondary schools to host the primary school leavers. This was accompanied by the increase in the training of specialized teachers in special schools to ensure the training of these future leaders.

In Cameroon, two ministries were concerned with the implementation of PES in secondary education cycle: the Ministry of Secondary Education and MINSEP (Youths and Sports). All technical issues were under MINSEP and academic issues in Secondary (national) Education. Contrary to the primary school, where sport was done mostly by final year pupils particularly of the French Educational system<sup>65</sup> all in the secondary schools had compulsory hours for both subsystems. But it should be mentioned that sport ended for the English subsystem in form four (4) while their French mates had obligatory sport from forms one (sixième) till Upper Sixth (terminale) class and was part of official school examination.

What was the image projected by the authorities as concerns PES to students? Did it impact the participation and focus on the subject? The psychosocial conception and regard on PES was poor and negative due to institutional formatting and conditioning<sup>66</sup>. The constant increase in the student population impacted on the quality of lessons received by them.

**Table 7: Population of student in the General (Grammar) and Technical schools of the French Educational Subsystem of Cameroon 1995-2002**

Year/ Education type	1995/96	1996/97	1997/98	1998/99	1999/00	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03
<b>General Education</b>	480,120	484,461	500,222	504,677	554,830	681,283	618,147	669,129
<b>Technical Education</b>	108,519	108,020	112,085	122,122	143,839	146,469	141,757	137,044

<sup>64</sup> Dikoume., *Le service public du sport...*, p. 109

<sup>65</sup> Archives MINSEP Circulaire n° 368/MEJEC/DJJ/SEPS objet : organisation des épreuves d'EPS dans les différents examens scolaires pour l'année 1969.

<sup>66</sup> T.A. Ntolo Abang, " Représentations sociales et pratiques des activités physiques et sportives chez les peuples de la région du Sud-Cameroun : le cas des Bulus d'Ebolowa", Certificat d'Aptitude au Professorat d'Éducation Physique et Sportive (CAPEPS), INJS, Yaoundé, 2011, p. 2.

<b>Total</b>	588,639	592,481	612,307	626,799	698,669	827,752	759,904	806,173
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**Source:** From Rapport d'état du système éducative national Camerounais. Éléments de diagnostic pour la politique éducative dans le contexte de l'EPT et du DSRP, 2003.

A check through this table brings out the fact that a lot of human resources was needed to handle the student population in the secondary schools. This same report reveals that during the crisis period the government had reduced the number of candidates into teachers training colleges but as the financial situation of the country got better the number was again increased.<sup>67</sup>

**Table 8: Number of available teachers compared to student population and schools in the French educational subsystem of Cameroon (public and private schools) academic year 2008-2009**

<b>period</b>	<b>Student population</b>	<b>Number of schools</b>	<b>Number of teachers</b>	<b>Percentage coverage %</b>
<b>2008-2009</b>	2.820.982	2.204	32.483	11.56

**Source:** From Rapport d'état du système éducative national Camerounais. Éléments de diagnostic pour la politique éducative dans le contexte de l'EPT et du DSRP, 2003 p. 8.

The above figures are global, concerning essentially the francophone subsystem. Due to the poor financial situation and the misuse of the set funds, the government could not ensure an effective coverage of the territory.<sup>68</sup>

PES actually failed in building the link between school and civil sport as certain students were marginalized. Also as had been earlier mentioned many schools lacked the basic amenities and equipment for the practice of sport. The handicap students were discriminated against as they could not take part in the practical lessons. Two reasons can justify the state of exclusion: lack of specialized infrastructure and didactic material. Secondly the absence of qualified specialized teachers with adapted programs. This made PES lessons turn exclusive not inclusive as expected.

The second was the limited presence of girls in the lessons. Due to socio-anthropological theories coupled with certain fake scientific considerations parents, families and society as a whole had a bizarre regard on girls involved in PES lessons<sup>69</sup> in a situation where PES was the

<sup>67</sup> Rapport d'état du système éducatif national Camerounais. Éléments de diagnostic pour la politique éducative dans le contexte de l'EPT et du DSRP, 2003 p. 38.

<sup>68</sup> Rapport national sur le développement de l'éducation, Commission Nationale pour l'Unesco, Yaounde, octobre 2009, p, 26.

<sup>69</sup> Ella Menye, " La femme face aux activités physiques et sportives... ", p. 13

direct link to civil elite sport. This exclusion was negative for the wellbeing and consideration of the participants<sup>70</sup>.

Can the usefulness of PES be question in the educational system? Based on the time given for the subject forty-five minutes (45) mins to one hour (1h) per week- depending on the school and it was just coefficient one and at times it was not even considered during the totaling of the general average in certain schools. To make things better and to brighten the horizon for PES, the following aspects should be taken into considerations by the state:

- Outdated text regulation of PES in the nation;
- Misuse of funds allocated for PES in schools by authorities (embezzlement of fund allocated for infrastructure, didactic material and equipment);
- Equal consideration in both subsystems of education.

The state was at the center of the financial system of the educational system. Almost all institutions received state financial support. This made the state central, in all domains of education. But there a problem of worning out state resources and making it difficult to meet up with the realization of her projects. The educational system was accompanied by other stakeholders such as C2D and PPTE funds, which has helped to reduce the rate of an-illitracy as mentioned below:

*Fort d'un taux de scolarisation au primaire estimé à 93.5% selon les statistiques de l'UNICEF pour les années 2008-2012. Le pays récolte ainsi les résultats de diverses mesures phares, notamment l'inclusion du droit à l'école dans la constitution, ainsi que l'application par le gouvernement de la gratuité de l'école primaire en 2000. Cette embellie du taux de scolarisation est aussi le résultat de différents programmes de financement dans le secteur de l'éducation, à l'instar de programmes d'aide au développement des pays sous-développés : Initiative PPTE, C2d, etc., qui ont ainsi œuvré à améliorer la situation<sup>71</sup>.*

The state provided in the mechanism of the education system a way parents could finance the development of PES. In the tuition fee (school fee) a certain amount was deducted for socio-cultural and sporting activities. These funds were to be managed by the school administration to archieve the set objectives. But these funds destined for sporting and didactic material were embezzled or simply used for other issues<sup>72</sup>. Many gave priority to other issues undermining PES. The consequence of this were lessons without equipment thereby

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<sup>70</sup> Abolo Biwole, “ Le pont entre l’EP et le sport scolaire...”, p.3

<sup>71</sup> Belinga, “Le systeme educative au Cameroun...”, p.3.

<sup>72</sup> Kinang, 40 years, Yaounde 21 June 2018.

discouraging students and teachers. This adversely affected on the school games as will be seen later. Chappelet sums the situation in these words:

*La très faible présence de l'éducation physique et du sport (EPS) à l'école, a une pénurie de maîtres d'EPS ainsi qu'à un manque flagrant d'équipement sportif, notamment pour les sports qui nécessitent des installations sophistiquées. Cette situation résulte bien évidemment de dépenses gouvernementales insuffisantes en la matière, couplées à une explosion démographique qui fait baisser les ratios des ressources humaines et matérielles indispensables.*<sup>73</sup>

The introduction of PES as a compulsory subject in the secondary school system in both education subsystems. Much had to be done for the implementation of these laws. It offered a change in perception and future for PES in secondary education.

### **1.2.3. Slow Implementation of PES in Higher Education**

The introduction of PES in the educational curricular of Cameroon, just as in other countries was because of its outstanding benefits. In this light, Cameroon encouraged PES in the Higher Education Institutes. Trained PES teachers were sent to work in these HE institutions. PES was carried out in these university institutes not only for health wellbeing but also as a detection area for talents for their participation at OSSUC and civil competition. In some universities PES was compulsory and was recorded in the transcript. This state of things shall be better explained below.

At the time of independence both Cameroon under French and British Mandate, had no institute of HE. They were having just training and vocational schools. The University of Yaounde that became Federal University in 1962 was the main reference study centres for all Cameroonian scholars. In 1972 after the constitutional change, the name of the university was changed to the University of Yaounde. This university was the only one in the whole nation till 1993 following the university reform. Before the reform, other HE institutions had been created in specialized domains around the country and attached to the university. These universities courses were found in Douala, Buea, Ngaoundere and Dschang. The national advance, Polytechnic school, national advance school of public works, national advanced school of post and telecommunication and the university center for health and sciences (CUSS). The backbone of our education system was described in these words by President Ahmadou Ahidjo:

... “Any revolution becomes a thing of the imagination and declines into hollow dreams, if not cultural alienation, when, instead of recognizing its proper sphere.... Its contents itself with empty and selfish claims laying claims to rights without shouldering real and specific duties...”  
 ... The backbone of our educational philosophy “to make each Cameroonian citizen a well brained citizen apt to participate effectively in the management of the state, a product able to contribute to national property with an increased output” that teacher have to input daily to their students<sup>74</sup>.

<sup>73</sup>Chappelet, “sport et développement économique”, retrieved from <http://www.sportanddeve.org/sportdevecomacolindoc05.pdf>, on 4-11-2019 at 11:52 pm, p.2.

<sup>74</sup> Ahidjo, *Recueil des discours Présidentielles de 1973-1978...*, p. 372.

This quote of the presidents' speech gives us useful information on the important part the educational system had to play for national development. In this PES was assigned the mission of national unity and integration as below:

... Find it timely once more to emphasize the deep significance that government intends to give to sports and physical training as part of the general education of the Cameroonian citizen. Because sports, is on the one hand, a factor of national integration and national understanding and on the other hand, an agent of physiological and physical balance, our goal is to give it the outstanding place it deserves to have in the process of national building, since it contributes powerfully to shaping that new human being the supreme goal of our efforts for national construction.<sup>75</sup>

This explains the emphasis the government had on the construction of infrastructure and amenities around university institution. This also had to be done with the posting of PES teachers. These university institutions received PES teachers to carry on lessons but more particularly for sport animation. These teachers prepared athletes for their participation at the OSSUC and later the University Games as from 1998. But they represented less than 3% of the teaching staff in the universities<sup>76</sup>. All PES teachers in service in state universities and other HE institutions were first posted to the Ministry of Higher Education from where they were then detached to the institutions in need<sup>77</sup>. The table 9 below shows the teaching staff in service in the HE in Cameroon in 2007.

**Table 9: Total Teaching Staff in the Higher Education of Cameroon in 2007**

Period	Student population	Number of academic institutions	staff	Staff coverage in %
2008-2009	170,000	-8 state universities -70 private university institutions	2700	15.5%

**Source:** From Rapport national sur le développement de l'éducation, commission nationale pour Unesco, Yaounde, Octobre 2008, p. 7.

The above table presents the situation of the HE sector in terms of staff coverage PES teachers included. During this period the number of PES teachers for each state university was about thirty due to the intensification of the UG and only two PES teachers for private institutions.<sup>78</sup> The other specialists employed by private institutions were on part-time basis. HE institutes under certain ministries had a special status and were like state universities. Some

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid*, p. 388.

<sup>76</sup> Dikoume, 72 years, Yaounde 12<sup>th</sup> May 2019.

<sup>77</sup> Beling Nkoumba, 50 years, Yaounde 22 June 2018.

<sup>78</sup> Beling Nkoumba, 50 years, Yaounde 22 June 2018.

information was brought to the limelight. The number of available staff compared to the student population was very low. The ratio was too high. So PES teachers could have a real impact on the field.

Unfortunately, in HE Institutes emphasis was focused on sport and animation and little on PE. The sport specialists (sport trainers) that were sent to these institutions put their efforts to getting talents that had to participate at the UGs and civilian competition. Sport was not a course in the HE system so was just to fill space. There was an exception to this; the University of Buea which was the only Anglo-Saxon university had sport as a course in their degree program.<sup>79</sup>

As earlier mentioned the 1993 University reforms in Cameroon had brought certain changes. First, the university centers had become full Universities, (Douala, Buea, Ngaoundéré, Dschang) and Yaoundé which was split to have Yaounde I and Yaounde II in Soa in the vicinity of Yaounde. Among all these universities, only the University of Buea had sport as a fundamental compulsory course. Other professional schools such as the Advanced School of Mass Communication, the Advanced School of Public Works, Former CUSS, Advance School of Post and Telecommunication had sport as a compulsory subject.<sup>80</sup>

We are faced with a complex situation of understanding why sport was not a compulsory subject in all universities? How could a leisure activity be considered and expected to be part of nation building when its practice was discriminatory? There was a clear lack of vision in this domain as the speech and field reality marched in opposite directions.

In the following section which focuses on the efforts to have well trained PES staff, the fact is that there could be no PES policy put into motion without well trained staff. The recruitment and training of PES teachers will be analyzed below.

## **2. Institutions for the Recruitment and Training of PES Teachers in Cameroon**

Amongst the foundation pillars of every educational system were those in charge of animating and incarnating its values: the teachers. As was quoted above teachers had a mission of inculcating positive values into their students. So they had to be well trained and inoculated with such values. To achieve such a mission, PES teachers were recruited and trained by the state which employed them.

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<sup>79</sup> Dikoume, 72 years, Yaounde 12<sup>th</sup> May 2019.

<sup>80</sup> Assiene, 49 years, Yaounde, 21st July 2019.

In this section, we shall look at the way PES teachers were recruited. That is, who could become a PES teacher? Most important were the institutions created and designed to organize the training of these teachers up to standard. This will enable us understand the output of the future teachers on the field.

### **2.1. Creation of Training Schools for PES Teachers in Cameroon**

Any system which wants to perpetrate values and norms invests in human resources. The school is the area where these values and norms are inculcated to future torch bearers of the society. In Cameroon like in other colonized parts of the world, schools were created by the colonial masters to inculcate values and norms to students via their teachers who had themselves been trained. They expose in the lines below will show the birth of the first school to train PES teacher in Cameroon during the colonial era (French Cameroon). Then, the changes that following during the post-independence period.

In Cameroon the first PES teachers' (monitors) training center was opened in Dschang in 1950. It was known as the Centre d'Éducation Physique (CEP). It was first in its kind in Black Africa<sup>81</sup> particularly in French colonies. Till independence in 1960, these centers were the main and only producers of indigenous PES teachers in the territory. It should be mentioned that, the rest of the teachers came in from metropolitan France with a higher grade (status). British Cameroons had no such school or institutions but depended on those trained in Nigeria. The first institute of this kind was opened in Nigeria in 1957 in the Nigerian College of Arts, Science, and Technology under the specialized College of Physical Education for the professional preparation of physical education teachers.<sup>82</sup> This was at the eve of independence making it complex for Southern Cameroonians to register. In 1961 there were very few Southern Cameroonians with a real training as PE teachers. That is why little attention was given to it.

After independence, the government of the Republic of Cameroon, which became the Federal Republic in 1961 had to define the philosophy and ideology that was to build the backbone of the training of PES teachers. The extract below enlightens us:

La politique de formation des cadres d'EPS vise à former des agents conscients de leurs responsabilités et capables d'innovation et de créativité et aptes... La formation est-elle conçue à partir des réalités africaines et centrée en priorité sur les problèmes et les actions de développement. Il en résulte que le centre d'EPS ne doit pas limiter son action à la simple transmission des techniques et du savoir-faire. Il doit être avant tout éducateur, qui suppose qu'il est à même d'évaluer de façon critique l'effet de son

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<sup>81</sup> Ndongo Minsoko, *Le livre d'or du sport camerounais...*, p. 179.

<sup>82</sup> Mgbor, "Issues and future direction...", p. 135.

enseignement en fonction des buts éducatifs poursuivis. Dans cette perspective, la formation des cadres d'EPS ne doit pas limiter maines indissociables: une formation théorique et une préparation pratique<sup>83</sup>

In terms of training as already mentioned, the first PES training center was created in Dschang in 1950. At independence other institutions were created so as to meet up with the growing demands for trained staff to handle this complex subject. In this light in 1960 the National Institute of Sport and Popular Education was created, today known as National Institute of Youth and Sports (NIYS better known as INJS in French), which trains the high grade staff (who were eligible to teach in higher institutions). In the subsequent parts of this work, focus will be paid to the different institutes created by the state for the training of PES staff.

### **2.1.1. The Creation of the NIYS for the Training of Senior PES staff.**

Almost immediately after independence of French Cameroon, President Ahamdou Ahidjo embarked on a future *Cameroonization* program of the administrative and educational staff of the country. In this light, a number of learning institutions were opening to produce quality and high number of new class of administrators to take over the colonialists. But according to Compaoré “on se retrouve dans une mission de formation des formateurs avec concomitamment la naissance des instituts régionaux, puis nationaux à l’exception de l’INJS de Yaoundé créé en 1961 dont les programmes, les contenus des formations dans ces établissements constituent d’exactes répliques de ceux de la France<sup>84</sup>.” In Gabon it was only in 1974 that a PES training school was opened in which training was limited to training of PES (first cycle) teachers<sup>85</sup>, which was different from the NIYS of Cameroon which trained both cycle PES teachers as from its creation in 1960<sup>86</sup>.

This institution that is today placed under the supervision of three (03) ministries, two technical (MINSEP and Ministry of Youths Affaires and Civil Education) and academic Ministry Higher Education, has in the course of its existence witnessed a number of changes in appellations. These changes can be viewed as caused by sociopolitical internal factors and by politico-diplomatic achievement. In the order of occurrence according to Ndongo Minsoko:

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<sup>83</sup> L’encyclopédie de la République Unie du Cameroun..., p. 67.

<sup>84</sup> Compaoré, “Le sport analyseur de la place de l’Afrique...”, p. 176.

<sup>85</sup> L. Obiang Engoheng, “La formation des enseignants d’EPS Gabonais : critiques et perspectives”, Monographie Institut National Supérieur de l’Éducation Populaire et du Sport (INSEPS), Université Chekh Anta Diop, Dakar, Sénégal, 2007, p. 25.

<sup>86</sup> N. Akiambom Ayeata, “The contribution of the National Institute of Youth and Sports (NIYS) in the development of Dance sports in educative institutions of Cameroon”, monography CAPEPS I, NIYS, Yaoundé, 2010, p. 9.

**1960**

- Création de l'Institut National des Sports et de l'Éducation Populaire (INSEP), **décret N° 60/272 du 31 décembre 1960**<sup>87</sup>

**1964**

- Transformation de l'Institut National des Sports et de l'Éducation Populaire en Institut National de la Jeunesse, des Sports et de l'Éducation Populaire (INJSEP), **décret N° 64/DF/489 du 17 décembre 1964**

**1972**

- Création de l'Institut National de la Jeunesse et des Sports (INJS) par **décret N° 72/470 du 15 septembre 1972**, portant réorganisation du Ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports et **décret N° 72/471 du 15 septembre 1972**, portant Statut de l'Institut National de la Jeunesse et des Sports

**1991**

- Décret n°91/255 portant organisation de l'INJS, qui est désormais doté d'une personnalité juridique et d'une autonomie financière

**1992- 1995 :**

- *Projet de création de l'Institut International de la Jeunesse et des Sports (I.I.J.S). Le décret N°94/078 du 28 avril 1994 rendra exécutoire l'entente UNESCO- Cameroun Pour l'implantation de l'I.I.J.S à Yaoundé*<sup>88</sup>.

**1995**

- Le décret N°94/078 du 28 avril 1994 est rapporté et on assiste au retour à l'INJS

**2011**

- 11 décembre 2011, par **décret N°2011/408**, portant organisation du Gouvernement, l'INJS est placé sous une double tutelle :
  - **Académique** : Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur
  - **Technique** : Ministère des Sports et de l'Éducation Physique

L'Arrêté N°0044/ Y- 14.4 du 18 février 1993 du MINUH, avait rendu d'utilité publique, un terrain de 78 ha à NKOL AZALA, dans une dépendance du domaine national. Mais le projet ne sera pas mené à son terme et en 1995, l'I.I.J.S redeviendra l'INJS

In the table 10 below are the names of some Cameroonians who had the honor to sit as Director of the NIYS between 1969 and 2011.

**Table 10: Names of Directors of the NIYS between 1969 and 2011**

<b>Names</b>	<b>Period in office</b>
Simo Tagne	1969-1971
Tchouatcha	1971-1972
Honga Siegfred	1972-1981
Maha Daher	1981-1982
Doun Owona Rene	1982-1987

<sup>87</sup> Private archives of Ndongso Minsoko , “ L'INJS a été créé lors d'un conseil ministériel, présidé par le Président de la République, **AHMADOU AHIDJO** et auquel ont pris part : **Charles ASSALE**, Premier Ministre, **EKWABI EWANE**, Ministre de l'Education Nationale, **ONANA AWANA Charles**, Ministre des Finances, **NJINE Michel**, Vice premier Ministre chargé de l'Intérieur, **TSALA MEKONGO Germain**, Ministre de l'Économie Nationale, **NDIBO MBARSOLA**, Secrétaire d'État à la Présidence de la République, Chargé de la Jeunesse, des Sports et de l'Éducation Populaire”

<sup>88</sup> Private archives of Ndongso Minsoko

Lele Pascal	1987-1995
Bidoung Mkpatt Pierre I	1995-2000
Oumarou Tado	2000-2007
Ngoa Nguelle Daniel	2007-2016

**Source:** By Koizah Karh based on field work data.

It should be specified that the first Director of the Institute was of French origin in 1961 by name Marchandise<sup>89</sup>. The last four (4) directors were all Doctoral Degrees holder and each introduced at least a reform to upgrade the institute. It was under Lele Pascal that PES teachers started defending an end of course thesis and that they temporarily became an International Institute. Bidoung Mkpatt introduced a second cycle of three (3) years with a one year preparatory level because students were accepted with all academic backgrounds<sup>90</sup>.

### **2.1.2. Unsuccessful Transition from the NIYS to the International Institute of Youths and Sports (IIYS)**

Cameroon's educational system had had credit and recognition from international organization in charge of educational issues. Through her diplomacy, she was a member of UNESCO and CONFEJES and other organizations. These institutions and organizations assisted Cameroon in the process of upgrading the quality of her education system with PES included.

In the mid-1980s it was believed that the NIYS had to make this modernization move that would internationalize it and become a second generation educational institution. By 1990 a Convention Agreement was signed with UNESCO to internationalize the institute. This had to be done with infrastructural improvement. In this light, land was allocated for the construction of a new campus at the Ahalla neighborhood in the periphery of Yaounde with a land title by the Ministry of Housing and Towns Planning<sup>91</sup>.

The upgrading of the NIYS to the IIYS coincided with the creation of the High Level Performance Sport Center (HLPSC) at the NIYS. It was announced by Joseph Fofe, the then Minister of Youths and Sports in these words to his collaborators:

*Vous avez dû lire dans la presse appris par la radio, la nouvelle, la bonne nouvelle selon laquelle une convention portant sur un financement de 150 millions de francs CFA (3 millions de francs français a été signé le 4 avril 1990 pour la création et le*

<sup>89</sup> Charitas., "Olympisme en Afrique...", p. 940.

<sup>90</sup> Wouassi, 57 years, Yaounde 21<sup>st</sup> October 2018

<sup>91</sup> Ndong Minsoko, 56 years, Yaounde, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2017.

*fonctionnement pendant une période de 3 ans d'un centre de sport de haut niveau à l'institut national de la jeunesse et des sports de Yaoundé*<sup>92</sup>.

This period was the golden age of an accomplished project for the transformation of the NIYS. It was to reshape and polish the perception, practice and organization of sports in Cameroon. This situation was not unique to Cameroon, Australia had witnessed a similar situation with the creation and financing by the state and partners of a sport performance center in the 1980s. This was to correct the poor performance and derail meet of Australian athletes at international competition<sup>93</sup>.

Unfortunately, the project of the upgrading of the NIYS to IIYS just ended almost at the level of the convention as management and egocentric conflict plugged down the wonderful initiative by Lele Pascal, the then Director of the NIYS. According to Oloko, a conflict of interest broke between state official who wanted to manage the project even when it was not of their competence just because of the huge funds allocated for the project<sup>94</sup>. This view is buttressed by Ndongo Minsoko who emphasised on the fund allocated for the constructions of the complex disappeared and nobody was punished for it.<sup>95</sup> Dikoume put forward the argument that the whole project was poorly managed and did not respect administrative procedures, and few top government officials backed it. The end result was just the burial of the project.<sup>96</sup> The fact was that at the entrance of the school campus in Ngoa-Ekelle the signpost had been changed, a school bus had been bought, paper letter heads had been modified during this short period.

Although the HLPSC was not destroyed it gradually lost its prestige as time passed by due to negligence and mismanagement. National team athletes were no longer logged there during camping in preparation for international competitions and not research was done to question results. The *fond d'aide à la coopération* gradually withdrew funding and today the center just exist by name<sup>97</sup>. The dormitory and laboratories were transformed to offices. These projects which had sparked up hope and dreams in the sporting sphere of Cameroon became had become a nightmare and disillusion.

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<sup>92</sup> Archives MINSEP Communication du Dr Joseph Fofé, ministre de la jeunesse et des sports, réunion à Yaoundé le 26 avril 1990, p. 2.

<sup>93</sup> Stewart, et al, *Australian sport better by Design?*, p. 52.

<sup>94</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24 June 2018.

<sup>95</sup> Ndongo Minsoko, 56 years, Yaounde, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2017.

<sup>96</sup> Dikoume, 72 years, Yaounde 12<sup>th</sup> May 2019.

<sup>97</sup> Ndongo Minsoko, 56 years, Yaounde, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2017

## 2.2. Missions Assigned to the NIYS

As concerns the training of senior teachers the successful students gradually increased the national coverage but by 1972, Cameroon was still at 34% of the *Cameroonization* of PES staff<sup>98</sup>. Many schools had no PES teachers as many of those who graduated took services in administrative offices of the ministry and others served as trainers for civil sport teams (football, Basketball, volleyball, athletics). In general, according to a study presented on Cameroon organized by the ministry of Basic education and the French corporation, Cameroon had only 41% of qualified trained teachers in her educational system and witnessed a drop during the period 1990-1997 with the economic crisis<sup>99</sup>.

According to Bouopda, the creation of higher institutes of learning in Cameroon came in at the eve of independence but took credit and momentum after independence with the mission to train a new brand of administrators with the ambition to *Cameroonize* the administration<sup>100</sup>. This was, as we notice, the building of a new educated elite class and the ambition of President Ahidjo to footprint his presence and make a difference from the colonial administrative legacy. The fact that there was still political tension in Cameroon with the UPC insurgence the implementation of policies were slowed down.

However, as it shall be seen below, the NIYS had not succeeded in skinning itself from its old scales to become a giant (bigger). During the mid-70s and 80s, recruitment conditions were modified for students but the programs and certificate value were almost maintained. It was a slow transition to the bachelor's, master and doctorate generally called LMD French appellation. But this was not recognized by state university institutions that rejected certificates and diplomas from the NIYS as there was no equivalent established by the system. This was just funny and portrayed a lack of policy and vision. The new institutional theory earlier evoked explains this.

## 2.3. Evolution in Admission Requirement into the NIYS

Each time a school is created, it is because there is a need to solve a social problem which is part of an overall policy orientation. The creation of the NIYS was to train PES teachers who had in turn to take service in schools and other administrations to handle issues related to PES.

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<sup>98</sup> “La professionnalisation des enseignants de l'éducation de base : le recrutement sans formation initiale, Cameroun, évolution du recrutement et de la formation des enseignants depuis 1960, ” séminaire international organisé par le ministère de l'éducation de base et la coopération française, Yaoundé 11-15 juin 2007, pp. 2-3.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>100</sup> A. Bouopda, “La genèse de l'enseignement supérieur au Cameroun 1945-1965”, Master en histoire, institut des Mondes Africains, Université Panthéon, Sorbonne, Paris, 2016, p. 48.

The fact that there was a ministry which dealt with sport issues, and schools had it as curricular subject, made the demand for trained personnel crucial and of prime importance. The importance of such a mission demanded that there be a profile for those to be admitted in these institutions. The section below will tackle the question about the conditions to fulfill and profile of those who could become students in these institutions.

### 2.3.1. Recruitment Conditions

Just as there was an evolution in the academic programs of PES in schools and in the institutions that trained the teachers, the benefits to the students also evolved. Access conditions into the institute evolved in the course of time to suit the changing national and international context. According to Morieux *“les systèmes les plus performants sont prévus qu’in fine, c’est le niveau de compétence des enseignants qui fait la qualité d’un système scolaire”*<sup>101</sup>. So, those to whom were to be given the education of the youths were the ones making the system credible. It is clear that the job of the teacher is important and for that reason it cannot be open to everybody following the above argument. Sama Douala points to the fact that certain PES teachers of the old generation and a few of this generation were passionate about this job. To him, the passion that teachers had was transmitted to their students who, as of his case, maintained him in the world of sport<sup>102</sup>. The best teacher according Sama Douala believes that a good teacher was to be passionate and this was to be one of the qualities to be found in other aspiring to write the entrance exam into the NIYS and National Youth and Sport Centers.<sup>103</sup>

At the same time, it should be noted that the option by the Cameroonians administrators to make the schools open to all academic backgrounds was not just based on the fight against unemployment. It was first conditioned by the abilities of the candidates who went through a competitive examination. This examination was divided in three stages.

- A physical ability test
- A written examination
- Oral presentation in front of a jury<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> M. Morieux, “Dispositifs technologiques en EPS et convergence numérique : quel corps dans une pédagogie augmentée depuis 1985 ? Intégration des TIC (technologies de l’information et de la communication) dans l’enseignement de l’EPS”, Thèse de Doctorat en sciences du sport, Université Paris Descartes, 2016, p. 217.

<sup>102</sup> Sama Douala, 52 years, Former President Cameroon Athletics Federation, former international athlete, business Yaounde 10-8- 2019.

<sup>103</sup> *Idem*

<sup>104</sup> Archives MINSEP [Décret N° 91/256](#) du 30 Mai 1991 Portant régime et organisation des études a l’Institut National de la Jeunesse et des Sports.

This was well done for the average student with physical qualities. Unfortunately for the English speaking students most often questions came in French and when translated was of very poor quality. This negatively affected on the number of Anglophones admitted into this institute.<sup>105</sup>

Also contrary to this approach, not all teachers went to the field; administrative staffs (personnel) were also to be trained so as to serve in the different administrations. The world of sport was made up of numerous research fields: a global approach was needed to handle the different specialization of sport.

With the economic crisis that affected and crippled the country in the late 1980s and early 1990s many people lost their jobs and the government was unable to bail out Para-public and private companies. Poverty and misery were the results as the government was under the SAP by international financial institutions. The consequences of this situation that had provoked a serious socio-political and economic unrest and instability were that the government was unable to fulfill her social engagements. Recruitment through competitive examinations into the public service was reopened after some years of suspension to absorb the employed degree holders<sup>106</sup>. Below is a picture of a graduation ceremony of the NIYS of 2008 at the Yaounde Congress Center and 2009 at the YMPSC.

**Plate 11: Partial view of Yaounde Congress Center during the Graduation Ceremony of the 2005-2008 Batch of the NIYS in August 2008**

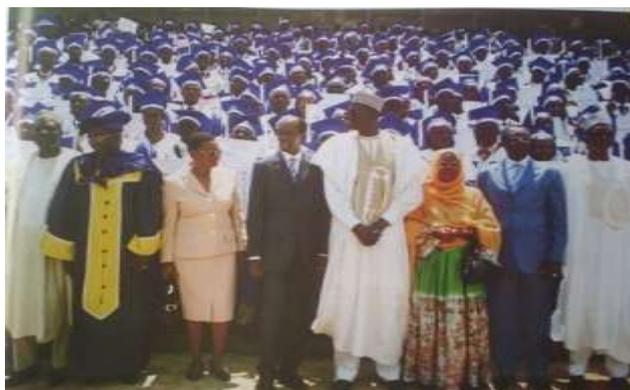


**Source:** Adapted from Minsep Info N°8 nouvelle Serie, Mars 2009, p.57.

<sup>105</sup> E. Motombi Mbome, 48 years, Civil Administrator graduate from ENAM, President of Cameroon Athletic Federation since 2012, former national vice President and president of South West Regional League, sport promoter, Yaounde 14-7-2019

<sup>106</sup> Pigeaut, *Au Cameroun de Paul Biya...*, p. 48.

**Plate 12: Partial view of the YMPSC during the Graduation Ceremony of the 2006-2009 Batch of the NIYS in August 2009**



Source: Adapted from *Minsep Info N°9 nouvelle Serie*, Mai 2010, p. 105.

The above pictures show students and top governmental officials during the graduation ceremony. This ceremony was usually preceded by the minister of sport and others such as Youth and Civic Education, Employment and Vocational Training, Women Empowerment and the Family, Basic Education and Secondary Education. Generally these were the ministries which used graduates of the institute. The 2009 ceremony saw the presence of five government ministers from the left to the right on the front line we had in robe Daniel Ngoa Nguelle Director of the NIYS, Marie Therese Obama of Women Empowerment and the Family, Michel Zoa of MINSEP, Adoum Garoua of Youth and Civic Education, Adidja Alim of Basic Education, Laurent Serge Etoundi Ngoa of Small and Medium Enterprises, Social Economy and Handicrafts and Zacharie Pervet of Employment and Vocational Training.

### **2.3.2. Change of Approach in the Admission Requirements**

The NIYS, just as other institutions reopened their doors to young graduates of other academic background. This was also a recommendation of the General Conference on Physical Education and Sports held in 1992, so as to diversify the profile of candidates and open new fields to meet up with the changing world of sport demands. Before Decrees No 91/255 and 91/256 of 30 May 1991, the first which uplifted the status of the NIYS to a school of Higher Education with a financial and judicial autonomy and the second reorganized the academic program and admission modalities of future students.<sup>107</sup> Student were admitted into the institute with a lower diploma,<sup>108</sup> that is with the GCE Ordinary Level and Probatoire (BEPC), the decree

<sup>107</sup> Archives MINSEP Compte rendu de réunion de la coordination du ministère de la jeunesse et des sports, du 7 juin 1991, p. 2.

<sup>108</sup> B. Ombga, 58 years, Yaounde 20<sup>th</sup> March 2019.

demanded that students enter the institute with Baccalauréat and GCE A Level through a competitive examination.

It was rather funny that teachers who graduated from this institute were classified in top categories in the Civil Service whereas they entered the institution with a lower diploma than those of other schools such as the Higher Teachers Training College usually called *École Normale supérieure*. The case of the higher teachers training college required an Advance Level holder to be admitted and who graduated thereafter as categories A and B of the Civil Service. This caused part of the lack of recognition and consideration of their status in the field. But how could the government permit students to graduate from an institution of lower learning to have the same advantage as those of higher backgrounds? Why this promotion of intellectual marginalization?

The above cited law reorganized things and a straight four (4) year cycle was imposed to candidate who gained admission with the Advance Level/Baccalauréat to graduate as Senior Physical Education and Sports Teacher (*Professeur d'Éducation Physique et Sportives (PEPS)*) and those who repeated graduated as Physical Education and Sports Teacher (*Professeur Adjoint d'Éducation Physique et Sportives (PAEPS)*)<sup>109</sup>. This change had been masterminded by the then Minister of Youth and Sport, Ibrahim Mbombo Njoya, and the Director of the NIYS Pascal Lele. It gradually changed the regard and consideration many had of the sport teacher who had nothing to propose in terms of academic production. As earlier said the school was trivially called the muscle faculty (*faculté du muscle*). Also the content of the training witnessed changes as more academic subjects were introduced. This provoked a debate amongst those of the profession<sup>110</sup>.

By the early 2000s, the Minister of Youth and Sports, Bidoung Mkpatt, introduced another change in the admission process into the institute. Based on the 2001 reform in the Higher Education Sector, he opened a second cycle just as in the other institution of higher learning. The PEPS student second cycle now were admitted with a Bachelors (first) degree or equivalent for a two (2) year training program.<sup>111</sup> The first cycle was dropped to three (3) years of training. This prepared the institute to later hook to the LMD system.

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<sup>109</sup> Ndong Minsoko, 56 years, Yaounde, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2017.

<sup>110</sup> Dikoume, 72 years, Yaounde 12<sup>th</sup> May 2019.

<sup>111</sup> Ndong Minsoko, 56 years, Yaounde, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2017

The context was favorable for such a reform as PES and sport had become more academic and had been transformed into an industry which needed savoir-faire and knowledge. Sport sciences had rapidly taken over and countries needed to carry out a lot of research to reap the benefits of this sector. Not everyone accepted this change; Manirakiza had this criticism to make about the evolution of the institute:

*Les dirigeants postcoloniaux ont perçu le sport plus sur l'angle de la propagande que de la gnose et du développement. La création de l'INJS, s'insère dans cette idéologie : donner à voir le pouvoir, animer les rencontres « unitaires » et les objectifs n'avaient que peu avoir avec les préoccupations savantes et pourrait-on dire, même sociale. Ceci s'ajoute au fait que la « faculté du muscle » comme l'appellent affectueusement et ironiquement certain, recrute tout le monde avec la possibilité de se retrouver avec des mathématiciens, des physiciens, des informaticien et/ou d'autres candidates aux corps certes adéquats mais aux formations académiques excentrées pose problème<sup>112</sup>.*

This remark wanted to strictly confine sport to a limited academic subject making it purely physical. Sport had, as earlier said, evolved in its content and perception as it was now an industry with tentacles in almost all domains. Sport found itself in almost all subjects and many aspects of humanity: history, geography, sociology, mathematic, environmental sciences, anatomy, psychology, physiology, physique. So, the institute had to adjust to the changing context and enable Cameroonians of these fields to put their gnosis to develop the profession.

To an extent he was right because the school was principally to train PES staff for the different administrative units: ministries in charge of education and sport. No autonomous research section existed in the school, so these variety of profiles had no significance on sport related research as no funding was available nor a department with such a mission in the school. He believes the opening of the second cycle was a way to fight against youth unemployment amongst degree holder<sup>113</sup>. Because many wrote the entrance examination as a last resort to enter public service and own a matricule and have a job<sup>114</sup>.

With the introduction of the LMD in the Cameroon higher educational system, as from 2005 the institution had to again start adjusting itself to meet up with the new demands. But this time it was not prepared because the basic laws that governed the school functioning had not been adapted to the change. There was a change in the profile of the directors of the school, as from 1988 the directors had a certain academic background; they were all Doctorate Degree holders projecting the academic vision of the modernization process.

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<sup>112</sup> Manirakiza, “ Sport et société en contexte africain...”p 42

<sup>113</sup> Manirakiza., “ sport et société en contexte africain...”, p. 42.

<sup>114</sup> Assiène, 49 years, Yaounde, 21st July 2019.

The introduction of the LMD system was also a turning point for the benefit of candidates admitted into this institution with the possibility of having a Master's and Doctorate cycle. This change also affected the profile of lecturers of the institute as it required them to a higher education diploma or equivalent<sup>115</sup>. This was contrary to what had been before as students returned to lecture in the institution a year after they graduated particularly as senior physical education and sport teacher in French PEPS (Professeur d'Éducation Physique et Sportives)<sup>116</sup>.

Recruitment into this institution was already indicated through a competitive examination. The exam had a physical part, then a written part and ended with an oral part. The percentage of each section varied with time. In the early days up to the mid-80s, the physical section had a higher percentage and written less but with time the situation was reversed and was a cause for concern. Should a PES teacher be more theoretical or physical? Some like A. Nguidjol insists that a PES teacher should be more physical as this subject was a more practical demonstrative subject and not abstract as philosophy<sup>117</sup>. The situation was still debatable as to if more value and credit be given to intellectual rather than physical aspects. The profile of the would-be PES teacher was a problem to the approval of the subject by students as they could not be good examples to their students.

Many critics were of the opinion that many who succeeded into the institute were well known sporters. This was justified by the fact that the percentage awarded for the physical sport favoured the candidates who were good in physical efforts over the other students. Again it was easier for them to acquire skills as they were physically able to do so and it was easier for them to transmit them to their future students.<sup>118</sup> In fact, it was bizarre for a PES teacher to have a lesson without the accompanying physical ability to demonstrate exercises to students as example. This category of teachers unfortunately graduated in great numbers from the NIYS. It was just like a chemistry or physics teacher that could not conduct experiments in a lab. They had just entered the school to secure a matricule in the public service. A question that comes to mind is how did they pass the physical section of the entrance exam?

There was need for a different approach in the recruitment and training in the school. An administrative section which will require more intellectual and theoretical knowledge and

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<sup>115</sup> Ndong Minsoko, 56 years, Yaounde, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2017.

<sup>116</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24 June 2018.

<sup>117</sup> Ngindjol, "Importance et la valeur physique dans la formation de l'enseignant d'EPS," in *MJS info* n° 5, juin-juillet 1985, p. 38.

<sup>118</sup> Ndong Minsoko, 56 years, Yaounde, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2017.

a physical section that will require physical abilities and capacity (savoir-faire) as it was done during a certain period in the institute according to Kouoh Kotte<sup>119</sup>. In this way each will be given just what is required to deliver the goods.

As had been earlier noted, the student trained in these institutions were to serve in different ministries: Basic, Secondary, Higher, Sports and Physical Education, Social Affairs etc... and other institutions. But their training as seen was essentially based on the teaching pedagogy of PES and sport training. They went on internship during their training only to primary and secondary schools where they were evaluated in teaching pedagogy and later in training methods in the second practical evaluation in sport specialization. In no situation or circumstance were these students sent on internship in ministries or in places to be drilled on administrative procedures and methods.<sup>120</sup> This had an adverse effect on those that upon graduation were sent to central administrative units. They were in many cases unfit and lacked the requirements for the job they were called to perform. The end result of which was mismanagement and low output which worked against the development of sport. It will be judicious for the government to reform the training matrix by creating two sections of the NIYS: one which recruits and trains only PES teachers for the educational ministries and other field organization (teachers and trainers) and the other which recruits and trains administrative staff for the ministry of sports and other stakeholders (administration, management, diplomacy etc). In the continuation of the difficulties in their quest for recognition, as concerns regulatory texts on their status, Article 42 of the text says “*des textes particuliers fixent le statut des enseignants de l’INJS ainsi que le régime des études.*” Unfortunately, these texts were never signed so, the students of NIYS lack a real backing<sup>121</sup>.

### **3. The National Centers for PES Teachers (NCYS / CENAJES)**

In terms of training of PES teachers, Cameroon was amongst the first in French sub-Saharan Africa to have a training college. In a bid to accelerate the assimilation process French colonial administrators opened a “Centre d’Éducation Physique et Sportive in Dschang<sup>122</sup> (CEPS)”. This center is the ancestor of all PES teachers’ training centers in Cameroon created in 1950. After independence in 1960, this institute meant for the training of sport monitors

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<sup>119</sup> C. Kouoh Kotte, 53 years, PES Teacher, Secretary General Cameroon Athletic Federation, Secretary General of Zone 4 of the African Athletic Confederation, trainer and former international athlete, Yaounde 12 July 2018.

<sup>120</sup> Kingue Dhang, 46 years, Yaounde 15 November 2017.

<sup>121</sup> Dikoume., *Le service public du sport...*, p.230

<sup>122</sup> Arrêté n° 1008 du 16 mars 1950 portant création et organisation du centre d’éducation physique et sportive au Cameroun.

(instructors) was to perform this mission with other institutes that were created in this light. In this section, we shall focus on the importance of these institutes (training centers) in the improvement of sport in the country and later the recruitment condition of candidates and the general statute of PES teachers in Cameroon.

### 3.1. The Evolution of the Statute of the NCYS (CENAJES) 1962-1982

As mentioned above the “training center for PES staff in Cameroon was opened in 1950 in Dschang and after independence the government decided to create other institutes to increase the offer. Although it had not always been handled in this way, other institutions of leaning had contributed to the training of PES staff as seen in the following extract from encyclopédie de le République Unie du Cameroun “*Jusqu’à une date récente la formation des inspecteurs de la jeunesse et des sports était assuré au même titre que celle des inspecteurs primaires, par l’école nationale supérieure de Yaoundé*”<sup>123</sup>.

The above quote makes reference to the fact that until 1982, Cameroon had three Youth and Sport Training Centers: NIYS, created in 1960, which trained categories A and B of the public service, the NCYS of Garoua created in 1962 which trained category B senior sport Masters and the NCYS of Dschang that was created as far back as 1950 for category C Sports Master<sup>124</sup>.

In 1982, there was a major improvement in the domain as other centers were created in Bertoua, Bamenda, and Kribi. The Dschang center was upgraded. All centers had the same statutes, functioning and missions. The visible aim was to train sufficient staff to accommodate the ever increasing demand.

The intention was to increase the active staff in the field so as to meet up with the demands. This can be justified by the following:

*D’ailleurs la carrière d’enseignants d’EPS est l’une de celle dont l’exercice se fait de manière incontrôlée et anarchique au Cameroun ; jugez-en vous-mêmes par le nombre « d’enseignants d’EPS pirate » qui pilule surtout dans les collèges privés, mais aussi du nombre d’entraîneurs charlatane qui prétendent encadre aujourd’hui nos différents clubs sportifs et ceci sous l’œil passif voire même complice du ministère de la jeunesse et des sports*<sup>125</sup>.

<sup>123</sup> Encyclopédie de la République Unie du Cameroun..., p. 68.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid..., p. 868.

<sup>125</sup> Ngindjol., “Importance de la valeur physique dans la formation... ”, p. 35.

The increase in the number of training centers also increased the number of qualified trained teachers in the field who avoided the occupation of the field by incompetent persons dangerous for the society. PES embodied health and hygiene values. So, they needed qualified and trained persons to introduce these values in the society.

Amongst the centers created that of Kribi did not host PES teachers; it received only Youth and Sport Animators and Counsellors. The others were well distributed around the country, a politico-managerial location. One in Bamenda for English speaking Cameroonians, it should be, mentioned that all English speaking Cameroonians had to move to Garoua, Yaounde or Dschang to receive training, having to face the language barrier. Bertoua for the Centre-South Province as it was called at the time. The one in Garoua mostly hosted candidates for the North Province.<sup>126</sup>

The will by the government to open other centers at regional levels did not materialize. In a speech by the MINSEP on the government intention to create Regional Sport and Physical Education Centers was in line with the 1996 constitution which introduced decentralization<sup>127</sup>. It is evident that the demand was by far higher than the offer. So, the state needs to double or triple the number in order to be able to meet up with demand. The CENAJES could be considered the equivalent more or less of the Teachers Training School generally called Grade I, in French *École Normal des Instituteurs de l'Enseignement General (ENIEG)* which trained teachers for the other educational subjects.

### **3.1.1. Admission Requirements into the NCYS**

As other state institutions which offered direct recruitment into the public service to candidates, recruitment was done through a competitive examination. Depending on the cycle the number of training years varied and the requirements also varied. At this level two major situations caused conflicts. The first was the organization of the administrative reform with limited implication of MINSEP and the concerned schools. The second was the requirements for students and content of training program which were to be updated for higher education standard.

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<sup>126</sup> Cameroon after the Reunification of 1972 was split into seven (7) provinces (administrative units). After the coming to power of President Biya who replaced President Ahidjo in November 1982, this existing setup was changed in 1984. The number of provinces was increased to ten (10). The Center-South province was split to have present day Center, South and East Regions while the North was split to have Adamawa, North and Far North. The appellation province was changed in the 1996 Constitution and enacted in 2008.

<sup>127</sup> S. Nche, MINSEP at Mbangassina, 24 hectares of land have been handed to MINSEP at Mbangassina in the Mbena and Kin division », in MINSEP info Nouvelle série n° 002, Mars 2011, p. 7.

It could be understood that the government centralized all rights over the functioning of the system. The Public Service organized this exam, just as for all other examinations, leading to the public service. It meant that posting was to be based on needs on the field. But many schools did not have PES teachers, so the subject was a luxury to many students. Some were also unfortunate to have charlatans in front of them and it was not only in private schools many government schools recruited such persons to fill the space. The teachers were state personnel so did just what their employer demanded.

Contrary to a certain opinion that all candidates had to fulfill the requirements to gain access to these institutions<sup>128</sup>, renowned *sporters* had more chances than the others. The reason was that in reality they already had the passion and physical aptitude for the job.

The entrance into these institutes was based on the level of education and category. These institutions trained categories C and D of the civil service before the 1982 reform that upgraded the Dschang institute and created those of Bamenda, Kribi and Bertoua to complete that of Garoua. This was the situation before 1982.

National Center for Physical Education and Sport simply required the first school leaving certificate for Sports master (instructors) for a three years training in Dschang.

National Center of Physical Education and Sport required academic level GCE Ordinary level (BEPC) senior sport master (instructor) two years Garoua.

The demand for trained staff in the domain of PES was very high and to avoid having charlatans, crash programs could be organized to enable those that could not pass the entrance exams but loved the profession to do the job. This was the case in Cote d'Ivoire where INJS of Abidjan organized crash programs to those lovers of the PES teaching profession to acquire the skills. Most of them worked in private institutions.<sup>129</sup>

Since the 1982 reform there has been no major change in the requirements for the profile of candidates into these institutes. This brings us to question the stagnation observed in the recruitment procedure particularly the academic level, educational background where all specializations are accepted. This leads us to that of the status of the PES teacher in Cameroon.

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<sup>128</sup> Archives MINSEP Arrêté n° 6/MEJEC/DJS/SEPS, fixant les conditions d'accès au diplôme de maître de l'éducation physique de la jeunesse et de l'éducation populaire, les modalités de sa délivrance et le programme des épreuves.

<sup>129</sup> Koffi Bini, "Marginalisation de l'Éducation Physique ...", p. 221.

There is a problem of discrimination in the recruitment into the NIYS, as physically challenged persons were not accepted. This discrimination violates the right of these persons and excludes them from the field of PES teaching, it is funny to think that physically fit persons who had less aptitudes and were less talented would be fit to teach the physically challenged students who needed specific orientation based on their handicap.<sup>130</sup> It becomes necessary to introduce a special recruitment for physically challenged persons who will best understand the needs of their peers who felt excluded during PES lessons. Also exercises proposed to the students with special needs have to be introduced in the NIYS and in the schools. This will help better integrate these students who often feel excluded particularly during PES lessons as their teachers will be a model to them.<sup>131</sup>

#### **4. Stagnating Legal Status of PES Teachers: The Marginalized Staff of the Educational Sector.**

In Cameroon, entering the public service or becoming a civil servant was considered a sure assurance and insurance for financial stable future. Many entered because it was a guarantee for a stable and permanent job with sure retirement benefits. Based on the sector in which you worked, the government provided for an administrative status. This was an important judicial backing document that protected civil servants and eventually their families. So, ever student graduating from any administrative school was integrated in the public service based on the administrative classification.

All civil servants were not treated the same. All professions were not considered the same and had different social prestige. In the 1990s the prestige of teachers dropped much due to the drop in their salaries. Other professions gained more prestige as they were financially empowered. PES teachers, just as other teachers, became less grandiose. In reality, bring a PES teacher was accepting to be treated differently and regarded as a second class teacher<sup>132</sup>. That is a teacher teaching a less important subject<sup>133</sup>. The low consideration given to this subject affected the regard given to those who taught it. They were outrightly treated differently by the administration and society<sup>134</sup>.

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<sup>130</sup> P. Kaufman and Eli A. Wolff, "Playing and Protesting: Sport as a Vehicle for Social Change," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 2010; 34; published online Feb 16, 2010, retrieved from <http://www.jss.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/34/2/154>, on 3 December 2018, p. 158.

<sup>131</sup> Koffi Bini, "Marginalisation de l'Éducation Physique...", p. 47.

<sup>132</sup> Houlihan and Green, "The changing status of school sports and physical education. Explaining policy change", Paper presented at ECPR Joint sessions of workshops, workshop 16, sport, politics and public policy, Nicosia, Cyprus, April 25-30, 2006, p. 6.

<sup>133</sup> Nguindjol, "Importance de la valeur...", p. 35.

<sup>134</sup> Koffi Bini, "Marginalisation de l'Éducation Physique...", p. 63.

In Cameroon, the status of PES teacher evolved with time. From the colonial days with French laws to the independence and post-independence period, this profession a few changes. These changes came inline with the changing nation and international socio-political, economic and cultural environment. Attention below shall be focused on: career profile, retirement age and salaries and bonuses of PES teacher.

✓ As mentioned earlier, PES teachers were state employees just as all other personnel of the educational system<sup>135</sup>. However, they were blinded by a particular status specific to their corps. The first particular ever signed text for PES teachers was by the French colonial administration for French Cameroon in 1955<sup>136</sup>. It defined were PES teachers were, classified them, and defined their career profile and advancement<sup>137</sup>. It was only in 1975 that the independent state produced a particular status for PES teachers<sup>138</sup>. Unfortunately, it was incomplete as it needed special text for it to go operational.

The situation in Cameroon was becoming difficult as the economic crisis had affected the socio-political, economic and professional lives of the population at the end of the 1980s and early 1990s. Some civil servant witnessed a double salary cuts to avoid a collapse of the public service and later came the devaluation of the FCFA by 50%. There was a solution adopted by the Cameroonian government to avoid increasing the level of employment and poverty that could be the aftermath<sup>139</sup>. The educational sector suffered greatly from this situation. Recruitment of teacher was suspended because of the limited budget available. The consequence of this was that many school had a limited staff and had to recruit untrained and unqualified staff to teach the students.

PES teachers after graduating from their training school were either posted to the ministry in charge of sport or ministries in charge of education. Those in the ministry in charge of sport had a better vision of their career profile. Whereas those in the ministries of education had difficulties moving in the system. Between 1970 and 2011, for example, no PES teacher had ever been appointed as school principal in Cameroon. Not more than five (5) were appointed discipline masters during this same period.<sup>140</sup> The Minister of Sports and Physical

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<sup>135</sup> Archives MINSEP Decree n° 94-199 of 7<sup>th</sup> Jan 1994 on the general status of the civil service of the Republic of Cameroon, modified in 2004, divides the categories of the civil service into four (4). They are graded digressively from A, B, C, D, with A being the highest in terms of hierarchy corresponding to the function. At the bottom we find category D which corresponds to the limit in terms of duties, salary and academic requirements.

<sup>136</sup> Archive MINSEP, Arrêté n° 301 du 7 juin 1955 fixant le statut particulier des fonctionnaires de l'éducation physique et sportive du Cameroun.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid

<sup>138</sup> Archive MINSEP Décret n° 75/789 du 18 Décembre 1975 portant statut particulier des corps des fonctionnaires de la jeunesse et des sports.

<sup>139</sup> Belinga, "Le système éducative au Cameroun...", p .1.

<sup>140</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24 June 2018/Ndongo Minsoko, 56 years, Yaounde, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2017.

Education Edjoa had this to say about the situation of PES teachers and their professional career:

*Cette question de la gestion du personnel d'EPS en service dans les ministères partenaires est d'actualité. Il faut que l'opinion publique les sache : le MINSEP n'affecte plus directement les cadres d'EPS dans les structures autres que celles placées sous sa tutelle. En effet, chaque année, nous mettons à la disposition des ministères utilisateurs (Enseignements Secondaires, Éducation de Base, Enseignement Supérieur entre autres) un certain nombre de cadres sortis des Centres Nationaux de la Jeunesse et des Sports et de l'Institut National de la Jeunesse et des Sports. Ceci sur recommandation de l'UNESCO et par rapport au mécanisme de prise en charge par le SIGIPES. Mais force est de constater qu'une fois dans leurs nouveaux ministères, ceux-ci ne bénéficient malheureusement pas des mêmes avantages que leurs homologues sortis de l'École Normale Supérieure ou d'autres structures de formation équivalentes. C'est donc à ce niveau là qu'il a véritablement un problème, car ils devraient être tous considérés comme des enseignants à part entière de notre système éducatif.<sup>141</sup>*

This situation put forward by the minister had for a long period caused a lot of frustration to PES teachers found between two ministries and did not benefit from the advantages due them particularly in the educational ministries. This marginalization of the PES teacher was not only common to Cameroon. PES was viewed by many students and other teachers as a leisure and the PES was not considered a teacher but as a playmate for students<sup>142</sup>. Socio-professional perception negatively affect the career of PES teachers. They did not benefit from any appointments to higher administrative positions outside the ministry in charge of sports for those still attached there.

The student teachers of the NIYS during their training did not receive the same respect as other institutes like the Higher Teachers' Training College and National School of Administration and Magistracy. Their school program was uncertain as could be modified at any time due to none academic activities. They became the 'fans club' of the government. Mixing themselves up with their students and were ill-treated by their colleagues. Their academic program was almost never completed as they were the last to start classes between December and January but had to graduate almost at the same period with the other institutes<sup>143</sup>.

✓ Retirement age was another complex situation for teachers to handle. It was rather surprising that all teachers in Cameroon did not have the same retirement age. PES teachers were not integrated and managed under the same general status for teachers in Cameroon<sup>144</sup>.

<sup>141</sup> Augustin Edjoa Interview in MINSEP Infos n°7, avril-mai-juin-juillet 2008, p.59.

<sup>142</sup> Koffi Bini, "Marginalisation de l'Éducation Physique...", p. 53.

<sup>143</sup> T. Atouba Essama, 37 years, Former Cameroon Footballer, AFCON champion in 2000, Licensed manager and football trainer and head coach of the Idriss Carlos Kameni Football Academy, Yaounde 17 July 2019.

<sup>144</sup> Wouassi, 57 years, Yaounde 21<sup>st</sup> October 2018.

Considering the fact that all members of the teaching corps performed the same duties, how comes that different ages were harmonized for each category? PES teachers went earlier on retirement than the other members of the teaching corps. The retirement age for them was fifty-five (55) years while other teachers went at sixty (60) years. This sounded paradoxical based on the fact that PES teachers were physically fit and apt and in good shape due to the demands of their profession<sup>145</sup>. Fifty-five (55) years was early for retirement and had deeper consequences on the educational system.

The early retirement of PES teachers had serious effects on the teaching of the subject and increased the ratio between teacher and students. A contrary approach will increase the available personnel in the field and reduce the number of students and schools without a PES qualified teacher. A certain theory and belief was that physical activities quickly exhausted the body than intellectual works. That is why it was decided that PES teachers should go on retirement before the other teachers. Unfortunately, these persons knew very little about physiology and science of exercises which would have told them the contrary.<sup>146</sup> Going on early retirement also negatively affected the career profile, retirement bonuses and advantages and made them socially vulnerable.

✓ Coming to this last point which was also important for the wellbeing of workers is the salary and honors. As had been seen above the Cameroonian ministry of public service classified civil servants into categories. In some cases, special status were added. PES teachers did not receive the same bonuses as the other teachers though they needed them. First, they were to have risk bonuses due to the long hours they spent under the sun in the fields which almost was never given to them.<sup>147</sup> Also, their motivation allowance was very insignificant less than four thousand Francs per term.

The PES corps had their text which defined, depending on their categories, salaries and honors, which were below that given to their fellow colleagues of other academic subjects.<sup>148</sup> Proposals for promotion on the honor roll was done by principal for teachers of their school, but most often PES teachers did not appear on the proposed list. Due to the fact that their achievement and mission was undermined by the educational milieu they were marginalized.<sup>149</sup> Many PES teachers who received Labor Day Medals received them due to

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<sup>145</sup> Assiene, 49 years, Yaounde, 21st July 2019.

<sup>146</sup> Assiene, 49 years, Yaounde, 21st July 2019.

<sup>147</sup> Kinang, 40 years, Yaounde 21 June 2018.

<sup>148</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24 June 2018.

<sup>149</sup> Assiene, 49 years, Yaounde, 21st July 2019

other achievements. Those that were trainers received them for the performance of their teams not for merit in their teaching profession.

In conclusion for this chapter, the actions analysed show unplanned and circumstantial sporadic actions taken in the domain of PES and teachers. The new institutional approach is confirmed as all actions in this domain depended on the state. The degree of centralization and administrative involvement did not give room for another actor, the consequence of which only the state was to be questioned and held responsible for.

The consideration given to PES in the academic curricular had a psychological impact on the students and regard they had on their teachers. There was an evolution although slow in the consideration given to PES and PES teachers. The importance of PES was addressed to the population helped by the media and TICs. The academic evolution of the NIYS also had an impact on the consideration given to the subject and those in charge of teaching it. The increase in the number of lesson hours per week and provision of didactic material and facilities would give more consideration for the PES. The NIYS should be upgraded to have a doctorate cycle and equivalence should be set between their end-of-course certification and that of other HE institutions. Decisions taken in this domain were more political than policy oriented making the outcome unmeasurable. The status of teachers should be harmonized and consideration given for the job done by them.

**CHAPTER FOUR: SPORT INFRASTRUCTURE: A PILLAR TO SPORT  
DEVELOPMENT**

Construction of infrastructures by governments is aimed at making life better for the population particularly in the social domain. These infrastructures become a long-term legacy and physical asset and becomes of great assistance to future generation this includes roads, hospitals, schools, sewer, water tanks, airports, seaports and railway stations. It also goes in line with town planning and impacts on the social, economical and political evolution of the city<sup>1</sup>. Sport infrastructures are part of the social infrastructural development provided to the population. They have the capacity to crystallize the population during a given period, during sport competitions. These facilities are not only meant for sport competitions. Sport facilities include sport halls, sport fields, swimming pools, parks, and tennis courts, circuit roads<sup>2</sup>. They impact on the level of participation depending on the quality and location. Sport Facilities are fixed non-moveable, static, permanent long life span materials used in sport. They include training centers, gymnasiums, stadiums, sports federations, and even universities. They can host several activities, tournaments, and training sessions.

Sport being a codified activity its practice requires specific facilities to respect norms and roles. To this effect, there can be no sport without sport facilities. Due to the plurality of sport events and for the security of competitors, officials and spectators, the facilities and infrastructure are of different types and dimensions. The attraction power was gotten to the organization of events. Cameroon was a giant in Africa when it came to sport victories which due to absence of quality sport infrastructures could not completely maintain the limelight on her. Support infrastructures enable the magnification of the government as emotion was increased during competitions and could distract the population from other social difficulties.

The flag and emblems of Cameroon have at the international scene being given a place of honor due to the outstanding performances of Cameroonian *sporters*. It becomes surprising that Cameroon which has a great sport balance sheet in the world suffer from the lack of infrastructure which is a paradox<sup>3</sup>. The availability of infrastructure impact on the quality of performances and number of participants in sport. In a normal logic sufficient and adequate infrastructure and equipment can only lead to performances. In this light we shall in the chapter analyze the sport facilities and infrastructure policy, from its objectives, to implementation and

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<sup>1</sup> L. Fransen, G. del Bufalo and E. Reviglio, "Boosting Investment in Social Infrastructure in Europe" in EUROPEAN ECONOMY Report of the High-Level Task Force on Investing in Social Infrastructure in Europe, European Economy, DISCUSSION PAPER 074 | JANUARY 2018, ISSN 2443-8022 (online), p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> K. Hallmann, et al, "Understanding the importance of sport infrastructure for participation in different sports findings from multi-level modeling", European Sport Management Quarterly, 2012, DOI:10.1080/16184742.2012.687756, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Ndongso Minsoko, *Le livre d'or du sport...*, p. 178.

the importance of these facilities to the proper practice of sports. Here let's keep in mind the fact based on our understanding of policy, it will be difficult to talk of sport facilities and infrastructure policy. The only program of this kind that saw the day was lunch in 2008. Most of the sport facilities constructed were circumstantial. But before we will analyze law n° 74/22 of 5/12/74 on sport and socio-educative equipment (facility).

In this light, in-depth analysis will be done to explain why such a failure in this sector and how it negatively impacted on the elaboration of the other aspects of what was to be the sport policy. It will be done in a diachronic perspective with analysis of the different marking periods. As pointed out in policy definition, it will be seen if the facility and infrastructural policy was spelled out in a given time frame. This will be the threshold of our analysis. We shall see the colonial legacy in terms of sport infrastructures and facilities till the creation of the MYS, then the days of hope between 1970 and 1985, the third period was that of the descent into the abyss between 1985 and 2008 and the last period the spring of sporting facilities till 2011.

## **I. CREATION OF BASIC SPORT INFRASTRUCTURE DURING THE COLONIAL ERA**

The introduction of modern sport and its eventual implantation could not have been done without the required standard facilities and infrastructure. The implantation and construction of these facilities followed strategies and objectives put in place to serve colonial mission in Cameroon and other colonial territories. The creation of these facilities enhanced infrastructural development, but also impacted on the individual and social perception of sport. More attention will be paid in this section to the British and French colonial heritage in Cameroon. The construction of the infrastructure obeyed to the role of "service public" which justified administration interventionism: location, financing administrative management and follow-up<sup>4</sup>.

### **1. Sport Facilities in English Cameroon**

English Cameroon here makes reference to British Southern Cameroons that later became West Cameroon. Before 1961, what was formerly called or known as British Southern Cameroons had also experienced the development of sport and had the basic requirements for its practice. In all the main towns space had been allocated for the construction of sport amenities particularly around schools. Sports amenities were to be provided by three main

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<sup>4</sup> Youcef Fates, "Sport et tiers-monde ", in Géopolitique... p. 68.

actors: The local councils, CDC and private partner (particularly religious organization)<sup>5</sup>. We shall see the two main types of sport amenities available in Southern Cameroons/Western Cameroon. The first consist of educational type facilities and the second were civil committee facilities.

Academic requirements in Southern Cameroons and later West Cameroon provided some time for PES for school pupils. Almost all school had a playground for break time and after school activities (PE lessons, competitions and school recreational activities). Southern Cameroon benefited from the same administrative decisions applied in Nigeria as it was administered as part of Nigeria by the British colonial administration. This was principally based on the use of sport as a leisure game and recreation for break time and after school activity<sup>6</sup>. Each group of pupils organized their games on the available space in the school yard.

### **1.1. Educational based Sport Facilities**

Colonial powers used education and the schools as a major weapon to spread their ideology and philosophy in Africa. Schools that were created followed the mental formatting and reprogramming system. The best targets were the youths who were to be the future leaders. Sports being part and parcel of the colonial propagation machinery arsenal, it was introduced in the educational system. As there was no sport without play space for schools (public or private or confessional (religious mission)) had allocated space for the practice of sports. It is clear that the mission schools which were greater in number in the primary sector had rudimentary facilities. As for the secondary, the mission schools that had boarding infrastructures provided more diverse infrastructure for sport (football, handball, netball, space for athletic (long and high jumping) and track for running). It is on these rudimentary amenities that pupils and students prepared for inter school games<sup>7</sup>.

### **1.2. Community Sport Facilities**

Away from school playgrounds for pupils and students, civil administrations also provided space for the practice of sport in the major towns with football fields been the most available, as it was the most popular sport. They were call municipal stadium as they were run by the municipal administrations. In 1965, the West Cameroon Federal administration was faced with the problem of providing and maintenance of sport facilities in the major towns:

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<sup>5</sup> NAB file n° P940 vol 2, Sports general correspondence, p. 407.

<sup>6</sup> S. Oveneri Aibueku, "A comparative analysis of Nigeria's sports development policies: 1989 and 2009", in *Ozean Journal of applied sciences* 4(2), 2011, p. 115.

<sup>7</sup> NAB file n° P 940, vol 2, sport general correspondance, p. 158.

Bamenda, Tiko, Kumbo, Kumba, Wum, Likumba. There were disputes over who had to do the job<sup>8</sup>.

### 1.3. Sport Facilities in West Cameroon

Southern Cameroons had a limited offer of sport facilities due to the limited implication of the colonial administration in the domain. At Reunification and the birth of the Federal State few changes occurred. One of the reasons being the very limited attention was given to sport by the authorities both in the educational and civilian domains<sup>9</sup>. To buttress this state of things, we shall cite the case of the project by the WC Government to acquire a former Cameroon Development Cooperation (CDC) field and transform it to a government field in 1963.

On the question of acquiring the CDC open play ground in Tiko, now out of use formerly called “C.D.C European field” below the CDC cold store for development as a government state stadium. At the present time the government has made available some funds with the special request to start the stadium construction with immediate effects<sup>10</sup>.

The project initiated to improve on the quantity of sport facilities were generally slow in their implementation. Unfortunately for sport lovers of WC in general and, Tiko particularly who had to go without playground for a long time. The Tiko project that was initiated in 1963 had not been completed by 1968 five (05) years after. A meeting was held in Buea on 12<sup>th</sup> November 1968 with debate point “Tiko football stadium”. Participants were each putting the blame on the other: Tiko area council, CDC Management and Regional football league<sup>11</sup>.

There was the question of renewing out dated sport facilities. Buea stadium was earmarked in 1967 for rehabilitation but there was a serious problem of who paid the bill for the works. The financing of the Tiko stadium witnessed the same situation difficulties. In 1967 a site was allocated in Mile 17 for the construction of a new field in Buea as some rejected the idea of a stadium in Buea<sup>12</sup>. After a high-level discussion during which the regional inspector of Youth and sport said it was the duties of the council or the prime minister office as in East Cameroon to provide for sport facilities. A new site was allocated in Sick Bay Layout Buea with Endorsement n° MLS 295/16 of 13<sup>th</sup> February 1970.<sup>13</sup> Southern Cameroons was not totally

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid... 407

<sup>9</sup> Mgbor, “Issues and future direction of physical education...” p. 135.

<sup>10</sup> NAB file n° P 974, vol 2, sport general correspondence, pp. 63-64.

<sup>11</sup> NAB file n° P 940, sport general correspondence, p. 407.

<sup>12</sup> NAB file sh (1964)4: sports stadium Buea, p. 1454.

<sup>13</sup> NAB file sh (1964)4, KG-7/10, 13th February 1970, permanent secretary Ministry land and Survey Buea, p. 1454.

blank as it had a number of standard infrastructures. Plate 13 below shows a community hall and playground at Bota (Limbe) in 1960<sup>14</sup>.

**Plate 13: Partial view of the Bota (Limbe) Community Hall and play ground in 1960**



**Source:** From Charitas, “Les conditions d’émergence du développement sportif olympique en Afrique”..., p. 60.

In May 1970 construction works launched for the construction of a stadium in Victoria. This was to commemorate the 100 years of Victoria and was to be financed by private funds from CDC, Powercam and Public Works Department (PWD)<sup>15</sup>. It was then named the Victoria Centenary Stadium when construction was completed. This stadium was made popular by local football team Victoria United aka *OPOPO* (one people one power) where she played her home matches in the national football league. We can already note that there was a lot of delay and inconsistency in the sport amenity program; with the constant delay in the execution and completion of works to enable their inauguration and use.

In other cases, missionary schools had infrastructures which their students and pupils used and at time the administration too. The Baptist College Buea was usually called up to offer her sports facilities for the Federal finals of the Office of School and University Sports of Cameroon (OSSUC) organized in Buea. All was done in Buea and Tiko which housed the football field. Much attention was given to football fields as they were easy and cheap to construct. In subsequent sections of this chapter we shall analyze the impact of this inadequate and limited infrastructure to the development of sport in this part of country.

There use for available land for public utility reasons have always been the cause of conflict in many communities. The battle for personal and collective interest enhanced lobbying of parties involved (sport lover, government administrators, traditional authorities, local

<sup>14</sup> Charitas, “Les conditions d’émergence du développement ...”, p. 60.

<sup>15</sup> NAB, file Sh P. 940/2 sh (1963)3, Launching of Victoria Centenary stadium, 1st May 1970, p. 1454.

populations and business men). The main issue is how important is the project to the community members? The case of Buea illustrates the difficult position government authorities find themselves in providing social services.

## 2. Sport Facilities in French Cameroon before 1960

A great revolution occupied in supply of sport equipment and facilities in Cameroon under the leadership of the High Commissioner of France to Cameroun in 1953. He draw a road map for a sport facility policy<sup>16</sup>. In a circular with subject sport equipment for territory of 13 may 1953 in Yaounde, he pointed the importance of sport facilities in the achievement of the colonial mission and the way these infrastructures could be gotten<sup>17</sup>. To comply to the orders of the High Commissioner, a meeting of the Physical and Sports Education Committee was held on 20 May 1953 presided by col. Satchel. During this a budget was elaborated to be presented at the ATCAM for 1954 national budget. The budget was divided into three (03): Sport facilities: either maintenance or construction of infrastructure; The budget of civil sport facilities (equipment's) school at 2 300 000 francs; The budget for school sport facilities (equipment) had at 390 000 francs<sup>18</sup>.

The French administration in Cameroon noted the territory was lacking behind in terms of sport development. According to the High Commissioner the development of sport was of utmost importance to the improvement of the "African race" and had this to say about sport facilities *"l'équipement sportif est en effet l'outil indispensable à l'éducation des scolaires, à la formation des athlètes et à la constitution des équipes"*<sup>19</sup>. This was the key of the French colonial sport policy in Cameroon during the colonial era.

The construction of sport facilities was important to the colonial administration. This could be seen in a circular signed in 20 September 1951 by the Secretary General of the Republic reminding head of regions to submit their projects as concerned sport infrastructural development.<sup>20</sup> In all, sport infrastructural construction was the pillar of sport development, the reason for it to be a state affair benefiting from public finances and funds. At independence the country inherited the sports facilities that were constructed during the colonial period. These facilities after independence formed the backbone of sport facilities for Cameroon.

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<sup>16</sup> NAY file 3AC 4123, objet équipement sportif du territoire. 1-4.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> NAY file 3AC 4123 Procès-verbal comité de l'éducation physique et des sports, 20 Mai 1953, p. 2.

<sup>19</sup> NAY file 3AC 4123, n° 299/ES, objet équipement sportif du territoire, 13 Mai 1953, p. 2.

<sup>20</sup> NAY file 3AC4123, Circulaire n° 156/IPC, Yaoundé 20 septembre 1951, p. 1.

## 2.1. Sport Facilities a backbone for education

The academic structures of French and later East Cameroon were built with sport and PE as an integral part. It was not surprising as most institutions did not change in the early post-independence days.<sup>21</sup> Sport was a subject on its own in the academic curricular in French Cameroon. This imposed the available of sport infrastructure for this purpose. Table 12 below shows budgeting for the construction and maintenance of sports facilities in some schools during the colonial period.

**Table 11: Budget for educational sport infrastructure in French Cameroon in 1954**

No	Town	Type of school	Type of sport infrastructure	Cost in FCFA
1	Garoua	École principale	Aménagement terrain	25.000
2	Mokolo	École principale	Aménagement terrain	25.000
3	Kaele	École principale	Complement d'un terrain scolaire	30.000
4	Bertoua	École principale	Construction d'un stade scolaire	70.000
5	Batouri	École principale	Construction d'un stade scolaire	50.000
6	Kribi	École principale	Complement d'un terrain scolaire	30.000
7	Mora	École principale	Construction d'un stade scolaire omnisport	60.000
8	Garoua	Collégé	Aménagement d'une salle pour l'Éducation Physique	100.000
Total				390.000

**Source:** From ANY 3AC 4123, Comité d'éducation physique et des sports, p. 2.

The French colonial administration did her best to be present everywhere. Much attention was given during this programming to the northern part of the territory with more than 60% (240.000 F CFA) of the budget. Attention here was on primary school sport infrastructural development as it was the gateway to prepare the next generation. It should be mentioned that this region was less advanced than the others.

During the colonial period the National school and university games (OSSUC) was organized yearly during the Easter holiday in one selected town of the territory.<sup>22</sup> This policy approach conceived and implemented enhanced sport infrastructure development. It was adopted and continued after independence.

<sup>21</sup> Kabou, *Et si l'Afrique refusait le développement ?* Paris, L'Harmattan, 1991, p. 30.

<sup>22</sup> Ndongo Minsoko., *Le livre d'or...*, p. 189.

Sport was a subject in the official examination of the educational system and recorded in the testimonial. So every school had to ensure the availability of open space in and around the school premises for PES. As from 1960 the national Institute of Youth and Popular Education was created to train PES teachers who eventually needed infrastructure for their lessons.

## 2.2. Sports Facilities in Cameroon: An important colonial legacy

At the time of independence, Cameroon could be proud of having a considerable number of sport facilities. This was the French and British colonial legacy in the domain of social infrastructure particularly sport facilities development. Sport attracted the attention of the French colonial authorities who invested in constructing sport amenities in the territory under their command. In this light, there was in French Cameroon an important quality and quantity of facilities by the time it got its independence. These sports facilities were present in almost all major towns of the country. This was to enable them have a better control of the population and the territory. The following facilities for civilian sport were present in Eastern Cameroon in 1970 as seen on table 11.

**Table 12: Budget for civil sport infrastructure in French Cameroon in 1954.**

Town	Type of Sport infrastructure		
	Terrain municipal omnisport	Terrain municipal	Cost (FCFA)
Esse	1		150.000
Garoua	1		400.000
Maroua		1	100.000
Kaele		1	50.000
Nkongsamba	1		600.000
Yaounde	1	1 stade militaire	600.000+100.000
Douala		1 Akwa stade remise en état	250.000
Mbanga	Installation tribune		50.000
Total			2.300.000

**Source:** From ANY 3AC 4123, Comite d'éducation physique et des sports, p. 2.

The above table shows the quality and quantity of sport amenities for civil sport in Cameroon. The appellation Omnisport Municipal was for stadium with high-capacity grand stand. They were multipurpose sport complex housing (handball, basketball and volleyball

field, and athletic track and a football pitch)<sup>23</sup>. On the other hand, *terrains municipal* were open field used mainly for football with no grand stand, no basketball court, and no track for athletic. In many cases these fields had neither gate nor fence for security. Many of such fields were created around the divisional and district center<sup>24</sup>. They all acted as pull factors for youths to better assimilate the western culture. It should be recalled that sport was part of the cultural heritage of a socio-cultural group. These fields were most often constructed with free local labor as it was what they call ‘*service publique*’ and the land used was also taken from the community as their contribution for development. The plate 14 below shows the Hippodrome stadium of Yaounde.

**Plate 14: Partial view of the Hippodrome stadium in Yaounde in 1951**



**Source:** From Charitas, “Les conditions d’émergence du développement...”p. 69

The above picture shows the first modern sport facility build by the French colonial administration in Cameroon. It was a multipurpose stadium. It was destroyed in 1969 when the project for the construction of the Ahmadou Ahidjo was planned. The stadium disappeared but the name Hippodrome is still used today.

In the rural and communal level these amenities had other functions than just the purpose of developing sport. These ‘arenas’ were areas of socialization and cultural exchange. Although in the early days of post-independence many towns were inhabited by natives, things changed as natives from other regions gradually came in for various reason: employment, business, education and marriage. And just like schools and civil service administration the sport fields through the play brought together both youths and adults who spoke the sport language which was universal.<sup>25</sup> So these areas promoted inter-cultural and ethnic exchange, which were in line

<sup>23</sup> NAY file 3AC, n° 4123, procès-verbal, comité de l’éducation physique et des sports, p. 2.

<sup>24</sup> NAY file 3AC, n° 4123, équipement sportif du territoire, p. 3.

<sup>25</sup> Dikoume, 72 years, Yaounde 12<sup>th</sup> May 2019

with the ambition of the newly born State. In the field players played for the victory of their teams not forgetting their tribes even when it was against their own parent.

Gender discrimination was also felt given that parents refused their daughters from playing sport. This was based on tradition and cultures and certain scientist who had warned against female sports. These taboos projected to discourage female involvement in sport can be read in these words of B. Ella Menye who quotes Boigey:

*Comment peut-on concevoir une femme exhibant sa nudité?... êtres en short est scandaleux et être en juste-au corps odieux...quant à la pratique purement sportive “la femme n’est point construite pour lutter mais procréer...en aucun cas, nous n’osons soutenir l’utilisation des compétitions sportives pour les femmes... dangereux pour l’organe utérus”<sup>26</sup>*

This consideration about women was a setback to the socialization of girls and their entry into sports. This conception had not yet completely disappeared in many societies. The sport fields being part of a new cultural value, girls/women had difficulties involving in sport because they had no access to playgrounds and other sports equipments<sup>27</sup>. So for a certain period sport fields were exclusive areas not inclusive for socialization. We can also decry the macho behavior of men during competitions who rejected female presence around the fields. The question which came to the mind was, were the stadia constructed for men only? Keeping away girls from the play grounds particularly football fields slowed the play of this sport by girls.

### **3. Sport Facilities in French Cameroon between 1960 and 1970**

Sport was also an instrument in the assimilation policy adopted by the French in Cameroon. Based on this, they made more efforts than the British in implanting sport in their territory. To this effect we see that the Federal state of Eastern Cameroon was better allotted in themes of spots amenities, almost all of which were constructed before independence on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1960. In this section of the work, we shall focus on the amenities available and the condition under which they were used. It should be mentioned that there was no designed sport amenity policy during this ten years period; it was just walking without destination.

Although there was no real master plan for the construction of sport amenities, a number of amenities were constructed in the Federal state. The most important and most visible of the construction projects was that for the construction of high standard stadiums in Yaounde and Douala. The contract for the construction was signed between the Government of

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<sup>26</sup> Ella Menye, “la femme face aux activités physiques et sportives” in MJS Info, No 5 juin-juillet 1985, p.11.

<sup>27</sup> J.S. Mbarga Bike, 41 years, Yaounde 21<sup>st</sup> May 2019.

Cameroon represented by president of the Comité National des Sports (CNS) and Groupe “DECA” for the construction of two (02) stadia on 25 February 1968<sup>28</sup>. The contract was the manifestation of the fact that the state was the master planer of ever activity that had to do with her prestige and sovereignty. It also permitted the government to have a mastery and good control of her development and modernization of her infrastructure.<sup>29</sup> Contrary to West Cameroon were the department of Youth and Sports refused implicating itself in the construction of any infrastructure as with the case with the Buea and Tiko stadium claiming that her mission was limited to organized and overseeing competitions. In East Cameroon the state was directly concerned through the services of the General Secretariat of Youths and Sport magnifying state interventionism and maintained her grip over events which were to serve for political ambition<sup>30</sup>. To add there was a football league that was organizing competitions, so eventually fields were constructed for the competition. This was the same situation in Western Cameroon.

## **II. THE ERA OF “PLAN” CONSTRUCTION OF SPORT FACILITIES IN CAMEROON.**

The creation of the MYS opened a new era in the management and consideration that the state authorities and population were to have for sports. The successes of Cameroonian athletes at international competitions in which they participated aroused a lot of passion and rekindled sport. It became a symbol of patriotism and prestige. This passion which was used by the authorities to consolidate their power and grip on the governing system. In this light Cameroon had to host the 1972 edition of AFCON. She became obliged to have quality and quantity sport infrastructure: the donkey needed a kick to start moving. This was the boost Cameroon needed in the domain.

It should be made clear here that most of the sport disciplines that were practiced in Cameroon were authorized by 1962<sup>31</sup> Sport Charter. The number of authorized sport disciplines gradually increased as the country opened up as a consequence of globalization. Through the media, and human mobility, new sport events were introduced in Cameroon either by

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<sup>28</sup> Archive MINSEP, Direction des sports, contrat DECA-CNS construction des stades de Yaoundé et Douala p.1.

<sup>29</sup> A. Mbembe, “Pouvoir et économie politique en Afrique contemporaine : une réflexion”, in *Afrique 2000*, revue Africaine de politique internationale n° 8, Jan-Fév-mars 1992, p. 58.

<sup>30</sup> D.C. Kemo-Keimbou, “L’Etat et le sport au Cameroun, rhétorique et réalité des politiques sportives en Afrique noire de 1960 à 1996”, in Patrick Bouchet and Mohammed Kaach, *Afrique francophone et développement du sport : du mythe à la réalité ?* Paris, L’Harmattan, 2004, p. 15.

<sup>31</sup> Archive MINSEP, Arrêté order n° 139 désignant les sports dont la pratique est autorisée sur l’ensemble du territoire de la République Fédérale du Cameroun, 30 Août 1962.

Cameroonians and/or foreigners. The fact was, all these disciplines needed infrastructures to enable their practice and play.

Sporting events which needed low financial investment and limited technology became very popular. Some of the sport events could be considered popular sport because of the relative ease with which they could be played, demanding no sophisticated amenities and/or constructed infrastructure. Meanwhile those sports which required specialized and specific infrastructure were less popular. We note the absences of indoor sport which required the construction of gymnasia or mechanic sport which would have required specific track to be constructed but also needed technological update which were financially heavy. They were also easily accessible to the masses. As we shall see later in chapter six, the budget of the MYS was very limited and could not enable the construction of costly sport amenities.

Notwithstanding this financial limitation, the Federal government during the period embarked on some infrastructural constructions and improvement of existing infrastructure. This led to the birth of “modern sport amenities” in certain areas, projects were made to have more others in a “planned development approach” but all was not as beautiful as during spring. In this section, we shall start by presenting the successful infrastructural projects, then we shall analyze what caused some not to see the light of day, difficulties faced in maintenance and the ugly habit of destroying while still dreaming to replace later. Hope was found in the 1974 law n° 74/21 of 5 December 1974 on sport and socio-educational equipment amenities<sup>32</sup>. The focus question here will be on the aim and implantation of the sport amenity policy.

### **1. Planned Construction of Sport Facilities**

The decision by a governemrnt to invest on sport facilities are plurlial and multiform. It obeys to a political, social, economic and development agenda setup. It has always been as source of intense debats as to its importance for the government, the local community and the individuals. The construction of these facilities is to respond to a particular need identified by the government<sup>33</sup>. The private sector has not been invited by some government to take part in the development of sport facilities. Cameroon was designed in 1970 to host AFCON 1972, it became the main objective in the minds of administrative authorities. Although many reasons could justify the creation of the MYS. The hosting, of the 8<sup>th</sup> edition of AFCON was just a recognition to the important function sport performed in the Cameroonian society and needed

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<sup>32</sup> Archives MINSEP, Direction of sport: Law on sport and socio-educational amenities.

<sup>33</sup> S. Oveneri Aibueku, “A comparative analysis of Nigeria’s...”, p. 115.

attention. Whatever had been the reason, the MYS was created and amongst its numerous mission she was to design an “infrastructural” policy. Here we shall study the project for amenities for AFCON and later the road map established for the construction of sport amenities. This policy of state construction or implication in the construction of sport amenities was not common only to Cameroon; USA had faced almost the same situation:

There has been an enormous boom in publicly financed sports stadium construction in the United States over the past decade. On average, public financing accounted for 65% of the cost of these projects, and the average amount of public spending was \$208 million. The median, and average age of the facilities replaced was 31 years, which represents a stadium built sometime in the late 1960s construction in the United States over the past decade. In total, the sports facility construction projects on this table accounted for \$5.4 billion dollars of public spending<sup>34</sup>.

This heavy financing of sport amenities by states denotes the importance of such areas in the implementation of their socialization policies. Competitions that took place on these stadia or play grounds ease social and cultural cohabitation in modern societies. These play grounds have enabled the breakdown of many social barriers as concerns female involvement in sports. In the case of Cameroon, the ministry in charge of sport worked hand in hand with the NSC as concerns sports amenities this before its dissolution.<sup>35</sup> State constructed sports amenities based on her vision and projects. The 1972 edition of AFCON organized in Cameroon was played in two cities: Yaoundé the administrative capital and Douala the economic capital. These towns had to benefit from the construction of modern up to date infrastructure to host the events. President Ahidjo had viewed this event as a means to impose his mark on the nation and international scenes. He had this to say in a speech to the sportsmen during a reception in their honor at the presidential palace “Sport as far as Cameroon is concerned are a vital means of strengthening national unity and developing the educational and civic values of the citizens at home. While abroad they constitute a valuable way of bringing together all men of good will who have faith in the dignity and equality of all human beings”<sup>36</sup>. The construction of stadiums in Yaoundé and Douala for AFCON was the beginning of a vast sport infrastructure construction project. President Ahidjo in the following describes importance of sports and layout the whole project:

The value that the government attaches to physical and sports activities, finds concrete expression in important decisions taken in this area and in the vast program of sport development included in the plan which provides for the construction of stadiums and gymnasiums in provincial capitals first of all and then divisional chief towns and also the building in Yaoundé and Douala

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<sup>34</sup> D. Coates and B. Humphrey, “Professional Sports Facilities, Franchise and Urban Economic Development” (University of Maryland, Baltimore County) UMBC Economics Department Working Paper, 03-103, 2009, p.6.

<sup>35</sup> Wouassi, 57 years, Yaounde 21<sup>st</sup> October 2018.

<sup>36</sup> Amadou Ahidjo speech in honor of Cameroonian sportsmen on 21 August 1976, p. 386.

respectively of sport city and an Olympic swimming pool. This program, whose implementation started off by the construction of the huge stadiums in Yaoundé and Douala, will be continued by the building of stadia in the other places such as Bafoussam and Garoua<sup>37</sup>.

This program was mentioned by the head of state and required huge finances on the side of the state as there was no possibility for private actors to be involved. The second five (5) years development plan 1966-1971 focused on infrastructural development with 25.28% of the national budgets<sup>38</sup>. Infrastructural development was prioritized in this project as the president noted that the country is in great need of sports facilities. This could justify the acceptance for the organization of AFCON which was a high-level political decision.

### **1.1. The 1974 Law on the Constructions of Sport Facilities**

After the 1972 AFCON, there was an observed necessity for the putting in place of new laws to guide the construction of sporting facilities in Cameroon. This observation necessitated the introduction of the 1974 law which was revolutionary as it was the first of its kind. Explicitly it advocated for a planing in the construction of facilities dedicated for sport and introduced the action of private actors to support the state in providing facilities. With the demographic explosion coupled with the rapid urbanization, this law was a ray of light in the cave for sport lovers. The attraction for sport by Cameroonian demanded that proximity infrastructure be provided to avoid congestion in the available fields just as Donnelly “urban spaces for public participation began to be made available by local government. These parks and playgrounds were regulated spaces and increase opportunities for public participation”<sup>39</sup>.

This law was intended to provide sport infrastructure and facilities in all regional headquarters. The state planned the hosting of the OSSUC to be rotative, in this manner each hosting towns saw its sport facilities improved upon. This vast initiative was welcome as it had been noted on several occasions at different levels of administration and by a variety of actors that “the weakness of Cameroon sports had been that of poor infrastructure which was a very crucial element in any attempt to produce positive and quality results”<sup>40</sup>.

There was a lot of hope when this project was announced as it was to quantitatively and qualitatively increase sport infrastructure in the country. All these projects were budgeted under

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid, pp. 386-387.

<sup>38</sup> Touna Mama, *L'économie camerounaise : pour un nouveau départ*, Yaoundé Afrédit, 2008, p. 197.

<sup>39</sup> P. Donnelly, “Sport participation”, in L. Thibault and J. Harvey, *Sport Policy in Canada*, Ottawa University of Ottawa press, 2013, p. 178

<sup>40</sup> Ndongo Minsoko, *Le livre d'or du sport...*, p. 203.

the Third Five (05) years development plan<sup>41</sup>. The government initiated a project for the construction of additional modern sport amenities in the towns of Bamenda, Bertoua and Buea. The feasibility studies for these facilities were carried out in 1977, and a convention signed between the MYS and the Ingénieur Architecture Realization company of France which cost 312 million francs for both projects and three billion nine hundred thousand (3 900 000 000 fcfa) for the total construction of each stadium. The following characteristics applied for all three stadiums:

- ✓ 20.000 seating places
- ✓ 1 swimming pool
- ✓ 1 tennis court
- ✓ 2 multisport courts for handball, volleyball and basketball
- ✓ 400 m long track for athletic, jumping pit and sector for throwing
- ✓ Empty space for children and multipurpose sport center<sup>42</sup>

This new project coupled with the two previous construction projects envisaged in Cameroon promised a bright future for sport. These construction projections came after the decision by the government to avoid a future humiliation and frustration as the one witness after AFCON 1972 in Cameroon. In a bid to fulfill these obligations, the state (government) classified sport amenities under two categories:

- Reference infrastructure or elite infrastructure for high level competition (international and national).
- Proximity infrastructure for local use by population on daily bases<sup>43</sup>.

One of the missions assigned to CNS which had not greatly changed even after independence was to take care of existing sports facilities and amenities. It also acted on behalf of the state for the construction of new ones. This mission was later assigned to ONS (ONES) before finally landing under the missions of MINSEP.

The aftermath of the AFCON humiliation had pushed national administrative authorities to avoid critics and regain prestige by announcing the construction of sport amenities. Inspection teams from the Ministry of Youth and Sports and that of Equipment,

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<sup>41</sup> Archive, MINSEP, note à l'attention de Monsieur le Ministre de la Jeunesse et des sports, pp. 1-2.

<sup>42</sup> Archives MINSEP, Direction des sports: Projet de construction des stades, 1977, p. 1.

<sup>43</sup> Archives MINSEP, Direction des sports: classification des infrastructures sportives et socio-éducatives, p. 2.

Habitat and Domains initiated tours around the nation for the assessment of projects for the future construction of sport amenities around the nation<sup>44</sup>. For proximity facilities and amenities and the presence in the national development plans of the period between 1971 and 1986. The budgetary allocation for sport amenities had created a lot of hope in sporting milieus. However, many of these projects were not finally realized.

## 1.2. Government Unfulfilled Engagement

The ability of a government to navigate between priorities and available needs determines the success of her policies. This period aroused a lot of hope due to the engagement and assurances made by the government to provide the population with quality and quantity sports infrastructure. Unfortunately, only the Yaounde, Douala, and Garoua omnisport stadiums were above 80 % completed by the time Cameroon entered an economic recession period. President Ahidjo had opted for economic planning which to him was in line with the general institutional realities. According to him, there was no way there could be development without planning and it was necessary in all fields of activities<sup>45</sup>. After the departure of President Ahidjo and the coming to power of President Paul Biya in 1982, the planning policy did not immediately stop. All ongoing projects received budgets for the completion.

In the 3, 4 and 5 five-year development plans, the priority sectors for state investments were industry, energy, agriculture and some of the finances needed for these projects were external<sup>46</sup>. The Third Plan or Unitary Plan had problems with its implementation because of economic constraints nationally and internationally. Touma Mama expresses it in the following words:

*Malheureusement, la conjoncture économique internationale fut défavorable lors de l'exécution de ce plan. La hausse généralisée des prix des biens d'équipement avait conduit à la révision, puis à l'abandon de nombre de projets retenus dans ce plan. Le taux d'inflation prévu de 3.5 % par an avait été dépassé puisqu'il était élevé après coups à 4 % de la première année d'exécution du plan... et 12 % la dernière année, soit un taux moyen d'inflation de 10.5 %<sup>47</sup>.*

The Ahmadou Ahidjo stadium in Yaounde was hastily constructed in 1972 to host AFCON 1972. But because of time constraints it has never been completed as was mentioned on the project layout for its maintenance in 2006. The stadium had received a negative mark from international inspectors, so these maintenance works were to avoid it from been suspended

<sup>44</sup> Archives MINSEP, Direction des sports: rapport de mission, 9 Août 1976.

<sup>45</sup> Fuh Kum, "Wum Area Development authority" ..., p. 74.

<sup>46</sup> Touma Mama, *L'économie Camerounaise...*, pp. 197-204.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid...p. 231.

for international football matches by the AFC and FIFA. The stadium's mark sheet was as follows based on the report of the Japanese Agency for International Cooperation:

*Ce stade a été construit en 1972 pour tenir au Cameroun la Coupe des Nations Africaines. Cependant, la construction de toutes les installations n'a pas été achevée à temps à cause du manque de fonds de construction et on a commencé l'utilisation du stade sans l'achèvement complet des travaux de la voirie. Ce défaut partiel reste inachevé depuis lors jusqu'à nos jours... sans réalisation partielle des travaux des rénovations réelles du stade et ceci bien que des travaux de réhabilitation partielle aient été exécutés une fois en 2005 suivant les recommandations de la Fédération internationale du football association (FIFA)<sup>48</sup>.*

The Ahmadou Ahidjo had never been completed. For the stadium to be used it needed serious works to cover up all the worn areas. The funds allocated for the construction of the stadium had never been rightly used and at the end of the competition nobody was really focused to see that funds be reallocated to complete the works.

The Cameroonian economy was impacted by the instabilities in the international financial markets that caused a price increase. This high inflation could be at the origin of the delay of the construction of the Bafoussam and Garoua stadiums. Construction was postponed to the next plan. In the same line at the end of 5e plan, the project for the construction of reference outstanding sport amenities had been a fiasco, the stadium of Bamenda, Buea, Bertoua had consumed three hundred and twelve million (312 000 000 FCFA)<sup>49</sup> without any visible result.

Contrary to the announcement made by President Ahidjo, the modernization of the sport facilities and the construction of new facilities was not fulfilled and the coming into office of President Biya did not alter the situation. Only three provinces, Center, Littoral and North (till 1984 it was under the board grand North which comprised today's Adamawa, North and Far North regions) had high standard sports amenities. The other regions had not benefited from reference sport amenities so could not host mega sport competition and also retarded the promotion and expansion of sport in these regions.

In a classic perspective of choice to be made between programs, the government authorities focused on the outcome, not necessarily the impact. Priority was given to sectors such as health, agriculture, road construction rather than sports amenities. This can explain the delay in execution of projects tilted towards sports amenities. Priority was given to projects based on political vision and interest of the leader to satisfy a particular engagement and avoid

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<sup>48</sup> Rapport de l'étude du concept de base pour le projet de réhabilitation du stade national omnisport Ahmadou Ahidjo de Yaoundé en République du Cameroun, Agence Japonaise de coopération internationale, Mai 2006, p. ii.

<sup>49</sup> Archive MINSEP, Direction des sports Projet de construction des stades, 1977, p. 1.

certain constraints that could hamper governance. Accord to Maddison and Denniss, the outcome of policy implementation should have sufficient impact for the leader to grasp the benefits<sup>50</sup>. Policy was all about implementation and examining impact, not visions. During this period the University of Yaounde constructed in its campus a multi-sport open air complex for hand sports. This was done before the 1988 Yaounde University Games<sup>51</sup>.

### **1.3. Construction of proximity Sport Facilities in Cameroon**

The government had plan to provide sufficient qualitative sport facilities around the nation. Unfortunately, due to financial constraints and limited funds could not construct the reference sport amenities it had programmed. Lovers of sport hoped for an eminent improvement. With the 1974 Law on sporting and socio-educational amenities, there was a certain degree of expectation and hope. Due to absences of signed text of application of the law was not implemented and many ignored it. This technique was used by the government to maintain a statu quo in certain situations particularly when she hqd to react without a create vision. This law invited private investment in the construction of sport facilities and amenities. As can be seen in paragraph 1.3 and 5 of the law, it called on stakeholder to get involved in the construction of facilities.

The MYS initiated a proposed decree for the application text for the 1974 Law, unfortunately it has never been signed<sup>52</sup>. It gave specificities as concerns facilities and equipment (amenities) for schools depending on the school population, level and also made a difference by rural and urban amenities.

During this period, some Para-state institution decided to respect and implement the law at their level: *Société immobilière du Cameroun* (SIC) and the *Mission d'Aménagement et d'Équipement du Territoire Urbain* (MAETUR), which dealt with urban construction provided amenities as stipulated by the law in Yaounde, Douala and Garoua residential areas. Residential quarters such as Biyem Assi, Cité Verte, Essos, Mendong, Messa, in Yaounde benefited from the law implementation. They made available facilities for the population in general and particularly the inhabitants of these areas. In all town where this company was present it respected the law. In the same line, the construction of school also respected the law as all academic institution provided sufficient space for extra-academic activities.

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<sup>50</sup> Maddison and Denniss., *An introduction to Australian public policy, theory and practice*, Cambridge University, Press, 2009, p. 3.

<sup>51</sup> Ndongo Minisko, 56 years, Yaounde, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2017.

<sup>52</sup> Archive MINSEP, Direction des Sports, installation sportif, mission d'évaluation 1998, p. 2.

The continuous organization of national games for school and universities enhanced the construction of sport facilities. The rotative nature of the games ensured that every region would host and therefore benefit either on maintenance or construction of infrastructure. But unfortunately the games were stopped in 1990 due to financial constraints by the state<sup>53</sup>. The economic recession that the country was witnessing demanded a drastic cut in State expenditures as proposed by the international financial institution under the structural adjustment program<sup>54</sup>.

Kemo-Keimbou suggests that the over dependence of the state for funds from partner countries for the implementation of this policy could not benefit the rural areas. Also, sport was of secondary importance in academic institutions, so the heads of these institutions did very little to construct and equip their institutions with facilities particularly in the rural areas<sup>55</sup>. The realization of the national budget depended to a great extent on foreign assistance and cooperation which was unrealistic as the international mutations gave a blow to secondary investments<sup>56</sup>.

#### **1.4. Impact of the Economic Crisis on the Construction of Sport Infrastructure 1986-2004**

The advent of the economic crisis pushed the country to accept a bailout from the Bretton Wood Institutions (World Bank and International Monetary Fund). The social, economic, and health situation was becoming alarming and the government was faced with very difficult decisions to make. Pigeaud described the situation of Cameroon during that period in these words:

*... en retour, il devrait appliquer des mesures drastiques : liquidation et privatisation des entreprises publiques, baisse des budgets publics dans le secteur social, diminution des salaires des fonctionnaires, etc, revenu des camerounais a baissé d'environ 50 % entre 1988 et 1993... Alors que la population a continué à augmenter, les dépenses de santé et d'éducation ont chuté, les services sociaux se sont largement dégradés, les hôpitaux manquant de médicament<sup>57</sup>.*

It was virtually impossible for the state to invest during this period on non-immediate social benefit sectors. Due to the crisis the government only invested on essential sectors. Also, she decided to have a salary reduction instead of job layouts. During this period the public

<sup>53</sup> Ndongo Minsoko, 56 years, Yaounde, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2017,

<sup>54</sup> Touma Mama, *L'Économie camerounaise...*, p. 3.

<sup>55</sup> Kemo-Keimbou, "L'Etat et le sport au Cameroun..." , p. 17.

<sup>56</sup> Fung Kum., "Wum area development authority..." p. 78.

<sup>57</sup> Pigeaud, *Au Cameroun de Paul Biya...*, p. 45.

investment budget was gradually slimed, “les investissements publics ont été diminués, passant de 695 milliards FCFA en 1986-87 à 283 milliards en 1987-88.”<sup>58</sup> With this tensed economic situation sport infrastructural construction were abandoned. This period also witnessed the devaluation of the F CFA currency in January 1994.<sup>59</sup> This devaluation doubled the cost of importation and purchase of goods aboard.

The economic and socio-political tension that came with the re-birth of multiparty politics greatly hampered infrastructural development and pushed the government to review her expenditures. With the drastic cut in the investment budget, no investment was done in the sports sector. During this period, the country went through drastic economic programs imposed by international financial institutions. The country went through a Structural Adjustment Program (SAP), and later benefited from the Heavily Indebted Poverty Country Initiative (HIPCI). The country’s economy and finances were supervised by these institutions and other cooperation partners who gave orientations how to use available funds. In 2006, Cameroon attained the achievement point which then enable her to invest on domain she wished. The country had fulfilled all the engagement, constraints and objectives imposed by stakeholders to stabilize her economic and financial situation.

With all these socio-economic and financial constraints Cameroonian teams were present during international sports competitions. The absences of quality sports facilities did not break the zeal to play sports. Cameroon won AFCON 1988 in Morocco and had a historic participation at the FIFA World Cup in Italy in 1990 when she attained the quarter final. It was the best African performance of all times in the competition. The National volleyball team participated at the volleyball world cup in Japan. These victories attracted many youths to have more interest in sport. They now had role models in a society where models were rare<sup>60</sup>. Many Cameroonians had lost their jobs; others suffer a double salary cut; this brought about misery and poverty in many families who then allowed their children to get involved in sport. The reason was simple, the high bonus given to the Indomitable Lion, twenty-two million

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid p. 43.

<sup>59</sup> The Francs, Francs des Colonies Française d’Afrique (CFA) currency was the legal tender currency in Cameroon and thirteen other West and Central African countries since 1945. It was a currency introduced by France in her African colonies. With the economic situations of these countries which were hind by a serious economic crisis, the IMF and World Bank backed by France which kept 50% of the monetary reserves of these nations advised them to devaluate the currency. This was done in January 1994 when the currency witnessed a 50% devaluation.

<sup>60</sup> Pigeaud, *Au Cameroun de Paul Biya...*, p. 181.

(22 000 000) FCFA per player after their return from Italy and the reception paved the way for a new perception of *sporters* in Cameroon<sup>61</sup>.

Unfortunately, these sporting successes that became political victories did not promote the construction of sports amenities to nest and harbor the next general of champions. As earlier mentioned, sport victories were used to appease and provoke a spirit of national pride and togetherness. These performances served the purpose of the moment and *sporters* were a “one day hero” who had strived in poor training conditions to produce world class performances. No matter the absences of quality amenities Cameroonians *sporters* continued producing outstanding performances. They had a honorable participation at the all Africa games in 1999 in Abuja, Commonwealth Games in 1999, winning the AFCON 2000 and 2002 in Ghana/Nigeria and Mali and had a Gold medal in Football at the Summer Olympic Games in Australia and Gold in triple jump in Greece Olympic in 2004. Unfortunately, none of these victories that gave pride and honor to Cameroon stimulated the putting in place of an infrastructural policy. The country did not own quality and quantity sport infrastructures for these athletes to train on and prepare for future success and/or for Cameroon to pay host to international competitions. What was the faith reserved for the already available sport amenities in Cameroon? This last question leads to the next articulation of this research.

## **2. Creation of Leisure Sport Parks**

Sport was not only for competitors and for competitions. Sport for health reasons was also encouraged by the government as its help to have a healthy and hardworking population. The government decided to provide sport amenities for none competitors but under the supervision on qualified staff. It is in this light that the Parcours Vitas were created and became operational in 1988 in Cameroon in three towns: Yaounde, Douala and Bamenda<sup>62</sup>. Sport for all was encouraged leading to the creation of a national federation. The UN Task Force on sport for development pointed out the importance of sport on the population reason why it was listed out in the MDGs. Also encouraged vulnerable groups such as women, third age, persons with handicaps and low-income persons. The same report points out that inactivity cost an estimated to be £ 8.2 billion to Britain every year<sup>63</sup>.

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<sup>61</sup> Ndongo Minsoko, *Le livre d'or du sport...*, p. 246.

<sup>62</sup> Gueyap, “Activite Sport Pour Tous et Socialisation en Milieu...,” p. 10.

<sup>63</sup> Report from UN Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace. Sport as a Tool for Development and Peace. Towards achieving the United Nations Millennium Development Goals, 2005, pp. 5-6.

The enhancing of a “sport for all” policy could be justified with the above scientific elements by the UN Inter-Agency Task Force. The Cameroons’ General Conference on Sport of 1992 had envisaged the organization and management of this sector to rip all the benefits and insisted on the creation of more proximity amenities.<sup>64</sup> To increase awareness on the virtues of sport and physical activities, a national physical education day was proclaimed in Cameroon for 28 November of each year. This was under the leadership of the Department of Development of Physical Education of MINSEP and the National Federation of Sport for All.

Cameroonians had through many different occasions demonstrated the love for sport, but the problem of inadequate facilities in quality and quantity arised. The ‘Parcours vitas’ were distant from town making it difficult for many people to get there. As it was the case with other amenities, the problem of poor maintenance developed with time and impacted negatively on their accommodation capacity. An assesement of the Yaounde Parcours Vita was made by the newly appointed coordinator S. Zanga during an interview to MINSEP Magazine words: “The Parcours Vita of Yaoundé presented some signs of outdateness: The main building, the track and equipment were in a state of advance dilapidation; Presence of a a growing bush around the cours; The absence of electricity; Conflict between the state and the native population; Total absence of administrative facilities (lack of offices, and office equipments) etc<sup>65</sup>.”

This was the biggest and largest area for the free practice of sport. Individual had opened sport gyms to attract those people that wanted to practice sport but could not get to the Parcours vita where they existed. One of the consequences was the auto-organization of leisure sport along the streets, and other empty spaces as described by Mbida Nana:

*Les pratiques sportives centrées sur les enjeux de bien-être, de loisir et de sociabilité se développent et s’organisent en dehors des structures traditionnelles du sport (fédération, association, club) davantage préoccupées par le sport de compétition de haut niveau. Ces nouvelles pratiques n’ont pas bénéficié de l’accompagnement des pouvoirs publics, aux niveaux de la création ou de l’aménagement des espaces ou équipements dédiés. Cette situation va conduire les sportifs autonomes à rechercher et à aménager eux-mêmes des espaces sportifs et à inventer de nouvelles formes d’organisation, même si cela prend des formes différentes selon les pays.<sup>66</sup>*

The population had to create new sporting spaces to satisfy her envy and passion for sport. The legal and official designed sport spaces were very limited in number and were poorly

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<sup>64</sup> Archives MINSEP, Synthese thematique des conclusions des Etats Generaux du Sport... pp .29-29

<sup>65</sup> Ngana, “Parcours Vita de Yaounde. De nouveaux hommes aux commande” interviewing Stephanie Zanga newly appointed coordinator of the Parcours Vita of Yaounde, in *MINSEP Magazine*, Nouvelle serie No 002, Mars 2011, p. 17.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid...p. 5.

maintained. In 2011 which was more than twenty years after the putting into service of the three Parcours Vitas no other one was created in the other towns. Urbanization and population growth had made those existing unable to satisfy the population. From there we understand why the population ‘vandalized public spaces’ to perform their sport activities (car parkings of administratives services, streets, roundabouts, construction sites, school campuses, and river banks etc.) which were not legally dedicated for the practice of sport. This was also a source of conflict amongst the different social actors: council, local population, sport lovers, over the use of a particular space for sporting activities<sup>67</sup>.

In all the officially recognized sport facilities and amenities available were very limited in relation to need. Demand was by far greater and higher than supply. Sport lovers could not be accommodated in the existing spaces and unfortunately nothing was done to improve upon the situation as none of the new construction urban areas respected the law in the allocation of space for sport and leisure. The July 2011 law on the promotion of sport insisted on the allocation of arranged spaces for the practice of sport.

Beside government action in this domain, private initiatives consisted of creating gyms’ around certain neighbourhoods. It was particularly the business of persons of the diaspora who decided to invest in the domain of sport although the access was limited to a certain class of the society. The amount paid for registration and monthly fee was ‘discriminatory’ as it excluded certain social class members. Averagely one needed to spend twenty-five thousand (25.000) F CFA monthly to have access into these gyms.<sup>68</sup> To many Cameroonians this amount was heartbreaking and beyond their financial income coupled to the fact that many did not real apprehend the importance of sport.

### **2.1. Educational Activities and Sport Facilities**

Education played a great deal in the development of sport and increase in the offer of sport facilities. The re-launch of the University Games (UG) under the National Federation of University Games or Federation National des Sports Universitaires (FENASU) in 1998. As was mentioned in Chapter two, this sport federation had to encourage the construction of sport amenities and infrastructure in universities. This was also in accordance with article 1 of law n° 74/22 of 5 December 1974 on sport and socio-educational equipment which stipulated that:

*Tout projet d'aménagement de construction scolaire ou universitaire soit de réalisation de complexes immobiliers à caractère résidentiel ou industriel doit*

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<sup>67</sup> Yano Yano, 52 years, Yaounde 19 July 2019.

<sup>68</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24 June 2018

*comporter suivant les modalités qui seront précisées par décret et prorata de population concernée des terrains nécessaires à la mise en place des équipements sportifs et socio-éducatifs<sup>69</sup>.*

To this effect, each university which was to pay host to the UGs received a budget for the construction, rehabilitation and maintenance of her sport infrastructure. The finances for such works came from the government, PIB budgets of the ministries of Higher Education, MINSEP, investment budgets of FENASU and that of the host university. It should be noted that only state universities had hosting rights for the games based on the fact that private institutions were just associated. Since its reintroduction in 1998 all existing State Universities had hosted the Games. Table 13 below shows the years universities hosted the UGs between 1998 and 2011.

**Table 13: Universities, years of hosting the UG and type of sport facilities constructed between 1998 and 2011**

Year	Host university	Type of sport amenities
1998	University of Dschang	Handball, volleyball, basketball courts and a football field
1999	University of Yaounde I	Football field with 400m athletic track, rehabilitation of football field, basketball and volleyball courts
2000	University of Buea	Football field with 400m athletic track, basketball, handball, lawn tennis and volleyball courts
2001	University of Ngaoundéré	Football field with 400m athletic track, basketball, handball, lawn tennis and volleyball court
2002	University of Douala	//
2003	University of Yaoundé I	Rehabilitation of football field and athletic track
2004	University of Yaoundé II	Football field with 400m athletic track, basketball, handball, lawn tennis and volleyball court, gymnasium
2005	University of Dschang	Rehabilitation of football field and athletic track, tennis and basketball court
2006	University of Buéa	//
2007	University of Ngaoundéré	//
2008	University of Douala	//

<sup>69</sup> Archive MINSEP, Loi n° 74/21 d 5 Décembre 1974 sur les équipements sportifs et socio-éducatifs.

2009	University of Yaoundé I	//
2010	University of Yaoundé II	//
2011	University of Dschang	//

**Source:** By Koizah Karh based on field work data

The organization of the games had gone a long way to increase the sport amenity of each institution for its students in particular and the town as a whole. Due to the Games seven (7) new football fields were constructed with track for athletics and grand stand for ceremonies. The facilities were not first class or reference once but they were of prime importance. They included a basketball, volleyball, handball, lawn tennis courts, at least one football field with a 400 meters track for athletic (track and field), a small gymnasium for some indoor sport. Some universities greatly improved on their sport amenity offer.<sup>70</sup> It had been noted that these university sport infrastructures were not used only by students and university staff and persons around the neighborhood but by other institutions (state and private) and associations for their activities. Many federations did not dispose of sport amenities of their own, so made great use of university sport infrastructures. This FENASU just as the others federations depended on state subvention to carryout out its activities.

The educational federations (OSSUC/FENASSCO-FENASU) played a great deal in the increase in sport amenity offer in the university towns. The putting in motion of this policy was additional infrastructure available for the population. The quality again had to be checked as a lot of approximation and low/poor quality infrastructure was provided and, in some cases, incomplete constructions. Some poor-quality facilities that had to be re-budgeted included:

- ✓ The football field and athletic track constructed for the University of Yaounde I Games of 1999 was destroyed and reconstructed for the 2003 games and was still not completed event after the 2009 games;
- ✓ The football field/athletics track of University of Buea, constructed in 2000 was rebuild for the 2006 games, but not completed even after the games;
- ✓ The football field/athlete track of University of Dschang, constructed in 1998 was rebuild for the 2005 games, still not completed event after 2011 games;
- ✓ University of Ngaoundere has the same problem as the other.

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<sup>70</sup> Wouassi, 57 years, Yaounde 21<sup>st</sup> October 2018

All Universities were faced with the problem of maintenance of the sport facilities, which was done only at the eve of their hosting of the games<sup>71</sup>. As concerns the Universities of Buea and Dschang, their major sports infrastructures were a long distance from the campus making them inaccessible to the majority of persons. The fact that they were poorly constructed and uncompleted made their use seasonal and limited only to the games period. Their impact was limited and did not really increase the sport infrastructural offer of these towns.

### **III. A NEW LEGAL FRAME TO ENHANCE THE CONSTRUCTION OF SPORT FACILITIES**

The administrative time in the conception and later implementation of development policies respect their own agenda. As a rational realist actor timing depending solely to their open or closed objectives<sup>72</sup>. Law n° 2011/018 of 15 July 2011 relative to the organization and promotion of physical education and sports in Cameroon. As usual in came after a series of humiliations suffer by Cameroon in the sports field. According to Keno-Keimbou, cited by Mbida Nana, “de politique sportive conjoncturelle”<sup>73</sup>. This goes a long way to comfort our vision of a non-designed sport policy which is most often circumstantial. The 2011 Law came after the Sport Charter of 1996 which in reality had never been implemented. By 2011, the 1996 Charter of sport had not attende its objectives, that of enhancing the construction of facilites around the country. The absence of implementation text clearly freezed the implementation of the charter. Many sport disciplines could not be developed, Douala had a second-class swimming pool while Yaounde had none so this discipline could not be developed. This absence of implementation text also set confusion among actors as to who had to do what<sup>74</sup>.

This law carried in her many new changes and innovations as concerned sport practice and management in Cameroon. The law defined procedures as concerned management and improvement of training and living conditions of *sporters*. It brought a lot of hope:

- ✓ The implication of councils and local governments in the management of sport;
- ✓ Dispositions as concerns National Team (appellation, bonus to athletes);

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<sup>71</sup> Ndongso Minsoko, 56 years, Yaounde, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2017.

<sup>72</sup> Bekombo Jabea C, “Politique juridique et diplomatie...”, p. 4.

<sup>73</sup> Mbida Nana, “De nouvelles articulations... ”, p. 26.

<sup>74</sup> Politique nationale du sport et de l'éducation physique, MINSEP, décembre 2009, (exposé des motifs du projet de loi fixant le régime des activités physiques et sportives), p. 43

- ✓ Financial and fiscal advantages for companies and entreprises that will sponsor sport related activities (team, federations, competitions, sporters etc);
- ✓ A status for international *sporter*.

The laws, decrees, circular, service notes etc set to codify the play and organization of sports were sufficient to enable a good sport development in Cameroon<sup>75</sup>. The almost none implementation of these signed texts was a proof of the fact that policy was not just the writing of documents. The problem in Cameroon resided in the fact that there was no implementation of these documents which rendered them useless and of no importance to the development of sport and its eventual partake in the development of the nation.

The above links us to another fact, which was government ideology in the design of her policy marked here by the laws enacted to manage sport. The intention of a law was important but the implementation was essential just as the evaluation and feedback. The organization of the Ministry of Sport gave it very limited means (human, financial and material) to actually implement these laws. Apart of the limited means, the fact that there were no datelines for the implementation of these gave a pretext to administrators to be slow about its implementation. There was no form of constraints on the actors for the implementation of these laws.

### **1. PNDIS: A New Vision for the Construction of Sport Facilities**

Cameroon opened a new era in the sport infrastructure policy. The last attempt in the domain took place in the 1970s. This program was for massive investment in sport infrastructure by the government to cover the gap with other nations. In this light an inter-ministerial committee was set up in 2008<sup>76</sup>. National Program for the Development of Sport Facilities aka *Programme Nationale de Développement des Infrastructures Sportives* (PNDIS). This program was one of the most ambitious programs in the domain of sportive ever taught of in Cameroon. The program had four (4) main objectives to attain which in reality were interwoven as said by Minister of sport A.T. Edjoa during a press conference in Yaounde:

- To make up for the deficiency of sport infrastructures;
- Provide in the long-term all regional head quarters and towns of cameroon with quality sport facilities in general and elit sport in particular;
- Enable Cameroon in the short term to host high level sport events;

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<sup>75</sup> Mbida Nana, “De nouvelles articulations...”p. 214.

<sup>76</sup> Archives MINSEP, Arrêté n° 048/PM/Cab du 19 mars portant création, organisation et fonctionnement du comité interministériel de supervision du programme national de développement des infrastructures sportives.

- Make available to the government and other development partners a reference document with the needs of our country as concerns sport infrastructures.<sup>77</sup>

Simply it was worth noting that the first fruit of this ambitious program was to be the construction of (Paul Biya) Sports Complex in Olembe Yaounde. The government signed financial partnerships with the Chinese Government. More discussions as to the time frame, the choice of the partner to finance the program will be discussion later.

### **1.1. Modernization of Sport Infrastructure 2006-2011**

Sport was fast gaining grounds around the world and was of particular importance and meaning to the administration, athletes and spectators. Each of these actors enjoyed the pleasure and benefit of sport only when it was played. The government made it possible for sport to be played with the construction of amenities as it was part of her prerogatives and duties. The government had to supervise sport play under the strict rules of fair-play, sportsmanship, respect of ethics and to promote solidarity, social cohesion and peace. So, sport arenas were to be constructed to become the nest for the promotion of such values which during the past years with the financial constraints the government lack means to improve the sport amenities offer both quality and quantity. In 2006, many were surprised when MINSEP receive order mandating to design and implement a program towards the improvement of sport facilities in Cameroon.<sup>78</sup> This was a new era in sport facilities policy. There can and could not be sport without infrastructure and Cameroon suffered from the lack of infrastructure. In some caese when this sport facilities were available, they did respect international norms, the Mateco Sport Complex was an example as it lack a standed play ground, seating space and boardcast stand. Cameroon could not host a multidiscipline competition like the AAG, Francophonie Games which needed a particular set of facilities not available in Cameroon<sup>79</sup>.

We shall in the next lines focus on the objectives and reasons for this new approach. These analyses will bring out the short coming and finally the general ill of implementing decisions concerning sport facilities. The construction of the Yaounde Multipurpose Sport Center had started and a convention signed with the Chinese Government for the financing of this program.

There were a lot of reasons that could have pushed the government to instruct MINSEP to propose a frame work to provide the country with modern sport facilities. In this section we shall focus on the timing of the project. This project for once respected the norms of a policy

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<sup>77</sup> Augustine Edjoa in MINSEP Infos n°0 7 nouvelle série Avril-Mai-Juin-Juillet 2008, p. 17.

<sup>78</sup> Presentation of Augustin Edjoa, Minister of sports and physical Education during the cabinet meeting of 29 January 2009, is MINSEP info n° 8 nouvelle série, March 2004, p. 5.

<sup>79</sup> Betala, Le sport au Cameroun MINSEP infos, n°7..., p. 106.

layout. The program was named Program for the Development of Sports Facilities in Cameroon abbreviates in French *Programme Nationale de Développement des Infrastructures Sportives* (PNDIS) which concerns a period of 25 years<sup>80</sup>.

### 1.2. Context in Favour of the Launch of PNDIS

The whole project for the construction of sport facilities was already a great step as it had not been the case since the 1970s. The poor and miserable state of the existing infrastructure was questioned by many Cameroonians who wondered the intention of the state as concerns sports amenities. This was particularly true as the country had continually had prestige and honor through the outstanding performances of her athletes on international sport arenas. This program was to transform an abnormal situation of a country having good results without having the minimum required equipment's to permit them train on: the Cameroonian paradox. Two reasons could be used to justify the williness of the state to get enrolled in such a futurist and hectic (costly) project.

The re-launch of the sport facilities development program confirms our use of the neo-institutional theory wherein the state (major institution) took decision based on her own pass and had poor relations with other subs institution.<sup>81</sup> To fill the gap of more than thirty-five (35) years of not sport amenity policy (construction), the state turned towards China. The Chinese were to loan money and give in their experts for the project as no other country had accepted Cameroon's request for assistance. Minister A. T. Edjoa confirms our points in these words during an interview on 12 October 2008, in the following words:

*Parce qu'en réalité nous avons tendu la main à tous les pays capables de nous aider, et la Chine a été le premier pays à répondre à notre sollicitation. Et comme je l'ai dit il y a quelques mois, nous avons signé des documents contractuels qui font que la Chine va effectivement nous aider à acquérir les infrastructures modernes en quantité et surtout en qualité, parce qu'il est question pour nous d'acquérir un prêt très important auprès de la Chine pour réaliser ces travaux. La Chine a trouvé les fonds nécessaires pour les travaux que nous attendons de ce pays<sup>82</sup>.*

Cameroon was in need of a partner to accompany her in the construction of sport facilities. China not only accepted to loan Cameroon the financial resources also provide the technical experts and human resources. International financial institutions were not ready to

<sup>80</sup> Presentation of Augustin Edjoa Minister of sports and physical..., p. 5.

<sup>81</sup> S. Barone, "L'action publique territoriale est-elle soluble dans le néo-institutionnalisme ?" Communication faite lors de la journée d'étude organisée pour l'association française de science politique intitulé « Groupes politique publique » et « Local et politique » à l'institut d'études politiques de Grenoble du 15-16 juin 2006, p. 3.

<sup>82</sup> Edjoa, MSPE interview during the CRTV television magasin Actualité Hebdo with Ibrahim Cherif on 12 October 2008, in MINSEP Info n° 8, Nouvelle série, Mars 2009, p. 51.

finances such a heavy project. To them there were other priorities in the social and health domains that Cameroon needed to handle.

Cameroon after four (04) straight participations at the World Football ‘Mega Gala’ was to be absent from the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany. This was a blow to the authorities who had always used football for propaganda. The elimination of the Lions brought a cold on the nation as the Lions were regularly used as example for youth President during his speeches. This defeat was a disappointment for the nation which had been use to victories and participation at international competitions<sup>83</sup>. The last major Victory in football during AFCON was 2002 in Mali and Françoise Mbango with gold at the Athens and Beijing Summer Olympic Games in the triple Jump event.

The second reason that could back the taking of such an initiative was the treats by FIFA and AFC to suspend Cameroon stadium from use during their competitions. The Douala Reunification Omnisport Stadium was suspended and the Ahmadou Ahidjo Omnisport stadium was to undergo another of its rehabilitations works. It should be noted that the full project for the stadium had never been completed.<sup>84</sup> Koufan Menkene considered this incapacity to complete her projects a ‘Cameroonian ill.’

A third reason advanced was the offensive diplomacy of china in Africa and Cameroon in particular in the field of infrastructures. China had decided to gain and maintain her influence in Cameroon. In the previous chapters was noted the fact that this approach was part of the soft power diplomacy arsenal used by Asian countries. Korea and Japan had earlier used this same approach in Cameroon. This is buttressed by S. Amadou who wrote:

*C'est dans ce contexte que la recherché d'une reconnaissance mondiale et le souci de domination et d'affirmation on pousse la Chine et le Japon à s'ouvrir, à se faire connaitre, à développer et exporter leur savoir-faire. Ils ont compris qu'ils ne se feraient mieux accepter en afrique qu'en s'investissant dans des domaines palpables et indispensable tels que les infrastructures<sup>85</sup>.*

These reasons justify the timing of the project for sports facilities nomatter the fact that she was not financially strong so needed foreign assistance. After the SAPs, Cameroon later was enrolled in the HIPC Initiative which limited government’s financial and managerial

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<sup>83</sup> Pigeaud, *Au Cameroun de Paul Biya...*, p. 181.

<sup>84</sup> King Tchapia citing Cameroon Tribune of 19-10-2005, “Le Japon au chevet du stade Ahmadou Ahidjo”, in *comfoot.cm* retirement on 28/11/2017 at 3 :45 pm.

<sup>85</sup> S. Amadou., “Aide infrastructurelle sino-japonaise dans les villes de Douala et Yaounde (1972-2012) : un exemple de cooperation pour le developpement” in *La Renaissance Africaine : de la theorie a la materialisation a l'horizon 2060. Melanges internationaux offerts au Pr Samuel Efoua Mbozo 'o*, Collection PolitiqueAfricaine en Mutation, Doula, Editions Cheikh Anta Diop (Edi-CAD), 2017, pp. 247-248.

independence. The country was under coordination of international funders. So such a project on sport amenities was not really a priority for the economic and social situation of the nation<sup>86</sup>.

### 1.3. The Layout of the PNDIS Program

This was a major innovation in the management of affaires in Cameroon. It respects some of the criteria to be considered a policy. There was a specific time frame, team (human resources) with a financial backing and objects to attain. The program was to cost a total of 272 billion F CFA for a period of ten (10) years between 2008 and 2018. It was aimed at providing each region of the country with standard quality sport amenities in a ten years period divided into three (03) phases.<sup>87</sup> Here we shall focus mainly on Phase 1.

The three (03) phases which made up component 1 were the following:

- Phase 1: 2008 to 2011 included the construction of four stadia in the following cities:
  - Yaounde (Olembe), one half covered (multipurpose with 60 000 seats and two training stadia);
  - Douala, one multipurpose stadium with 40 000 seats;
  - Limbe and Bafoussam one multipurpose stadium with 20 000 seats each
- Phase 2: 2011 to 2015 will include:
  - Construction of in Yaounde Olembe of a new campus for the National Institute of Youth and Sports (INJS);
  - The construction of one three-star hotel and Olympic swimming pool;
- Phase 3: 2016 to 2018 will include:
  - The construction of multipurpose stadia and Sports Complexes in other regions, including Kumba, Bamenda and Sangmelima<sup>88</sup>.

Through the minister's speech, government implication and orientation in the sport amenities policy was presented. It was also a change of approach as before all projects had always targeted only the construction of football infrastructure. The minister during an interview with CRTV journalist, Ibrahim Cherif, justified government new sport amenity policy in these words:

En fait c'est des stades CAN si on peut dire.  
 Oui si vous voulez c'est des stades de grade capacité qui ont toutes les commodités pour que tout se passe très bien, et ceux qui étaient voir ailleurs savent ce que ça signifie et

<sup>86</sup> Touna Mama., *L'économie camerounaise...*, p. 412.

<sup>87</sup> Presentation of Augustin Edjoa the Minister of Sports and Physical MINSEP, p. 5.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*

*malheureusement nos stades actuels ne répondent plus aux normes. C'est pour cela que nous avons pensé à organiser cette CAN, nous avons pensé à l'organisation de cette CAN, entre les capitales provinciales qui se rapprochent de Yaoundé, Douala Bafoussam, Limbe.<sup>89</sup>*

In the words of the minister, the entire policy was based on football. The Lion's share as concerns sports infrastructural development went to football making the policy a partial one. This focus on football was to satisfy a majority of the population who were fans of the game and also for political calculations. These made other sport remain orphan of inadequate quality and quantity infrastructure on which to express their talents and get national and international recognition. It was at the antipodes of the speech in Cameroon that there was 'neither major sport nor minor sports'.

## **2. The Development of Indoor Sport in Cameroon**

Cameroon gave little attention to indoor sports up to this period. In effect, 2009 marked a revolution as the Yaounde multipurpose sports complex was inaugurated on 9 June 2009 by the President Paul Biya. With a 5000 seats capacity, the sports complex cost 14 billion FCFA<sup>90</sup>. This magnificent edifice built in Yaounde and was named *palais polyvalent des sports*, set the pace for a new twist in indoor sports in the country. With this, games such as handball, basketball, volley, boxing, karate, judo now had a conducive playground for international competitions. It has rest rooms, a gym, an open-air training grounds, 500 car capacity parking, and a secondary indoor training field for warm up.

The official cutting of the ribbon by the President Biya marked the official opening of the complex. This was done on 19<sup>th</sup> June 2009 with top national and international dignitaries amongst whom the Chinese ambassador to Cameroon. President Biya during his inauguration speech highlighted this:

This special effort being made for our young athletes is only one component of our national youth policy. Last February, during the celebration of the national Youth Day, I emphasized on the implementation of this policy was a priority action of the Government and I mentioned its main thrusts... The inauguration of this very beautiful sport complex is proof of that commitment<sup>91</sup>.

This sport infrastructure was a reference in the china-Cameroon bilateral cooperation. Cameroon took procession of this fabulous infrastructure and since then has being making use

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<sup>89</sup> Edjoa, MINSEP interviewed during the CRTV Television program Actualité Hebdo with Ibrahim Cherif on 12 October 2008 in MINSEP info n° 8, nouvelle série, Mars 2008, p. 52.

<sup>90</sup> Onana, "Le PPSY propriété définitive du Cameroun", in MINSEP info n° 8, Nouvelle série, Mars 2009, p. 10.

<sup>91</sup> Paul Biya, President of Cameroon speech at the occasion of the inauguration of the complex, June 19, 2009, in MINSEP Info n° 9, nouvelle série, Mai 2010, p. 85.

of it. The kick off was given by the head of state for the use of this modern sport infrastructure. It became the milieu for both sport and other cultural events (music and galas and was conference hall for some state institutions). Unfortunately, the rent fee was too high for many local federations and teams to make use of it. It varied from five hundred thousand to above one million depending on the time and days<sup>92</sup>.

**Plate 15: Partial view of the interior of the Yaounde Multi-Purpose Sport Complex**



**Source:** From MINSEP Info, Mars 2009, p. 34.

Most teams and federations only had access during preparations for international competitions and just for a few days: “Le palais polyvalent de sport des de Yaoundé servira à améliorer les performances de nos athlètes et faire naître de nouveaux talents, pour parler plus haut la réputation du Cameroun à l’échelle mondiale”<sup>93</sup>. Our worry is how new talents could be detected when they had not opportune to use this infrastructure. On the project description it was mention that it was for high level competition<sup>94</sup> which is different from low level competitions during which talents could be detected. Table 14 shows some of the competitions organized at the multipurpose sport center.

**Table 14: Competitions Organized in the Yaounde Multi-purpose Sports Complex between 2009 and 2011**

Year	Competition	Discipline
2009	31 <sup>st</sup> edition of African Handball championship	Handball

<sup>92</sup> Interview with Oloko

<sup>93</sup> S. Zo’ona NKono, “Palais Polyvalent des sports de Yaoundé opérationnel”, in MINSEP info, N° 09, Nouvelle série, Mai 2010, p. 77.

<sup>94</sup> Archives MINSEP, Projet d’infrastructures stratégiques, répertoire des fiches signalétiques III secteur sports et éducation physique, volume 1, édition de janvier 2008, 108.

2010	3 <sup>rd</sup> round men qualification tournament for CAN/World Cup	Volleyball
2009	1 <sup>st</sup> edition of Yaounde international table tennis tournament	Table-tennis
2011	African men Olympic Games quantification tournament	Volleyball
2010 Since 2001 (yearly)	African judo championship Yaounde international Judo tournament	Judo

**Source:** By Koizah Karh based on field work data

The Ministry of Sports encouraged federations to use the multipurpose sport complex for their major activities. Cameroon basketball, volleyball, handball, federations used it for the championship and cup final matches. Due to the high rents demanded by Ministry of Sports and the Chinese for the use of this complex at less five hundred thousand 500,000FCFA,<sup>95</sup> many federations could not make use of. Based on the financial situation of these federations which had neither sponsor and/or limited subventions from the state and international bodies to enhance their activities could not afford such rents. This amount was prohibitive to many as their yearly budget was barely over 1 million. And in addition, the technical aspects of the maintenance and partial management of the multipurpose sport center was left to the Chinese. No transfer of technology and savoir-faire<sup>96</sup>. Unfortunately, for Cameroonians, the project had not been completed some works were still to be done. It could be rightly themed a Cameroonian ill, that of doing things partially.

In the government's desire to develop sport was highlighted with the laying of the foundation stone for the construction of the Yaounde and Douala gymnasiums was done by the MINSEP M. Zoa. Each was to have a capacity of places 1200 places (800 seats and 400 standing). This was with funds of the MINSEP as it was a second class (proximity) project under the investment budget of the ministry<sup>97</sup>.

MINSEP had wanted to respect national laws in terms of creating sport facilities. These however could not be done without involving partners at the local level such as the councils which also managed development programs. In this light, the Minister of Sport Augustin Edjoa

<sup>95</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24 June 2018

<sup>96</sup> Assiene, 49 years, Yaounde, 21st July 2019

<sup>97</sup> Pose de la première pierre du gymnase multisports de Douala, MINSEP Magazine, novembre série n° 002, Mars 2011, p. 8.

signed a convention with the Government Delegate to the Yaounde City Council Gilbert Tsimi Evouna, on 5<sup>th</sup> March 2009 to enhance the construction of sport facilities in the Yaounde City Council Area. This project was to promote the access, practice and play of sport by all members of the society and was in line with the PNDIS vision<sup>98</sup>.

**Plate 16: Construction Site of the Yaounde Multi-Sports Gymnasium at Nfandena in 2011**



**Source:** From MINSEP Magazine...p. 42.

In reality the convention was signed but nothing was visible on the ground. No sport infrastructure was in construction following this convention just like many other conventions initiated and signed. It could be considered as propaganda because no concret action was noticed on the field. The answer to the MINSEP by the Government Delegate to the Yaounde City (urban) Council was symptomatic of propaganda. He promised to provide land for such sport terrains around the city<sup>99</sup>.

### **2.1. Sport facilities for Disabled persons**

The provisions of the laws of the land encourage social inclusion of disabled and challenged persons. Nation laws and international conventions protect disabled persons in Cameroon. The law on the universal rights to all is not a tangible reality in Cameroon. As for Canada P. D. Howe considered the ‘sport for all’ policy a failure as a Canadian Charter on Rights and Freedom was not respected. And special amendments had to be made to integrate persons with disabilities.<sup>100</sup> Before going to tackle the problems faced by disabled persons lets define who were those considered disable persons. B. Stewart et al define disability as:

<sup>98</sup> Fouda, MINSEP-CUY : On promeut la pratique du sport au MINSEP info, Mars 2009, p. 76.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid, p. 76.

<sup>100</sup> D. Howe., “Policy on Sport for Disabled” in L. Thibault and J. Harvey., *Sport Policy in Canada...*, p. 298.

A physical or mental impairment, which has a substantial and long-term adverse effect on a person's ability to carry-out normal day-to-day activities. They include loss of physical or mental functions, intellectual disability, and loss of parts of body, malformation or disfigurement of parts of the body and learning and attention-deficit disorders including dyslexia<sup>101</sup>.

In Cameroon access to sport facilities by physically challenged persons had always been difficult. Their conditions had hardly been taken into consideration during construction of sport facilities. This brought about a limited participation of physically challenged persons in sport. Based on the above definition these persons represent a separate category of the society with special demands. The Cameroonian Minister of Social Affairs Batambock took up certain initiatives towards this direction like the one of 2005 which was:

*La lutte contre l'exclusion sociale à travers la pratique des Activités Physiques et Sportives, la promotion des sports pour personnes handicapées, notamment par l'appui aux institutions et associations sportives pour personnes handicapées, l'aménagement des infrastructures sportives adaptées, l'acquisition des équipements et matériels spécialisés et la participation des sportives handicapées aux compétitions sportives*<sup>102</sup>.

The disabled persons had limited access to sport facilities even as spectators because most of the administrative buildings did not respect norms for all users. This was not in line with what was qualified as “*la politique de justice sociale et d'intégration nationale*” pruned by the government of Cameroon<sup>103</sup>. It was in this line of things that the Minister of Social Affairs during a visit at the construction site of the Multipurpose sports complex said:

*... la mise en œuvre de l'approche handicap dans la poursuite de la politique sociale du chef de l'État, S Excellence Monsieur Paul Biya. Et quelle est cette politique? C'est de nous rassurer que partout où il y a des bâtiments publics, partout où il y a l'accès à toutes les populations, que les personnes handicapées sont effectivement prises en compte. Dans le cas de ce chantier, nous sommes rassurés parce que nous avons vu que l'intégration de l'approche handicap est effective*<sup>104</sup>.

This was just for access to infrastructures and facilities which was different from having access to equipment for training and produce performances. The only adapted area with specialized equipment for (physical) disabled persons in Cameroon was the National Center for the Rehabilitation of Handicaps.

Many schools in Cameroon if not all had problems integrating students with disabilities (blind, physical disabilities). These students needed specialized equipment to enable them

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<sup>101</sup> B. Stewart et al., *Australia Sport: Better by design?...*, p. 164.

<sup>102</sup> R. Ondoua Mintyene., “Contribution d'experts : pour une meilleure prise en compte des l'approche handicap”, in MINSEP Infos, n°8, nouvelle serie, Mars 2009, p. 133.

<sup>103</sup> S. Zo'Ona Nkomo., “Palais des sports. Le bout du tunnel”, in MINSEP Infos, n°7, nouvelle serie, Avril-Mai-Juin-Juillet, p. 26.

<sup>104</sup> Bakang Mbock., “Le Gouvernement prend en compte la lutte contre l'exclusion sociale”, interviewed in MINSEP Infos, n°7,...p. 27.

participate in PES lessons. This situation was a form of exclusion of these students who would have loved taking part in these lessons. Besides the absence of specific equipment and infrastructure there was a problem of specialization of personnel to take charge of them<sup>105</sup>. There had been no special measure to ensure their integration through PES lessons which was a better means to combat anti-socialization, considerations and perception of their handicap situation. The 2008 National Physical Education Day was celebrated under the theme, “*Education Physique pour Tous: Assurance d’une santé durable et a moindre cout*”<sup>106</sup>. This could only be a reality with the presences of sport facilities and equipment. It also meant putting in place integrative policies to reduce social exclusion.

### **3. The Development of Sports Infrastructural based no Foreign Assistance**

As will be clearly illustrated there was not sport policy without sport amenities and infrastructure. In this light Cameroon after her independence had to construct facilities for the development of sport. The country after the economic crisis of the late 1980s and early 90s and the HIPCI (PPTTE) was financial down. She had to activate her diplomacy to secure assistance that could be used to develop sport amenities. Souleymanou Amadou considered it to be a more general problem to the African continent in these words:

*... l’Afrique perd deux points de croissance par an du fait de ses infrastructures déficientes”. La problématique du développement infrastructural de l’Afrique ainsi posée met en exergue un problème à la fois global et spécifique à chaque Etat... il est tout au moins visible que la quasi-totalité de ces Etats souffrent d’un réel problème d’infrastructures de base... Dans l’objectif de trouver des solutions à ces tares au développement et dans l’optique de booster leurs économies respectives, bon nombre de pays d’Afrique parmi lesquels le Cameroun ont opté pour une coopération infrastructurale de plus en plus poussée*<sup>107</sup>.

From the above, we note new option envisaged by Cameroon which was an infrastructural cooperation. The fruits of this cooperation were visible during our period of research. The main actors of this cooperation with Cameroon came from Asia-Japon, China, South Korea confirmed in the following words Minister A. Edjoa “Nous veillerons à diversifier et à intensifier nos axes de coopération avantage avec les pays comme le Japon et la République Populaire de Chine dont les fleurons sont respectivement la réhabilitation du stade Omnisports Ahmadou Ahidjo et la construction du palais polyvalent des sports de Yaoundé”<sup>108</sup>.

<sup>105</sup> Assiène, 49 years, Yaounde, 21st July 2019

<sup>106</sup> Sogue Yaouna, “L’année 2008 en quatre axes” in MINSEP Infos, n°8...p. 60.

<sup>107</sup> Amadou, “Aide infrastructurale sino-japonaise...,” p. 246.

<sup>108</sup> Edjoa, “Defending MINSEP budget 2009 in December 2008 at the National Assembly” in MINSEP info, n° 8 nouvelle série, Mars 2009, p. 23.

It should be noted here that after the construction of the Yaounde and Douala stadium in the 1970s, and the uncompleted construction of the Bafoussam and Garoua stadium, no major sport infrastructure project was executed before 2004. It was only in 2004, with project for construction of the Yaounde MultiPurpose Sport Center that Cameroon had a new take off in the construction of major sport amenities with the support China.

It should be noted and made clear that the the Yaounde Multipurpose Sport Center (popularly called Palaise des Sports and also PAPOSY) located in Warda was not part of PNDIS. It is true that both projects had as technical and financial partner the People's Republic of China. This project that was initiated in 2001, saw the official launch of works in 2004 but actual construction started in 2006 January and was ended in 2008 with an estimated cost of fourteen billion FCFA (14 000 000 000 FCFA)<sup>109</sup>. President Paul Biya officially inaugurated the Yaounde Multipurpose Sports Center in 2009. Actually, the construction works were not terminated as Cameroon had not fulfilled her engagement: surrounding had not been converted.

Independent Cameroon effectively undertook its first sports amenity program during her preparations to hosts AFCON 1972. In this light, two major stadiums were constructed in Douala and Yaounde and small play grounds under-went maintenance works. This policy was tilted towards football the 'National Sport' which took all the light while the other sports discipline remained in darkness. With the interruption of the construction works on the Bafoussam and Garoua stadiums during the 1980s Cameroonian *sporters* never had the joy to use up to date modern sport amenities at home. But paradoxally these *sporters* conquered Africa and world sport arena with their victories while showcasing their talents. They played on infrastructure that they never had back at home<sup>110</sup>. The birth of PNDIS marked a new era in sport facilities in Cameroon. The highly centralized nature of the administration and the fact that sport was considered and managed as a social service, blocked any private initiative in providing sport amenities there is no name in calling or describing this infrastructural policy that was not designed and back a real vision. Again, the new institutional and the critical realism approaches had enable to demonstrate the reasons for this situation through (in)action of concerns actors and the consequences.

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<sup>109</sup> Z. Onana, "Le PPSY, propriété définitive du Cameroun" in MINSEP info n° 8, Nouvelle série, Mars 2009, pp. 10-11.

<sup>110</sup> Archives MINSEP, Projet d'infrastructures stratégiques répertoire des fiches signalétiques III secteur sports et éducation physique, volume 1, édition de janvier 2008, p. 105.

**CHAPTER FIVE: MANAGING NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL  
COMPETITIONS.**

The management of national and international competitions had become a priority for modern nations. Since the end of the Second World War, states have looked for other avenues to settle their quarrels of prestige and ego. The hard power policy was gently has given way to the soft power policy; culture and sport being the major weapons of this new diplomatic war arsenal. Sport diplomacy was manifested through the numerous competitions organized around the world. This said, it becomes understandable why government and state officials were eager to invest huge amongst of money and human resources to organize and prepare for such competitions. It clearly meant there was a high level of organization and preparedness to produce juicy results. As said above, the diplomatic, social symbolic, financial and prestigious benefits of competition both at national, regional and world level commanded state interventionism. Sport was a global total social phenomena<sup>1</sup>. *Sporters* were modern soldiers who had as weapons their skills, talents and faith devoted to bring honor and prestige to their nationals and nations. Nations organized local competitions during which talents were detected to represent the country at international competitions. The Cameroonian government had set aside a great number of human and huge amounts of financial resources for the organization and participation of her athletes at competitions. This was in line with the following quote “*Le sport est un instrument du politique. Les athlètes d’élite sont les soldats, les ambassadeurs du sport et des représentants de la nation, ils sont des “combattants” pacifiques des “drapeaux vivants” dont le but est la victoire, d’affirmation et la reconnaissance sur la scène internationale de l’État-nation*”<sup>2</sup>.

This chapter will mainly focus on Cameroon’s organization of national competitions and participation at international competitions with attention on results. This will be done considering the fact that there had always been a lack of preparedness making the results to be considered miraculous. At this level we shall first deal with the policy orientation as concerns these competitions. This will be done through the new institutional theoretical approach which gives governmental and assimilated organs the capacity to conceive and implement policies. With Critical Realism the root causes of the non-implementation of these policies will be examined. The two main sections under study here will be organization and management of national and organization and participation at international competitions.

Cameroon became part of the world sport system through her colonial masters. Federations were set up and had the mission to organize and manage competitions. Their

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<sup>1</sup> Houlihan, “Political involvement in sport, physical Education and recreation...”, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Youcef Fate, “Sport et tiers-monde...”, p. 71.

working and relations with the administration was the same as in France. The supremacy of the state enabled her to orientate and implement her policies through sport ethics<sup>3</sup>. In the case of Cameroon, more attentions will be put on how the government organized her competitions. Focus here shall first of all be on national Games (OSSUC/FENASSCO), National games (Dixiades),<sup>4</sup> then on sovereignty competitions such as cycling and athletics (the International Cycling Tour of Cameroon, the Chantal Biya International Cycling Tour, and Mont Cameroon Race of Hope) and finally on other championships (league competitions- Handball, volleyball, basketball, etc). The envelope given to Federations by the government as assistance to organize their competitions at national level<sup>5</sup> will be evaluated.

The aim of organizing a competition is to have athletes go beyond the “natural human limits” to be extraordinary and that is what attract spectators and make the magic of competition. This was in respect of roles and regulations established by the international federation, applied and supervised by technical officials who monitor the athletes so as to avoid cheating in all its forms. The production of a performance is a complex process which involves factors such as machine, training, sport psychology, physiology, nutrition kinesiology, biomechanics, talents etc. Some see certain performances as a mystery even to science.<sup>6</sup>

## **I. POLICY ORIENTATION FOR SPORTS COMPETITIONS**

Each government managed sport based on their political and ideological orientation. The Cameroonian government was a typical model of hyper centralization in this domain. Her involvement was seen from the construction of infrastructure on which the competitions were held. It also allocation material and financial resources and the training of technical staff<sup>7</sup>, and funds for participation at international competitions. In many cases the communist socialist approach was used: state control over sport and participation in competition. This was also used by Canada after poor performances in international sport competitions. So, school sport competitions were needed to create champion of the future<sup>8</sup>. Sports competitions were used to

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<sup>3</sup> Megne M’Ella, “L’organisation sociale du sport au Gabon...”, p.185.

<sup>4</sup> Dikoume, *Le service public du sport...*, p. 105.

<sup>5</sup> Ndongo Minsoko, *Le livre d’or du sport...*, p. 189.

<sup>6</sup> M. Delalandre., “Sociologie des sciences de la performance sportive en France”, thèse de Doctorat en STAPS, Université Paris-Est, 2009, p.16.

<sup>7</sup> Archives MINSEP, Plan stratégique de développement du sport de haut niveau au Cameroun, document de référence, p. 125.

<sup>8</sup> Thibault and Harvey, *Sport policy in Canada...*, p. 190.

affirm national unity, awake patriotism and national pride. So, each of the competitions organized was tilted towards these objectives.

Performances during competition were only produce after well organized training. Competitions reveal to the world the talents and skill of outstanding athletes through majestic performances. What then is considered sport competition? Famose defines competition as “*un processus dans lequel la comparaison d’une performance individuelle est faite avec un standard quelconque en présence d’au moins une autre personne qui est consciente du critère de comparaison et peut évaluer le résultat de la comparaison*”<sup>9</sup>. The magic and mystery of competitions is the search and quest for victory over the others through a battle of talents and skills and self-devotion and determination.

The existence of competition is to achieve a certain performance. The competition performance depended on the sports discipline: it can be against an opponent, time, or distance cover. A.J.P Famose defines sport performance as:

La performance sportive exprime les possibilités maximales d’un individu dans une discipline à un moment donné de son développement. Elle peut s’exprimer sous forme d’un classement, d’une distance, d’un temps ou d’un résultat. Le plus souvent lors des compétitions. Elle est le résultat d’un entraînement complexe. Tous les facteurs déterminants de la performance doivent être connu et intégrés dans le processus d’entraînement pour que la performance soit maximale<sup>10</sup>.

The massive state investment in themes of human, financial and material resources was to use sport as tool for nation building. In this light school sport competitions had a multi facet advantage for the state in the implementation of its policies and for the youths it guided them in their upbringing. It can be in the following words of Claude-Emmanuel Abolo Biwole:

Parce qu’il est Jeu et compétition, le sport allie à la fois le plaisir de s’exprimer librement gratuitement et volontairement à la recherché du dépassement de soi et de l’affrontement règlementé; vu sous l’angle éducatif, il confère au corps un rôle de médiateur des valeurs étant assimilée à un moyen de formation de l’homme.

A y regarder de près, que le sport pallie de plus en plus la démission des parents et de l’école pour inculquer à côté de l’instruction, les balises de la vie en société à l’enfant<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> P-J-P Famos, “Performance motrice : un essai de définition”, in P-J-P Famose, *cognition et performance*, Paris, INSEP Publication 1993, p. 68, Platonov, *Théorie de méthodologie de l’entraînement sportif*, Moscou, 1984, p. 64.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p. 11.

<sup>11</sup> C.E. Abolo Biwole, “Le rôle du mouvement sportif dans la promotion de l’esprit sportif : contribution à l’éducation Olympique en milieu jeune”, présenté à la conférence francophonie sportive à Paris, 3-6 avril 2002, p. 2.

The above situates us on the orientation of sport and its use by the governing authorities. The educational system had the human capital for their project. The educational system greatly participated in the development of sport competitions and spectacle.

## **1. Education and Sport in Cameroon**

This section will focus on school sport competitions and youth competitions: Educational Competitions (OSSUC Games later FENASSCO A & B and University Games), and Dixiades (National Games). It should be noted that the school Games find their origin during the colonial period particularly in French Cameroon. Circular n° 3959 of 27 July 1954 created the Office du Sport Scolaire et Universitaire (OSSUC), which had as mission to organize school sport competitions. The OSSUC Games later FENASSCO Games were opportunities for youths of the nation to meet in a sportsmanship and fair play spirit.

### **1.1. Organization and Management of Primary School Games**

The history of national school games in Cameroon date back to the French colonial period. The French created the OSSUC to organize school sports competitions. As mentioned above the OSSUC Games was put in place in 1954. It was to bring together yearly scholarized youth from all the parts of the territory to show case their skills and talents. The competition was entirely financed managed and supervised by the administration. The very first edition took place in Yaounde in 1954, bringing together 1 200 youths<sup>12</sup>. This vision of the games was entirely meant for secondary schools.

The start of primary school games only came to existence with the creation of Federation National des Sports Scolaires (FENASSCO). The advent of the new federation coincided with the introduction of sport as a subject in the primary school official exams. FENASSCO B was introduced for primary school with the objective of introducing them to the development of their sporting skills. Also, research has shown that the earlier athletes were detected the easier it was to train them and make them champions in the future. It widened the bases for detection and also educated youths on the principles of self-discipline hygienic and obedience. The first edition of the FENASSCO B Games took place in 2006, the second was in Ebolowa in 2007, the fifth edition was in Mbalmayo in 2010, and the sixth was in Maroua.

The national finals was the last stage of a process that started months earlier during physical education lessons and interclass competitions. The system of the organization of the

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<sup>12</sup> Ndongso Minsoko., *Le livre d'or du sport...*, p. 180.

games had not changed much as per its creation. Each administrative unit organized competition in the schools under her authority in selected sport events. The best athletes and teams advanced to face champions of other regions. They moved from District to Subdivision to Division and Province (Region) level. Each Province/Region was to have a Provincial/Regional team in each sporting event that was to represent the Province/Region at the National Finals that was to take in a chosen town in the national territory<sup>13</sup>.

As the economic crisis gained grounds, it destabilized the socio-cultural and political situation of the country. This pushed the government to disengage from certain domains and focus on priorities such as health and education. The sports sector and its actors were thus victims of this national policy orientation. The educational oriented sports competitions were stopped for a number of years. During this period, brain storms were organized for the rebirth of the games. The outcome of the brain storming was the birth of a two category School Games. The 1992 General Conference on sport and physical education was the first of the think tanks to layout the new format of the games as can be read in the following extrait:

*Les États généraux préconisent:*

- 1- *La création immédiate d'une commission interministérielle (MINEDUC-MINJES-MINES) en vue d'élaborer des textes organiques devant régir le sport scolaire et universitaire. D'où la suggestion d'une structure de type fédératif. Il s'agissait d'un office national des sports scolaires et universitaires ayant trois (03) fédérations sportives :*
  - *celle des sports scolaires de l'enseignement primaire ;*
  - *celle des sports scolaires de l'enseignement secondaire ;*
  - *et celle des sports universitaires<sup>14</sup>.*

The 1992 General Conference laid the bases for the separation of the games into three categories as seen in above and cautioned on the use of these funds. These games were built under the same model and had the same missions. FENASSCO B was the same in organization as FENASSCO A as shall be seen below.

Athletes to compete during the FENASSCO B competitions were pupils of public and private primary schools of Cameroon. They were to be than twelve years old maximum. Their schools had to registered and recognized by the Ministry of Basic Education and pay their annual dues to the FENASSCO office which included registration, insurance and sports license. All officials of the federation were members of the educational community. This federation

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<sup>13</sup> Ndongo Minsoko, 56 years, Yaounde, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2017.

<sup>14</sup> Synthèse thématique des conclusions des États généraux, p. 27.

depended on the technical support of MINSEP, NSF and CNOSC for the organization of their competitions which was one of the sovereignty competitions of Cameroon.

## 1.2. Secondary School Games

Secondary school students played the OSSUC Games. The objectives for the OSSUC<sup>15</sup> Games were virtually the same as those for the FENASSCO Games. The games took place during Easter holidays (second term holiday March-April) break and still date the competition still takes place during this period. As a sovereignty competition, we understand the *raison d'être* were not just limited to field sport but other factors of government policy objectives inclusive. Amongst the reasons for the organization of the competition particularly OSSUC games. A letter to the Minister of Youth and Sport from the organization committee of OSSUC Games for the organization of games for 1981-1982 academic year can best enlighten us: the term of the games was “Une jeunesse saine et robuste prelude à une nation saine et forte”. The following objectives were pursued by the games; To contribute to the education of young people at school through the contribution of physical exercise; Improve and maintain physical health; Keeping school kids busy in their free time; To develop young people's geographical, historical and tourist knowledge of the country; Preparing the next generation of adult champions; To encourage the discovery of the country and promote cultural exchange<sup>16</sup>.

The OSSUC games, due to a number of contextual financial problems and other problems were stopped. The last edition of the OSSUC national school games took place in 1990, and it was only in 1994 that the government decided to bring in a new organization to handle this competition. The change of name was of capital importance as it was no longer an office but became a federation placed under the tutorship of the Ministries of Sport and that of Education. The National Federation of School and College Games (FENASSCO) was divided into two A and B<sup>17</sup>. This new federation just as the other already existing was considered as

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<sup>15</sup> This appellation was Common to all French West and Equatorial African colonies. Most of them maintained the same appellation even after independence. The case of Cameroon this appellation was only changed in 1994 replacing the OSSUC Games which last held in 1990. This break was due to the economic crisis and the Games resumed after been renamed FENASSCO (Fédération Nationale des Sports Scolaires). It was split in A & B respectively for secondary and primary and later on age limit was imposed for participants. (Dikoume says OSSUC Games were created in 1952, F.C. Dikoume., *Le service public...*, p. 110. / *L'encyclopédie de la République Unie du Cameroun, La jeunesse et les sports*, Douala, Eddy Ness, 1981, Les nouvelles éditions Africaines, p. 69.

<sup>16</sup> Archives MINSEP, Note à l'attention de M. Le ministre de la Jeunesse et des Sports, objet : présentation de la demande de subvention OSSUC pour 1981-1982, du 7 Avril 1981, p. 1.

<sup>17</sup> The advent of the new federation coincided with the introduction of sport as a subject in the primary school official exams. FENASSCO B was introduced for primary school to start introducing them to the development of their skills. Also search had shown that the earlier athletes were detected the easier it was to train them and make them champion in the future. It widened the based for detection and also educated youths on the principles of self-discipline hygienic and obedience. We should note that this was after the fabulous expedition of the Indomitable Lions at the FIFA 1990 World Cup in Italy.

public utility and social service. To this effect, it benefited from state subvention for its functioning although they also had contribution from members: The educational institutions. All schools which had a legal existence had had to be member both public and private because it was part of their obligation to ensure physical and sport programs to their students. Each school had to pay an annual registration (affiliation) and register for the particular events and pay licenses which had insurance.

### **1.3. Selecting of Athletes for the Finales of the National School Games**

The sutrutural organization of the Games was at the base of the system. It mostly concerned the personal of the Ministry of Sport. As for the selection of athletes for the national finals, it was the same system as for the primary school games. Athletes were presented by their schools at district level and the best moved to Sub Divisional then to divisional level. The best of each Division met at the Provincial/Regional finals where the best were qualified for the national finals. Each Province/Region had a number of athletes to present at the national finals. Each delegation at the national finals came with a fix number of athletes and officials: 100 athletes for 11 disciplines and 15 officials<sup>18</sup>. This did not change from OSSUC to FENASSCO the number remained the same. One of the most important reforms was the introduction of an age limitation for athletes which was 18 years. To make it efficient the introduced a bio-morphology commission was created to physical and physiological changes of athletes.<sup>19</sup> This commission had much work as many schools and athletes had always wanted to cheat with above age athletes and non-students. Many delegate, officials and athletes received suspensions for cheating: age and an academic level fraud. The win at all cost was the cause of this situation that did not enhance the development of sportsmanship, fair-play and merit.

### **1.4. Sources of Funds for the Organization of the Games**

The funds for the organization of games determined the success of the games. FENASSCO Games were jointly organized by the Ministry of Secondary Education and MINSEP. The first source of finance of this fedartion came from its members (school registrations and athlete licenses). As a sovereignty federation, it was highly subsidies by the state. The organization of their competitions solely depended on State funds. The Ministries in charge of Education and that of Sport gave their contribution. Each province had a provincial committee for the organization of the OSSUC games. They received subventions from the

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<sup>18</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24 June 2018

<sup>19</sup> Mbarga Bikie, 41 years, Yaounde 21<sup>st</sup> May 2019

central government for organization of their activities. Table 15 below shows subventions to the provincial OSSUC committees and to Higher Education for 1979-1980.

**Table 15: State subvention for the organization of OSSUC games 1979-1980**

Beneficiary	Amount in F CFA
Center-South	700. 000
East	450. 000
Littoral	450. 000
North	550. 000
Nord West	400. 000
West	500. 000
South West	450. 000
Highter Education	300. 000
Total	3. 800. 000

**Source:** By Koizah Karh based on field work data

It is clearly visible that the organization of the games solely depended on state subventions. The general budget for the organization of the games evolved greatly as the years passed by, as shown on the table 16 below. In addition to the subvention to the Provinces and Higher Education the following were also bored by the state.

- ✓ Administrative running expense and printing of licenses
- ✓ Salary for the secretariat
- ✓ Insurance for *sporters*
- ✓ Transport allocation
- ✓ Renting of cars and fuelling
- ✓ Registration for international organization<sup>20</sup>

The organization of the games as seen above was completely in the hands of the government. In the case of the 1965 edition, it was clearly mention that the Prime Minister of West Cameroon Vice President of the Federal Republic was Chairman of the central

<sup>20</sup> Archives MINSEP, Note à l'attention de M. Le Ministre de la Jeunesse et des Sports. Objet : présentation de la demande de subvention OSSUC pour 1981-1982 du 7 Avril 1982, p. 2.

organization committee<sup>21</sup>. This justifies the fact that the state was for many years sole sponsor of the competition with the following budgetary evolution.

**Table 16: Evolution of OSSUC budget till 1980**

Year	Budget in F CFA
1958	6 000 000
1976-77	8 000 000
1977-78	12 500 000
1980	17 250 000

**Source:** Archives MINSEP, note à l'attention de M. le Ministre de la Jeunesse et des Sports, p. 2.

The organizing committee of the OSSUC Games requested a budget increase for 1981-82 edition as mentioned in the following: *“En raison de ce qui précède, une subvention de 50 000 000 (cinquante millions) de francs CFA est actuellement le minimum qu'il faut pour un nouveau départ qui permet l'OSSUC de remplir sa mission*<sup>22</sup>. The rapid increase in the cost of living, construction and maintenance competition infrastructures required more funds to attain objectives.

The constant increase in the allocated budget for the competition could justify the dissolution of OSSUC and its competitions. The Games as from 1985 consumed the following budget: Table 17 shows the evolution in the budget.

**Table 17: Evolution of secondary school OSSUC budget between 1984 and 1987**

Year	Amount in million F CFA
1984/1985	110 000 000
1985/1986	118 000 000
1986/1987	118 000 000 <sup>23</sup>

**Source:** From Rapport général des finales nationales des jeux scolaires (OSSUC), Ebolowa 1987, p. 16.

As the country started witnessing an economic crisis, it was not certain that the state would be able to support the financial burden for the organization of the games. Till 1989 the government had always been the sole financier of the games. An innovation occurred during the 1990 edition with the coming in of that took place in Yaounde and was the last games under

<sup>21</sup> NAB file n° 940 sh(1963) 3, vol 2, sports : general correspondence. Ref n° P940/T/5 Prime Minister's Office, 10<sup>th</sup> March 1965, 1965 national Annual Sports championships, p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> Archives MINSEP, note à l'attention de M. Le Ministre de la Jeunesse et des Sports, p. 3.

<sup>23</sup> Rapport général des finales nationales des jeux scolaires (OSSUC), p. 16.

the appellation OSSUC. The Coca-Cola brewery company was the official sponsor of the games<sup>24</sup>. Its participation was in kind not cash. It offered: jerseys to the 10 provincial delegations; 18.000 bottles of drinks during meals for athletes and coaches; Trophies, games program, Olympic flame, trinkets, rostrum and other gargets.

The financial situation was so bad that the state only succeeded in giving in 8.175.700 F CFA, as grants and later 13.000.000F CFA came from the Presidency of the Republic.<sup>25</sup> This was still insufficient for the organization of the games and according to reports if things were to remain the same there would be no games in 1991. The games from various reasons were not organized as from 1991.

The fact that the state was the sole financier of the game reduced creativity on the part of OSSUC/FENASSCO officials. Some actors such as technical officials and some school managers were of the opinion that the FENASSCO game should no longer be financed by more than 60% by the state and that the Federations organizes it with its funds<sup>26</sup>. These same actors demended an increase in the registration and license fee to enable the federation depend on her funds to organize their competitions and reduce state implication. Below are the aspects on which the federation collected funds

- School Affiliation 1 200 F
- Contribution based on member of schools
- Registration per event (discipline)
- License and insurance per student.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to the subvention given by the state, schools and local government units had to contribute for the organization of the games. Each institution involved had to pay a certain quota. This money was insufficient and as a result of the economic hardship the country was going through, measures were taken to totally involve all stakeholders. In this light, a ministerial circular was issued fixing the contribution quota for FENASSCO League A and B activities to be paid by both public and private schools.

**Table 18: Distribution of students' fee for PES activities to the different administrations concerned**

	Enseignement		
	Primaire	Post- primaire	Secondaire General/ Technique

<sup>24</sup> Archives MINSEP, Rapport des 6eme Finales National des Sports Scolaire, Yaounde 12-15 Mars 1990, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> P. Boney, 47 years, Sport journalist and analyst, Team Press Officier for the U23 male national team, communicator for the Cameroon Handball Federation, Yaounde 5<sup>th</sup> May 2019.

<sup>27</sup> Archive MINSEP, Lettre-circulaire n° 023/MJS/DS/SD2. Objet : Tarifs OSSUC 1986/1987, du 28 août 1986,

			<b>1<sup>er</sup> cycle</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> cycle</b>
FENASSCO Ecole/Etablissement	100 f	140 f	350 f	530 f
FFENASSCO inspection d'Arrondissement	50 f	-	-	-
FENASSCO/DDEN/BUSAPPS	50 f	20 f	45 f	50 f
FENASSCO/DPENC/SAPPS	50 f	20 f	35 f	40 f
FENASSCO/MINEDUC	50 f	20 f	70 f	80 f
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>300 f</b>	<b>200 f</b>	<b>500 f</b>	<b>700 f</b>

**Source:** Archive MINSEP, circulaire n° 32/B1/2001/MINEDU/DSAPPS/SSS fixant les modalités de gestion du fonds d'appui à la santé et scolaire et la répartition de la qualité de la contribution exigible affectée aux activités sportives.<sup>28</sup>

Circular n° 32/B1/2001/MINEDU/DSAPPS/SSS gave regulatory measures on the contribution quota of each stakeholder. It read as follows : *“La contribution exigible affectée à la rubrique intitulée activités sportives comporte des quotes parts FENASSCO telles que fixées au bureau n° II”*<sup>29</sup>. Based on the above division it would have been expected that this federation become autonomus financially. But in reality, the federation still benefited from huge state funds for this competition. According to the circular each student in the primary section contributed 300 FCFA, while those of the colleges gave in 500 F CFA and 700 FCFA for the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> cycles respectively. School received a greater portion of the students' participation fee for their internal activities and management of their teams.

The Ministry of Secondary Education received in 2003 based on the distribution quota 58,427,890 FCFA, of which 42,461,650 FCFA was for the 1<sup>st</sup> cycle and 15,966,240 F for the 2<sup>nd</sup> cycle.<sup>30</sup> FENASSCO League A benefit from government financial assistance for the organization of the national finals. The FENASSCO A budget for the national finals had the following components in 2010/2011 academic year as presented on table 19 below.

**Table 19: Budget for National FENASSCO Finals for 2010/2011 academic year**

	<b>Source</b>	<b>Amount in F CFA</b>
1	Contributions paid by the regions	125 000 000
2	State Grants 2010 (MINESEC)	200 000 000
3	State Grants MINSEP	15 000 000
4	PIB	150 000 000
5	Vignettes	2 500 000
<b>Total</b>		<b>492 500 000</b>

**Source:** By Koizah Karh based on field work data

<sup>28</sup> Archive MINSEP, circulaire n° 32/B1/2001/MINEDU/DSAPPS/SSS fixant les modalités de gestion du fonds d'appui à la santé et scolaire et la répartition de la qualité de la contribution exigible affectée aux activités sportives, p. 2.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

A look at this budget for the organization of the 2010/2011 national finals, there are a number of questions which needed to be posed. Why was the contribution of MINSEP so small? Which investment were to be done with the Public Investment Budget of 150 000 000 FCFA? Oloko is of the opinion that there was a lot of mismanagement of funds allocated with attention given to propaganda rather than efficient work. Most of the construction projects were never completed and the funds embezzled to the detriment of the beneficial region.<sup>31</sup> School could not boast of adequate quality and quantity infrastructure, the case of L.G.L of Yaounde. Top state officials who appeared for these ceremonies came for political reasons and received their mission allowances and other advantages while the main actors the students were given nothing.<sup>32</sup> During the 5<sup>th</sup> Edition of FENASSCO “B”<sup>33</sup> in 2010 in the town of Mbalmayo that five Ministers of the Republic were seated in the tribune, Youssouf Hadidja Alim of Basic Education, L. Bapes Bapes of secondary Education, Michel Zoa of Sport, Zacharie Perevet of Employment and Vocational Training and Adoum Garoua of Youth Affaires.<sup>34</sup>

The budget structure for FENASSCO League “B” for primary school had the same budget lay out as League A. FENASSCO League A and B were dependent on state funds for their activities. This high dependence on state funds came from the fact that there was a lot of mismanagement of allocated funds, children had no prices, were poorly logged and feed and received poor quality competition equipment which showed that the funds embezzle. These federations could not gain their financial autonomy, because school authorities did not declare their exact population which reduced their contributions. This reduced the amount they had to pay in for FENASSCO activities. Many institutions declare two figures one with a high population when it was to benefit from state subventions and grants and reduced it when it was to pay for FENASSCO<sup>35</sup>. The question here can be why was there no centralization of such figure owing to the fact that this federation was attached to the education ministeries? And why were there not sanctions for those convicted of embezzlement and mismanagement? This translated the fact that sporting activities were still not regarded as crucial and were used as distraction for athletes and a medium to distribution state funds. During the 1992 General

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<sup>31</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24 June 2018.

<sup>32</sup> Boney, 47 years, Yaounde 5<sup>th</sup> May 2019,

<sup>33</sup> Samuel Zo'ona Nkomo, “FENASSCO League « B » 2010, L’Harmattan de l’Extrême-Nord souffle sur les jeux”, in *MINSEP Info*, Mai 2010, p. 72.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, p. 73.

<sup>35</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24 June 2018.

Conference it was noted that a funds allocated for the development of sport were used of other issues by those in office.<sup>36</sup> This was the root of all problems.

Many schools such as William Booth Bilingual College, NESCAS College, Government Bilingual Practicing High School in 2010 and 2011,<sup>37</sup> did not participate in the FENASSCO activities but collected the money for physical education and sports activities. This was most often the case with private schools and in some government schools it's was becoming frequent.<sup>38</sup> It was a source of conflict between school authorities and PES teachers who wished the rest of the collected fund was given to them as compensation. Amongst the methods used by school authorities to retain sport activity funds were the following:

- ❖ Reduction in the number of events to participate in the FENASSCO Games;
- ❖ Reduction of bonuses (transportation money) for participating students;
- ❖ Refused to buy competition material (jerseys, balls, spikes for running)
- ❖ Refused to buy a medical first aid box<sup>39</sup>.

The above situation became more complex to handle as in some schools authorities gave permission to other teachers to organize catch up lessons during FENASSCO activities programmed by the Ministry. This was frequent in LGL, Lycée Ngoa-Ekelle, Lycée de Mendong etc... To many students particularly examination class students their future was prime. The administration did nothing to rectify the situation by sanctioning school that were absent from their activities and gradually many other schools began to abandon these activities. Assiene points out that the games were first of all organized for government schools that had the obligation not only to participate but also to register in all events of the games<sup>40</sup>. This drop in the number of students and schools reduced the base of the detection pyramid and eventually reduction of future elite champions.

In the same light the state implemented the construction of infrastructure in respect of the 1974 Law on socio-education and sport infrastructure in schools. The classroom for sport was the field, so schools had to provide space for PES lessons and play of sport competitions. The OSSUC games were also a pretext to enhance infrastructural development as can be read below:

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<sup>36</sup> Synthèse thématique des conclusions des États généraux du sport..., p. 8.

<sup>37</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24 June 2018.

<sup>38</sup> Mbarga Bikie, 41 years, Yaounde 21<sup>st</sup> May 2019.

<sup>39</sup> Idem

<sup>40</sup> Assiene, 49 years, Yaounde, 21<sup>st</sup> July 2019.

*De nombreuses installations sportives scolaires ont été réalisées dans le cadre de la construction des projets intégrés des établissements primaires, secondaires, supérieurs et professionnels.*

*D'autres ont été aménagées dans les villes qui ont abrité les finales de l'OSSUC comme Yaoundé, Ngaoundéré, Bamenda, Nkongsamba et dans les établissements suivants : lycée Leclerc de Yaoundé, le Lycée technique de Yaoundé, le lycée d'Edéa, le lycée de Manegoumba, le lycée de Ngaoundéré, le lycée de Jeunes Filles de Douala, le lycée d'Eséka, le lycée d'Ebolowa, le lycée de Sangmélima, le C.E.S de Yaoundé et le CETIC de Douala<sup>41</sup>.*

In terms of development of sports infrastructure going from OSSUC to FENASSCO, not very much was gained. Most often the games were organized on municipal and Omnisport stadia. This did not enhance and develop sport amenities in the schools that would have created emulation and space for preparation and detection of students. The case of Ebolowa in 1987 and Bertoua in 1986 where competition were on municipal stadiums. This was pointed out by Dikoume who observed that notwithstanding the number of times Yaounde hosted the games, no college could boast of having adequate facilities of good quality. Lycée Général Leclerc had one football field, a 4 lane track of 350m for athletics (instead of 400m) on bare ground, 1 basketball court in use, 1 handball court, 1 volleyball court all which could not be used during the raining season and at night lack of electrification<sup>42</sup>.

It was rather preferable that the school games be held in school so as to increase school facilities which would have been more useful for the students. Again, it would have been more accessible and secured for the students. In conformity with the 1974 Law on the construction of socio-educative and sport amenities in schools, this would have encouraged the students and teachers to work harder. More talents would have been detected under better conditions. It would have created emulation and passion in the youth and develop their neuromuscular and brain systems.

It is important to note that these games brought together youths from all over the territory and so demanded large mobilization of logistic and management. The athletes during these periods of gathering had to be lodged and fed by the organizing committee and also transported from their Provinces/Regions.

### **1.5. University Games under a New Management as from 1998**

The start of the 1990s was a difficult period for Cameroon. There was social, economic and political tension that pushed the government to take drastic decisions. Due to the poor

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<sup>41</sup> Archives MINSEP, Avant-projet du Ve plan quinquennal de Développement économique, social et culturel, Jeunesse et sports vision I, pp. 2-3.

<sup>42</sup> Dikoume, *Le service public du sport...*, p. 114.

financial situation with the economic crisis that had started in 1986-87 certain programs and projects had to be abandoned<sup>43</sup>.

Among the programs that had to be stripped of finances was the OSSUC University Games. The fact that, the state was the sole financier of the games was a handicapping situation in such a period. It was due to the above crisis situation that the organization of the games went into hibernation for about nine years (1989-98). The relaunch of the Games was again possible because government adopted new policies in a variety of structural adjustment plans, that helped bring about macroeconomic stability and lay the groundwork for a robust recovery.<sup>44</sup>

The top management of OSSUC announced during the 1984 games in Bertoua that the upcoming edition was to have a difference. It was to have a separate competition for secondary school students and another one for higher education students. It was to be effective as from the coming up edition of 1985. There are a number of reasons that encouraged the split. The follow could be cited:

- ✓ It was to conform to international standards which separated these two categories;
- ✓ Have transparence in results and encourage enrolment of new games;
- ✓ The demand in terms of objectives was not the same for Secondary and Higher Education, (secondary schools were doing detection while higher education was more focus on performance).

The secondary school OSSUC had their edition in 1990 when. As for the Higher Education OSSUC, the last edition was organized in 1989. The organizer was MYS and was organized in the following towns Douala (1985), Maroua (1986), Buea (1987), Yaounde (1988) and Bafoussam (1989). The reasons that were given to justify the stop of the Higher Education OSSUC was also true for secondary schools.

Due to the financial difficult as a result of the economic crisis in general and the structural adjustment program (SAP) imposed on Cameroon in particular the 1990 edition of the Higher Education Games scheduled for Douala did not hold and this formula of the games was interrupted until 1998<sup>45</sup>.

It was within the background of economic security that the University Games resurfaced after hibernation in 1998 when the University of Dschang host to the first edition of the new look games. There had also been a university reform in the Higher Educational sector<sup>46</sup>.

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<sup>43</sup> Touma Mama, *L'économie camerounaise...*, p.

<sup>44</sup> White Paper. The public finance reform of Cameroon 2011, Ministry of Finance and the European Union, p. 2.

<sup>45</sup> National Federation of University Sports, 20<sup>e</sup> Edition of University Games, p. 13.

<sup>46</sup> Cameroon had only one University before 1993, the University of Yaounde, that previously been called the Federal University. In 1992-93, a great change occupied in the higher Education space with the transformation of

From 1998 and 2000 the games were organized by the service of sports and cultural activities of the Ministry of Higher Education<sup>47</sup>. It was completely financed by the government through the Ministry of Higher Education until the 2007 edition<sup>48</sup>. An executive Bureau was put in place in March 2001 and the National Federation of University Sport (FENASU) was created. The constituent meeting saw the presence of heads of state universities, institution of higher education public and private and representatives of the Ministries of Sport and Higher Education<sup>49</sup>. FENASU was a multisport federation as well as an education-based federation as was FENASSCO. Her missions were similar to that of FENASSCO. The reawakening of the university games was a nostalgic and emotional for those who had witnessed the period of grandeur of university games in Cameroon in the late 80s. Cameroon been a member of the International University Sports Federation in its acronym (Fédération International du Sport Universitaire FISU in French) participated at international university sport competitions<sup>50</sup>. Cameroonian athletes who participated at the University Games, had the chance of been selected to represent Cameroon at FISU competitions which was the Core of elite sport in many countries and was part of sport diplomacy. This view was expressed by the Director of Civil Sport at the MYS in the following words:

*A l'instar des jeux olympiques et autres championnats mondiaux, les universiades constituent le sommet du sport universitaire où les élites sportives de ce secteur confrontent leurs expériences respectives... notre participation à cette haute compétition pourrait servir de catalyseur du sport universitaire qui justement souffre en ce moment d'un manque de motivation<sup>51</sup>.*

As also mentioned earlier the change in the structure to that organized the UG was in accordance with the new approach in management. The system of commission had been abandoned and that of sun decentralization adopted. FENASU was handled by the longest serving state university rector, who was the president of the Rector's Conference. The first Rector to handle FENASU was Dorothy L. Njeuma who chaired the FENASU until 2008 that

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existing university centres into full state universities. The following university centers were erected to universities: Ngaoundere, Buea, Dschang and Douala. The University of Yaounde was split into two; Yaounde I and Yaounde II Soa. This was done under two presidential decrees, Decree n° 92/74 of April 13, 1992 for Buea and Ngaoundere and Decree n° 93/026 of January 19, 1993 for Yaounde I, Yaounde II, Douala and Dschang. This was the actual based for the relaunch of the university became it was a state organized activity.

<sup>47</sup> National Federation of University Sport, 20<sup>th</sup> edition of University Games, p. 14.

<sup>48</sup> Beling Nkoumba, 50 years, Yaounde 22 June 2018.

<sup>49</sup> Dikoume, *Le service public du sport...*, p. 111.

<sup>50</sup> Archives MINSEP, Universiade 87 Zagreb Yougoslavia, invitation to the Office des Sports Scolaires et Universitaires du Cameroun to the Zagreb univesiade, 8-9 July 1987.

<sup>51</sup> Archives MINSEP, Universiade 87 Zagreb Yougoslavia, invitation..., p. 1.

is eight (8) editions. She was replaced by Bruno Bekolo Ebe in 2009 and left in 2012, four (4) editions<sup>52</sup>.

It was mentioned earlier that the U.G just as the FENASSCO Games had almost the same missions. The government used it to enforce other policies: particularly unity national integration and sport amenities. One of the major differences was that the U.G was already elite sports as it was made up of all the champions of FENASSCO Games of the previous years who had passed their advanced level certificates and registered in universities. There was a maximum age limit for FENASU Games (University Games). This was to stay in conformity with FISU regulations<sup>53</sup>. All athletes wishing to participate in the Games had to be age between 18 and 27 years. The team representing the higher education at the Bertoua Games was composed of students of the University of Yaounde, the Higher Teachers Training College, the National Institute of Youth and Sports, University Center for Health Sciences.

#### **1.6. The Advent of Dixiades ‘National Games’ in 2008**

The UGs and FENASSCO games targeted a specific stratum of the youth population: students. The objective was beyond sport, it was aimed implementing a unitary vision of the country. Thus, there was a need for a more inclusive national multisport competition which could bring together youth from all over the country. This was the aim and driving force behind the Dixiades Games ‘National Games’. The dixiades<sup>54</sup> were games organised by the CNOSC initiated by its president Kalkaba Malbourn. The concept can best be understood in the following words “l’appellation “Dixiades” émane ainsi du terme “Dix” car, cette première édition des Jeux Nationaux du Cameroun regroupait les “dix” régions du Cameroun, pendant ‘dix’ jours et de “dix” disciplines sportives différentes”<sup>55</sup>. It was a combination of ten’s: ten regions, ten days ten disciplines.

The birth of the ‘Nation Games’ was in 2001, when the president of the CNOSC signed decision n° 387/P/CNOSC of 10 July 2001, appointing members of the coordination Committee of the National Games<sup>56</sup>. The games were to take place ever two years during the month of December. At the level of the regions each had a Regional Olympic and Sport Committee (known as Comite Regional Olympique et Sportives (CROS)) which had as duty to organize

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<sup>52</sup> National Federation of University Sport 20<sup>th</sup> Edition of University Games..., p. 14.

<sup>53</sup> Interview with Beling Nkoumba

<sup>54</sup> It was a sort of national games grouping the ten regions, for ten days with ten sporting disciplines. It was the national games with an age limit of 23 years with ambition to detect and prepare young athletes for international sporting events such as the Commonwealth Games, All African Games, and Olympic Games...etc.

<sup>55</sup> Cover, media document for the 2014 Dixiades games communication department CNOSC, p. 1.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

qualification (selection) competitions and prepared the athletes. They also handled administrative and technical issues. The 2008 edition of Yaounde which was the first saw the participation of 1664 athletes while in 2010 received 1400 athletes<sup>57</sup>. The 2010 edition saw the introduction of Lawn tennis this was a policy of constant increase of sport disciplines. Each region through its CROS organized competitions in each of the disciplines to select the best athletes to represent the region during the national finals.

These national competitions played a very important part in the development of sports at base and had the merit of creating awareness as concerned sport. The media was important in the amelioration of the conditions of athletes during such competitions as they pointed out and criticized the poor management of certain authorities. The organization of these competitions needed to be well inserted in a policy frame known to actors so as to produce the required results<sup>58</sup>.

## **2. Annual sovereignty competitions**

The above section was focused on sovereignty federations and their competitions. These federations had not MINSEP as tutor ministry but it was just a technical partner to the organization. Apart from the above cited sovereignty competitions there were two (2) other competitions which were sovereignty competitions based on state control and management of the games although they were technically under civil sporting federations which depended on MINSEP. The two federations concerned here were the Cameroon Athletics Federations (CAF) with the Mont Cameroon Race of Hope and the Cameroon Cycling Federation (CCF) with the Cameroon cycling Tour and the Chantal Biya Grand Prix Cycling Tour. These competitions were organized on yearly bases mobilizing top level control and supervision<sup>59</sup>. They were international and boost the image and prestige of the country. It was a powerful sport soft power diplomacy tool<sup>60</sup>. So, each year the government was ready to spend huge amounts of its resources both human and financial to make sure these competitions took place under the best possible conditions. These competitions had a very important diplomatic impact as many athletes were for foreign nations. Also, there was a live media coverage of the events attracting an international audience. The more foreign athletes present the more visibility for Cameroon's

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, p.5

<sup>58</sup> M. Van Bottenburg, "Sport for All and Elite Sport: Do they benefit one another", paper for the IX World Sport for All congress, Papendal, the Netherlands, 27-30 Oct 2002, p. 30.

<sup>59</sup> Kouh Kotte, 52 years, 53 years, Yaounde 12<sup>th</sup> July 2018.

<sup>60</sup> DiploSport, la Diplomatie sportive Qatarie. Le « sport power » : le sport au service de la reconnaissance internationale du Qatar, Note N°1, *La diplomatie sportive du Qatar*, IRIS/CSFRS, 2012, p. 8.

diplomacy and soft power. International federations and experts were also involved in the organization.

### **2.1. Mont Cameroon Race of Hope: a sport and cultural event**

The race was born of a private initiative but was organized and sponsored by a brewery company. It became a local festival and gradually embraced the whole nation. It was known as the Guinness Mont Cameroon Race<sup>61</sup>. The Guinness brewery company organized and managed the competition with the support of the CAF which came in with technical officials. The economic crisis that hit Cameroon and socio-political tension in the late 1980s and early 1990s, forced the Guinness Company which was the organizer to stop in 1992. This vacuum created provoked brainstorming in the sporting, cultural and political sphere of the country to fill the space. The race had become a national symbol and heritages. This could be seen in the speech of the head of State President Paul Biya of 10<sup>th</sup> February 1996 for the re-launch of the Mont Cameroon race:

The Mont Cameroon race is a sport of endurance and courage in all its stages. The race illustrates the very fact there is no victory without the hope of reaching the finish.

Efforts, courage, endurance, determination hope, success, these are watchwords in the participants of this event "Race of Hope".

I fervently call upon all Cameroonians young and old to out following the example of the renowned athletes who have come from all over the world in this major sport event, the participation of each and every one is already in itself a great victory. I wish all the participants a pleasant stay in Cameroon<sup>62</sup>.

This competition was re-launched and was given the baptismal name of Mont Cameroon Race of Hope under the inspiration and leadership of Hamad Kalkaba Malboum the President of the Cameroon Athletic Federation. He had succeeded in convincing the head of state and it was shown live on state television Cameroon Radio and Television (CRTV)<sup>63</sup>. The race period also harbored many cultural, touristic and economic activities. Chief Endeley paramount ruler of the Bakweri performed traditional rituals to appease the ancestors and gods of the mountain. This activity was also the only major attraction in one of the two speaking English regions of the country.

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<sup>61</sup> The race was run in Buea on Mont Fako (Cameroon) which is the name of the Division. The mountain is the second highest mountain in Africa with 4100 meters. The first edition was in 1973 sponsored by Guinness which did so still 1992 when it was stopped. Before stopping it had become a biennial completion as from 1990. The first lady official took part in the race in 1982 in the person of Ensilia Mojoko. The first ever winner for the men in 1973 was John Ekema. The female record holders were Sarah Etongue and Ngwang Catherine

<sup>62</sup> Extract of speech of President Paul Biya of 10th February 1996 or the Mont Cameroon race in MINSEP Cameroon Athletic Federation 14th edition of the race of Hope, Buea, together let's win 17-21 February 2009, p.3.

<sup>63</sup> Linus Pascal Fouda, "From Mount Cameroon Guinness Race to Race of Hope", in MINSEP/CAF 14<sup>th</sup> edition of the Race of Hope, Buea, together, let's win, 17-21 February 2009, p. 8.

### 2.1.1. Funding and selection of athletes for the Mont Cameroon Race of Hope

The race was entirely funded by the Guinness Company before it was stopped. Since its relaunch in 1996, it had never been interrupted due to continuous state subvention. There was an increase of the cash prizes for the victors moving from one million<sup>64</sup> (1,000,000) FCFA to three million (3.000.000) FCFA. Athletes register for the race through the Provincial/Regional Leagues. The government gave in more than 80 percent of the needed budget for the organization of the competition. The rest of the budget came from sponsors. “*Le gouvernement du Cameroun quant à lui a apporté son soutien au rayonnement de cette épreuve; c’est ainsi que plus de cent millions de francs ont été mis à la disposition de la Fédération Camerounaise d’Athlétisme*”<sup>65</sup>. The competition budget was not less than one hundred and fifty (140) million FCFA<sup>66</sup>. All participating athletes received upon crossing the finish line atleast ten thousand (10,000) FCFA. Before the race they received competition kits (T-shirt, bracelet, stick, whistle, bananas). The live media coverage was ensured by the CRTV both radio and television.

The competition distance had been increased from 32 km to 39 km as from 1996 and also an increase in the number of participants from 250 to about 400. The race had witness non-Cameroonian as winner. The Cameroon Athletics Federation through the Provincial/Regional Leagues organized what was called ‘Test Race’ for the selection of local athletes. This was done between the months of November and January and the final list of selected athletes was published by the technical committee of the federation. Each selected athlete had to pay five thousand (5000) FCFA for a license and insurance. Security has always been ensured by the Forces of Law and Order and all administrative authorities. The communication around the competition continually attracted economic operators, businessmen and foreign athletes which motivates the state to continue financing the Competition.

### 2.2. The Cameroon International Cycling Tour and Chantal Biya International (“Grand Prix”)

The International Cycling Federation was the only institution which had the power to authorize the organization of competition. All competitions were rated and were part of a circuit for athletes. It was a way of selling Cameroon positively and the media coverage targeted construction of national identity and national unity<sup>67</sup>. Turning to cycling, it had two yearly

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<sup>64</sup> Jean-Paul Ekoda, 6<sup>e</sup> ascension du Mont Cameroun dernier. Le père stifter réédite son exploit, in *Cameroon Tribune* (N° 1110), jeudi 2 mars 1978, p. 11

<sup>65</sup> Thobi, Course de l’Espoir 2010, Le Gouvernement toujours présent, in MINSEP info, Mai 2010, p. 9.

<sup>66</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24<sup>th</sup> June 2018.

<sup>67</sup> R.F. Mvo’o, “Acteurs du Football Diplomatie...”, p. 227.

international competitions. Cycling was introduced in Cameroun during the colonial period and bicycles were used for transportation and for sports and leisure. It was amongst the sport authorized and recognized by the 1962 law and decree which authorized certain sport federation to function legally.

The Cycling League (Federation) was created in 1959 and organized the first Cameroon International Cycling Tour in 1975 which was won by Boniface Pommier, a Cameroonian. This edition saw the participation of athletes from eleven different nations.<sup>68</sup> It should be noted that *Arrêté n° 3959 of 1954* authorized the organization of the first ever cycling championship in Cameroon that took place in Yaounde in 1954<sup>69</sup>. Assomo Enock won the first ever official cycling competition in Cameroun.

This competition was jointly organized by the government through the Ministry in charge of Sport, the National Sports Committee and the Cycling Federation with financial support from economic operators. It should be noted that many of the existing teams were own by businessmen who also supported the Federation. The initiative for the organization of the tour just as for the Mount Cameroon race in athletic was a private one: “ *Le tour étant une initiative du secteur privé, les hommes d'affaires des différentes villes apportent de ce fait leur contribution qui est donc celle des villes étapes et chaque ville étape devrait contribuer pour un minimum de 500 000 FCFA*”<sup>70</sup>.

The changing socio-political and economic situation in Cameroon and many other African countries in the 1980s and early 1990s greatly affected the developing of sport. This situation negatively affected Cameroon because most of the companies that financed the sport in Cameroon had to close down their activities. The state was also in financial difficulties and for the available funds at her disposal she had spent more on major priorities. It was only in 2003 that the cycling tour was again upgraded to the Cameroon International Cycling Tour<sup>71</sup>.

The Structural Adjustment Program and other economic relief programs enabled government to have sufficient funds to reinvest on leisure and sporting activities. The result was the return of Cameroon Cycling Tour. It was almost entirely sponsored by the state as many

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<sup>68</sup> La jeunesse et les sports in Encyclopédie de la république Unie du Cameroun Douala, les nouvelles éditions africaines, Eddy Ness, 1981, p. 72.

<sup>69</sup> Ndongo Minsoko, *Le livre d'or du sport...*, p. 132.

<sup>70</sup> Mouelle Bissi, “3<sup>e</sup> tour international cycliste du Cameroun : « La réfection des axes défectueux est en bonne voie », affirme M. Salomon Mongo Essombe”, in Cameroun Tribune, n° 1121 du mercredi 15 mars 1978, p. 10. Essombe was chief of service of civilsports at the MYS.

<sup>71</sup> Z. Onana, “7<sup>e</sup> Tour Cycliste International du Cameroun. David Clark confirme”, in *MINSEP infos*, mars 2009, p. 95.

companies had closed down or did not find the deal interesting. Again, it was a geopolitical and geostrategic position of the state in the field of sport which could be used to project the country's image and enforce her diplomacy.<sup>72</sup> The organization of this competition was jointly done with international sports organizations and required the participation of different national teams.

The introduction of democracy in sport which demanded the handing of certain powers and prerogatives to sport federations had a certain impact on the organization of sport competitions. The state retained certain aspects such as the national teams which were completely managed by the state; the organization of sporting competition of high magnitude was a diplomatic and geostrategic weapon in the modern 21 century. Such competitions captured media coverage and attention which the state needed to use to her advantage by projecting a better image.<sup>73</sup> D. Reiche talked of sport competitions as arenas to gain international prestige and strength other than with military and economic strength<sup>74</sup>. The competition demanded a diversified policy and logistic approach that involved a public-public and public-private interaction. The first was infrastructural development; in the case of cycling good roads were needed to ensure safety and performances. So, the government undertook road maintenance to have the competition homologated by international bodies and teams<sup>75</sup>.

The Cameroon International Cycling Tour was to be a mirror to portray Cameroon touristic potential as was the case with the Tour de France. Visibly there was limited collaboration and cooperation between the organizers and other actors: cycling federation/MINSEP and the Ministry of Tourism<sup>76</sup>.

Besides, the Cameroon International Cycling Tour as an annual competition, there was also the Chantal Biya *Grand Prix*. This cycling competition was introduced in 2001.<sup>77</sup> In fact, it came before the Cameroon Cycling Tour which was re-upgrade to an international cycling tour after many years of slumber. The striking question here was to know the difference between these two competitions. The Chantal Biya Grand Prix was run in only two Region's: the Centre

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<sup>72</sup> Dikoume, *Le service public du sport...*, p. 15.

<sup>73</sup> Amis, "Striving for Excellence, mega-sporting, Events and Human rights...", p. 2.

<sup>74</sup> D. Reiche, "Investing in sporting success as a domestic and foreign policy tool: the case of Qatar", in *International Journal of sport policy and politics*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2004, p. 3.

<sup>75</sup> Mouelle Bissi., "3<sup>e</sup> Tour International Cycliste du Cameroun : « La refection... », p. 10.

<sup>76</sup> E. Obama, "7<sup>e</sup> Tour Cycliste international du Cameroun, j'ai respecté le cahier des charges de l'UCI d'un bout à l'autre : François Njile, président du comité d'organisation", in MINSEP info, March 2009, p. 97.

<sup>77</sup> The baptismal name was Chantal Biya who was the first Lady of the Republic of Cameroon. It cannot be said how she came to encourage and promote cycling but many Cameroonians were aware that the President Paul Biya was a lover and practitioner of cycling in his youthful age and also leisure time. This competition came in the same view as the Amisa Bongo grand prix in Gabon.

and South Regions. It started in Yaoundé passing through Ebolowa and ended in Meyomessala. It was the only of the sovereignty competitions which saw the reward of prizes and bonus to athletes from the Presidency. During certain editions like in 2010 athletes received the visit of the First Lady and Godmother of the competition. These three competitions had the advantage of being popular as the competitors went across the streets because of the international nature of the competition, it provoked patriotic emotion. Spectators rallied to support and encourage their nationals during the race to out play the opponents in a spirit of faire-play. This could justify the great implication of the state in these competitions to the detriment of other civil competitions.

Such competition as the school games (secondary and university) normally was the springboard for elite sport. This could only formally produce results through a well progressive's policy. Till date none of the persons in charge at the FENASSCO or FENASU can give a report about the former champions, nor the number of athletes during a given period. This is lack of vision and it shows that these games were not out to enable the promotion and detection of athletes for sporting performances. In a due policy layout, it would have been expected to have a time frame and means (human and financial) and objectives to attain, that could be evaluated. There was simply no traceability in what was done. In Australia a program was put in place in 2003 that had to improve on the health of children between 5-14 years through the play of sport. Sixteen (16) million of them were involved for a 4 years period and a budget of about 10 million Dollars for 21 sport disciplines<sup>78</sup>. Records of these activities was kept to evaluate the impact of the program in later years. The intention to organize such competition remained laudable but they needed to be objective oriented in a conducive management system. It is evident that the number of participants at young categories have an impact on the number at elite level. In Canada the pyramid approach was to include the majority of youth<sup>79</sup> such a perspective base approach had probing result because of accountability and following-up. Each actor had to account for actions taken in the building a vision.

The magnitude of these competitions was enhanced by the live broadcast on national television. The journalists and commentators did their best to present the competitions as a major achievement of the government and any Cameroonian victory was due to the engagement of the head of state. The Chantal Biya International Grand Prix particularly attracted and mobilized

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<sup>78</sup> Stewart et al., *Australia Sport: Better by Design?...*, p. 114.

<sup>79</sup> Thibault and Harvey., *Sport Policy in Canada...*, p. 196-197.

the state apparatus massive presences of state officials at the arrival and in certain cases the First Lady who was the godmother and metron of the competition.

### **3. Organization and Management of Team Sport for National Competitions**

This section will focus on the missions and means allocation to the federations to organize their competitions at local and national level. For understanding and clarification of the situation, football will be treated differently from the other sport disciplines because it gives more attention and resources by the state. This was particularly true at national level as internationally they had the international federation and confederations. There was a service at the level of the ministry in charge of sport with the mission of the follow up and monitoring and evaluation of federations and their activities. It should be noted that federations were endorsed with the mission of public utility and benefited from state funds<sup>80</sup>.

One of the missions of the federations was to organize competitions. These Competitions mobilized competitors who showcased their talents and skills acquired during hours of training to delight spectators who cheered them<sup>81</sup>. There was the birth of local heroes that was followed by the creation of myths and legends to describe their prowesses. This created euphoric and elation in the population and was used by both the colonial and post-colonial administrations to enhance social regulation. Modern sport came with rules and regulations and transmitted values particularly to the youths. Local pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial traditional sport competitions ranged from spear throwing, climbing, wrestling, to canoes racing, horse racing, and running amongst member of the same committee or against another one or during particular situations such as period, planting or harvesting, initiation of youths and enthronement of a chief or fon<sup>82</sup>.

In Cameroon as was the case in many countries, the universal language of sport was spoken by all actors: Officials, athletes, spectators and state authorities with each having a particular interest. Federations organized competitions at different levels and for different purposes. Competitions for youths were mainly for Promotion, initiation and animation, championship and cup for elite and participation at international competitions<sup>83</sup>.

These federations in the execution of their missions had to collaborate with state institutions particularly the Ministry of Sports and that of Finance for funds. All federations in Cameroon did not receive the same attention from the state. The football federation was treated

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<sup>80</sup> *Ibid*, p.105.

<sup>81</sup> Ndong Minsoko, *Le livre d'or...*, p. 182.

<sup>82</sup> La jeunesse et les sports in *L'Encyclopédie de la République Unie...*, p. 70.

<sup>83</sup> Laker, "Culture, Education and sport..." in *Sociology of Sport...*, p. 13.

separately from the others. It received and captivated all state and administrative attention to the detriment of the other federations. This causes at times for some to demand the creation of a ministry for others sports as the existing one was already for football.<sup>84</sup> MINSEP was called the “ministry of football”<sup>85</sup> by certain Cameroonians.

### **3.1. Football the National Sports**

The football federation was the most active of all the federations in terms of competitions, number of teams, licensed players and spectators. A step back in the early days of independence shows that there was a two states competition in the East and West Cameroon until 1968. Each state brought her federal champion to play the national cup finals in Yaounde presided by president Ahidjo. In 1963 the Cup of Cameroon Final was played between Oryx Douala representing East Cameroon and West Cameroon X, which was won by Oryx.<sup>86</sup> No West Cameroon team won the cup of Cameroon in above format.

Football was introduced in Cameroon during the colonial period and by 1934 they was a league that was created in 1934 to enable teams such as Caïman de Douala, Oryx de Douala, Vent Lalane de Douala, Jeunesse Bamiléké de Douala, (mother of Union de Douala), Lion de Yaounde, Tonnerre de Yaoundé and Canon de Yaoundé to compete amongst themselves in an organized competition<sup>87</sup>.

Without any turning of the tongue football had been and is still the most popular sport in the world. It held the world record of in terms of number of amateur and professional licenses. One of the reasons for this was easy to play football as it demanded no sophisticated infrastructure. Any given space can be used, just placing a goal post with sticks and everything was set for a match. Everybody could play football, which was the perfect mirror to understand of globalization.

Teams in Western Cameroon had a stratified competition that had been put in place. The competition started at District level their region league and first Division for a championship and an annual cup which involved all teams. This same organization was seen in East Cameroon and was continued after the merge of both leagues. Table 20 below gives Baptismal

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<sup>84</sup> Obama, 54 years, Yaounde, 10<sup>th</sup> August 2019.

<sup>85</sup> F. Mbango Etone, 41 years, former athlete (triple jumper), two time Olympic Games Gold Medalist (2004 and 2008), OG femme triple jump record holder, two times gold medallist at th African Athletics Championship(2002 and 2008), and two times silver medallist at the world athletic championship (1999 and 2003), Yaounde 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2017.

<sup>86</sup> NAB file n° P.940/82, vol 2, sports general correspondence, executive bureau for west Cameroon FECAFOOT league, 1963 p. 40.

<sup>87</sup> Ndongso Minsoko, *Le livre d'or du sport ...*, p. 181.

name of football competitions played in Southern and later West Cameroon Federal State 1958-1968.

**Table 20: Name of competitions played in Southern and west Cameroon between 1958 and 1968**

Year	Competition name
1958-61	commissioner cup
1962	Independence cup
1963-64	Foncha cup
1965-68	Muna Cup

**Source:** By Koizah Karh based on field work data

As concerned play, teams in West Cameroon were not really civilian as they were either set up cooperation or by governmental structures. The following team existed POWERCAM, P & T social club, CDC Tiko, Police club, Army football club, PWD kumba and Bamenda, Cameroun Bank<sup>88</sup>. There was almost no private individual owned team in the state. This was contrary to East French Cameroon where teams were created and management based on social, cultural and even tribal filiations. The fact that players in West Cameroon did not have the same follow up as in East Cameroon made the difference on the field of play. Most were workers of companies, and even of governmental institutions. They workers had out station allowances and for cooperate workers other advantage as off paid day when they had to play. This was a form of professionalism which assured footballers in the carrier and made them stable in their professional and family live.

In French or East Cameroon, football had gained grounds as it was built on a completely different logic. Corporations and governmental institutions did not immediately create teams. Teams were created on ethnic, tribal and cultural bases. Union Douala previously Union Bamileke was created by natives of the Western region Bamileke ethnic group living in Douala, Canon was essentially made of natives of the grand beti group particularly in its strong hood in Nkolndongo Yaounde, Tonnerre was same just in Mvog-Ada, and Dynamo was mainly composed of Bassa<sup>89</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> NAB file n° 940/ 2 Sh, Sports general correspondence, p. 66

<sup>89</sup> J-B Onana, "Cameroon: le sport contre les ethnies", in *Outre-Terre* 2004/3, n°8, <http://www.cairn.info/revue-outre-terre-2004-3-page-69.htm>, p, 75, retrieved on 16-10-2017 at 9 pm.

The state invested more on health education, security with the limited funds available particularly to the fact that the international financial institution had the key to the economy. According to economist S.C Nana-Sinkam, this economic situation was made worst in Cameroon because of poor governance couple with embezzlement, bribery and corruption and above all impurity<sup>90</sup>. Some team due to this state of things gradually died and almost disappeared from the national football league. And those that remained and resisted the strong wave of economic contingencies and socio-political instability. At the Africa scene since the 80s no Cameroon football club team had the joy to win an Africa league cup<sup>91</sup> as Canon Yaounde, Tonnerre Kalara Club Yaounde, Union sportive de Douala, Oryx Club Douala had done.

The success of the national football team, the Indomitable Lions was also a credit to the national league as many local home-based players were part of the team holding important position in the field. To many, this situation was due to the quality of the national league<sup>92</sup>. Another important fact was the stability team had, just as the technical staff and even the national team coaches worked with local teams that which brought a plus to the quality of play. Very few Cameroonian players played professional leagues abroad amongst them were Roger Mila, Bell Joseph Antoine, Thomas Nkono, Mbida Arantese, Charles Ntamack, and Makannaki Cyril just to name these few.

Beside the competitions organized by FECAFOOT, there were other football competitions organized by individual companies and other organizations. The period of Christmas holiday and third term holiday or ‘summer holidays’ were the most intense in themes of football competition. Every quarter, village, town had football tournaments to bring together youths of the locality. This was encouraged by the state as each organizer had to receive administrative authorities who officially supervised the competition<sup>93</sup>. Also based on the level of the competitions, officials from the Ministry of Sport and from FECAFOOT were present. In some cases, they even offered technical assistance and working equipment. This situation had enabled the increase in the number of football competitions making it more popular, and

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<sup>90</sup> S.C. Sinkam, *Le Cameroun dans la globalisation, conditions et prémisses pour un développement durable et équitable*, Yaoundé, Editions Clé, 1999, p. 114.

<sup>91</sup> Yatie Yakam, “Les formes d’échanges et de pouvoir dans le football au Cameroun...”, p. 134.

<sup>92</sup> League teams, such as a Tonnerre Yaounde, Union Douala recruited player from other African nations. Amongst them George Weah who later became elected president of Liberia, salah Mensah and Koffi Habre from Ghana, and Japhet Ndoram from Chad.

<sup>93</sup> D. Manirakiza, “Football amateur au Cameroun entre clientélisme politique et échanges mutuels”, in *politique Africaine* 2010/2 n° 118, p. 105.

used as a method of controlling the masses. The government funded the football league through grants. FECAFOOT received state subsidies and sponsors and support from CAF/FIFA to organize her competitions. She also generated funds through contributions from members (teams and administrative authorities).

In a more organized system, it would have been important to create a link between the different organizer of these competitions, FECAFOOT and the Ministry of sports. Through these tournaments skilled and talented youths could be selected and directed to training centers such as the Brasserie Football Academic, Kadji Sports Academic (KSA). This method was instituted in the mid-1990s but was limited in scope. Atouba Essama was of the opinion that the quantity of the national league competition could not produce quality players because many did not fulfill the conditions to mould a good player and play style.<sup>94</sup> This was the sad situation in which football found itself. The junior and female categories witnessed a worse situation. Becoming a player did not improve on the living standards of the players and coaches as was supposed to be the case.

### **3.2. Major Team Sport Competitions organized by Federations**

Cameroon had a reputation of a country of sport and this was seen through the variety of sport played. The above-mentioned sports were also introduced during the colonial era. They were not as popular as football for a number of reasons. One of the main and backbone reason was the almost impossibility of playing them on a non-adapted ground. They required a specific infrastructure which demanded a certain financial investment. It was different from football which could be played almost everywhere. These three sports were played on the same playground. Secondly, they demand a lot of technicity as their play roles were complex so requires explanation to both players and technical officials.

The growth of these sport had mostly been limited to the urban and suburban areas particularly volleyball and basketball. As for handball it was considered a female sport, the alter ego for football. In many schools, girls were played handball as football played by boys and was considered too brutal for girls. During local competitions usually beside a football tournament for boys there was a handball competition for girls<sup>95</sup>.

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<sup>94</sup> Atouba, 37 years, Yaounde 17<sup>th</sup> July 2019.

<sup>95</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24<sup>th</sup> June 2018.

These three sports were introduced as lessons at the CEPS of Dschang<sup>96</sup>. Their expansion mostly depended on the ability of the sport monitor to teach the appropriate techniques to school pupils and students. Their expansion started in the academic milieu which during the colonial period was limited. They became considered as elitist sport, particularly basket and volley ball as the equipment were more costly<sup>97</sup>. As concerns the organization of handball competitions, it was only in 1978 that the idea of a national championship was agreed upon. Before this period each provincial league organized its championship and the winners clashed for the national title as highlighted below:

*L'initiative prise cette saison par la Fédération Camerounaise de handball d'organiser un championnat national est en train de porter ses fruits. La formule a rencontré l'approbation des joueurs. C'est comme si le passage des championnats provinciaux au championnat national avait fait prendre conscience aux joueurs de la responsabilité qui leur incombe désormais dans l'extension des tentacules du handball sur le territoire national<sup>98</sup>.*

In general, the development of these sports had to highly depend on state efforts rather than federation which organized league competitions. The absence of sponsors and independent promoters in many regions did not have teams at elite level. The national championships were most often limited to about five regions. The majority of the teams were based in Yaounde and Douala to an extent in university towns. They were played during the OSSUC/FENASSCO Games and University Games. The teams of these institutions had to play these sports and eventual competitions<sup>99</sup>. The military sport department had greatly worked for the promotion and development of these sports as they had the oldest active teams in the different leagues. This had been possible through the policy put in place to recruit *sporters* into the army and during military service and training<sup>100</sup>.

### **3.3. Limited Funding for the organization of competitions**

In terms of state grants to these federations for the promotion of their activities, it was limited and at times inexistent. These sports attracted limited spectators who did not pay any gate fee that could help finance the federations and teams. Before the crisis of the later 80s and 90s and the SAP demanded by the international financial institutions that required the privatization of Para state companies, many companies invested in these sports. Marthe Chantal Kouondjo notes the importance of companies and institutions such as *Banque des Etats de*

<sup>96</sup> Akpe Amatala, "Les loisirs au Cameroun sous administration française...", p. 65.

<sup>97</sup> Yano Yano, 52 years, Yaounde 19 July 2019.

<sup>98</sup> Ndembyembe Bakoume, "Perspectives, les roses de notre hand", in *Cameroun Tribune* (n° 1112), samedi 4 mars 1978, p. 10.

<sup>99</sup> Ndongo Minsoko, 56 years, Yaounde, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2017.

<sup>100</sup> Kouoh Kotte, 53 years, Yaounde 12<sup>th</sup> July 2018.

*l'Afrique Centrale* (BEAC), Caisse Nationale de Prévoyance Sociale (CNPS), *Entreprise Camerounaise de Placage* (ECAM PLACAGE), *Office National de Commercialisation des Produits de Base* (ONCPB), *Fonds de Garantie* (FAGAPE), *Pharmacie Vétérinaire* (VETO PHARM), *Société de Développement du Coton* (SODECOTON), Cameroon ShippingLine (CAMSHIP), *Institut national de la Jeunesse et des Sports* (INJS), *Société Nationale d'Electricité* (SONEL) and a few others wrote their names in golden letters in the financing of sport teams and competitions<sup>101</sup>. Most of these names according to her disappeared from the sporting arenas in the 1990s due to the economic crisis. Touma Mama highlights the fact that state and parastate companies and institutions had to reorientate their expenditure and priorities. The international financial institution imposed on them new managerial methods and with reduction of government subvention as many of these companies had a negative balance. This was the aim of the second adjustment program (SAP)<sup>102</sup>.

As the crisis continued these some of these companies closed down mainly due to mismanagement, embezzlement and low productivity. Others were privatized and/or restructured. The new policy approach adopted by the state and the limited funds total prohibited some of these enterprises heavily investing on their brand teams. The teams also produced very little output and turnover on their investments. This was due to the inability of the federations to substantially reward their champions<sup>103</sup>. The schedule below is that of a play day for the national handball championship for the 1978 sports sessions with many corporate teams.

**Day 4 national championship**

**Samedi 4 mars Yaoundé**

Garçons : FAP-YUC

Filles : YUC-TONNERRE

**5 Mars dimanche**

Garçons INJS-Sonel (Ydé)

Fille YUC-INJS

**4 mars Douala Samedi**

Garçons CICAM-SONEL (Dla)

CIMENCAM-RAIL

TOP-CICAM

**Dimanche 5 mars**

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<sup>101</sup> M. C. Kuondjo, "Etude de la politique sportive dans les entreprises publiques et parapubliques camerounaises de 1985 à 2005 : cas de la Caisse nationale de Prévoyance Sociale (CNPS), Monographie de certificat d'Aptitude au Professorat d'Éducation Physique et Sportive Première partie, INJS, Yaoundé, 2010, p. 2."

<sup>102</sup> Touma Mama, *L'économie camerounaise...*, pp. 308-309.

<sup>103</sup> Kouondjo, "Etude de la politique sportive dans les entreprises...", p. 52.

Filles TOP-SYNTECAM  
Garçons TOP-SONEL DLA<sup>104</sup>

The names of the team's portray the environment from where they came from. The Yaoundé Team were mostly institutional FAP (Ministry of Defense), YUC (Yaounde University Club) Education just as INJS only Tonnerre was private, and SONEL was a Para state company. A look at the Douala based team show a different scenario. They were no institutional teams but they were own by Para state and industries. The picture below shows Sonel men volleyball team during a championship match day at the mateco sport complex of the University of Yaounde. In these three federations they heavily depending on educational competitions for their promotion. They worked hand in hand with them in a partnership as the provided technical officials and experts to the OSSUC/FENASSCO and FENASU. To add with these sports handball, volleyball and basketball were lessons in the PES programs in the secondary educational program.

**Plate 17: Sonel men volleyball team during match day during the 1992 sport season**



**Sources:** Private archive of Ndongso Minsoko

The promotion policy of these federations was not clearly spelled out as most of the team of the regional leagues were made up of junior player. The absence of adequate funds and managerial lapses prevented the organization of and play a national junior league. This situation according to Serge Guebago could not enable Cameroon have competitive teams at continental level and usually coaches had to use the same players year in year out for many seasons with a defined turnover system<sup>105</sup>.

<sup>104</sup> Cameroun-Tribune n° 1112, samedi 4 mars 1978, p. 10.

<sup>105</sup> S. Guebogo, 38 years, Certified PES graduate for the NIYS Yaounde, former international handballer, certified handball trainer and winner of championship and cup of Cameroon as trainer, trainer of the Female National handball Team since 2018, silver medalist at the 2019 AAG in Morocco, Yaounde, 10-11-2019.

The lover of basketball, volleyball and handball did not really have space for their play. The insufficient number of playgrounds made the expansion of these sports limited to certain quarters particularly in Yaounde. Certain sports were popular in certain quarters because they had playgrounds for these disciplines. Examples of these distributions were as follow: volleyball was played in Ngoa-Ekelle-Messa-National Gendemari; Basketball Collège Vogt-Ngoa-Ekelle-Nlongkak and Handball Madagascar-Ngoa-Ekelle. Ngoa-Ekelle was a multisport quarter which housed INJS, Lycée Général Leclerc and the University of Yaounde which had all basic sport facilities<sup>106</sup>. The federations and ministry did not have a really orientation policy to develop these sports and improve upon the quality and quantity of players.

### 3.4. Individual sport events

Athletics, Marshal Arts, Boxing, weightlifting, gymnastic and cycling, were the most common played individual sports. Many others had very limited activities which resulted to limited audience. Sport such as athletic (included running, jumping, and throwing) also conquered the minds and attention of the population through their competitions. It consisted of track and field events, road and mountain races. Actually, all Provincial/Regional headquarters had a track for the practice of athletics which was also a major sport during the OSSUC/FENASSCO, University and Dixiades Games. These competitions coupled with those organized by the Cameroon Athletic Federation, (Provincial and National Championship) enabled the emergence of names such as Adoum Garoua and Augustin T. Edjoa who later became ministers of Republic. Other names such as, General Pierre Semegue, Asou Eman, Kalkaba Malboum Djendola (Colonel of military and director of sports and cultural activities at the military of Defenses) E. Bitanga, Tuete A., Y. Moukouri, C. Ngambi became high personalities at the Ministry of Sport, and even at international level (Emmanuel Bitanga Director of the High-Level Athletic Training Camp of Dakar<sup>107</sup>).

Beside the above cited sport disciplines, others such as cycling, boxing, judo, gymnastic, tennis were also practiced with intense competitions. Boxing produced champions with international coronations (J. Bessala and Ndongo Ebanga Olympic Medalist for Cameroon and others like Emebe, Isa Hamza). These federations did their best with the limited funds and equipment they had to use to accomplish the missions conferred to them by the state. In a nutshell, these federation were victims of their specificities in terms of infrastructure and

<sup>106</sup> Atouba Essama, 37 years Yaounde 17 July 2019; read Ndongo Minsoko, *Le livre d'or sport...*, p. 185.

<sup>107</sup> These names were visible in the 1978 sport season for athletic meet at the Yaounde Ahmadou Ahidjo Stadium on 12 March 1978, Cameroon Tribune (n° 1118) Samedi 11 mars 1978, p. 8.

equipment. They needed well equipped gyms, doom halls for indoor activities and tarred roads to practice under safe conditions. In the no policy situation, the state became a rational actor who ripped the positive results for her propaganda.

There was a strange collaboration between the ministry in charge of sport and the federations to organize end of season activities. This collaboration enabled the organization of what was called *la semaine des coupes*. In the same spirit with the national school games which lasted for a week; the entire week was mapped out for the playing of cup final for civil federations in a well-planned and harmonized program. This was in prelude to the national football final which marked the end of the sporting season and was preceded by the Head of State.<sup>108</sup> Unfortunately this formula was stopped in 1990 due to financial and sociopolitical crisis. This formula helped in the promotion and development of some second-class sport disciplines as they benefited attention from authorities. It should be mentioned that top government officials were to precede over these finals as representatives of the Head of State.<sup>109</sup>

The investment of private companies helped federations in the promotion of their activities. The picture above shows female basketball players before the kickoff of the cup of Cameroon finals. In red was BEAC of Yde and in green Lito Team of Dla. The former was an institutional team and the latter private individual sponsored team. The federation had as sponsor for that season Parti Mutuel Urbain du Cameroun (PMUC) which sponsored many competitions. Unfortunately, the gambling company drastically reduced its implication in sport promotion. The quality of the playground did no longer respect international standards: basketball, volleyball and handball were being played on taraphlex or planche (synthetic wood).

## **II. PREPARATION AND PARTICIPATION AT INTERNATIONAL COMPETITIONS**

The number of sports competition organized at regional, continental, and planetary level greatly increased with the help of media and transport facilities. With this, the number, of participating countries also increased making sport arenas to become crowned areas and modern battle fields. Sport had essentially been international in its play. This could justify the heavy

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<sup>108</sup> Interview with Ndongo Minsoko.

<sup>109</sup> Archives MINSEP, file MINSEP, file désignation des autorités pour le déroulement de la Semaine des coupes 1988, p. 2.

implication of states when it was time to participate at international competition. According to Houlihan and Green:

There are a variety of explanations why such a diverse range of governments should be so concerned with elite sport success which include international prestige and diplomatic recognition, ideological competition and a belief that international sporting success generates domestic political benefits ranging from the rather nebulous 'feel good factor' to more concrete economic impacts associated with the hosting of elite competitions... Even in free market, non-interventionist and decentralised political systems, such as the United States, draconian government intervention in sport was not unusual if it was deemed necessary to protect elite sport success<sup>110</sup>.

Sport arenas became the centre point for implementing new technological prowess to secure victory<sup>111</sup>. G. Whannel terms the eagerness of states to secure victory during international competitions as the 'we are' (the champions, best and recordholders) phenomenon.<sup>112</sup> Many sport disciplines required massive technological innovation to secure victory. This quest was not always easy to achieve as it needed human and financial resources. At times the outcome of competitions spark conflict between opponents. In certain cases, it led to bloody and sometimes deadly confrontations in and out of the fields. Sport fanatics had in certain instances left emotion to overshadow reason which led to physical violence during certain sporting events<sup>113</sup>.

International competitions organized by the International Sport Organization have become the ideal sphere where nations projected their ideological, technological, scientific and hegemonic ambitions. In this new configuration that started in the 1990s China and Russia had openly played their cards. The following quotes illustrates the the consideration of sport by the Russian leader and the vision of sport by the Chinese:

Putin is a great admirer of sport and a firm believer that athletic prowess is a crucial component to achieving greatness as a nation. He is a black belt in judo and can often be seen showing off his physical capabilities, be it swimming butterfly in an open lake or scoring seven goals in an exhibition ice hockey game. Few other world leaders can match the 63 year old in this regard. For Putin, and by extension, his government, sport is an expression of dominance. For Putin, sport is more than a pastime. It serves an ideological power. It's an essential part of his maximal vision of Russia as a revived Great Power.<sup>114</sup>

As for the Chinese it was to serve the revival as written below

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<sup>110</sup> B. Houlihan and M. Green, *Comparative elite sport development: systems, structure and public policy*, Britain, Butterworth-Heinemann, 2008, p. 2

<sup>111</sup> Thibault and J. Harvey, *Sport policy in Canada...*,p.106

<sup>112</sup> Whannel, *Culture, politics and sport. Blowing the whistle, revisited*, USA and Canada, Routledge, 2008, p. 187.

<sup>113</sup> Stewart et al, *Australian sport: Best by design?...*, p. 157.

<sup>114</sup> D. Gallan, "Doping And Imperialism: The Modern Relationship Between Sport And War" retrieved from <http://www.conqasport.com/blog/sport-and-war-russian-doping-scandal-rio-2016-olympics> 07/10/2016, 7:41AM, p. 2.

. . . from the moment of birth of the 'New China', sport has been . . . a means of internal and external projection illustrating the capacity of the system and people to more than hold their own with those of other nations. In short, sport has been the 'stage' on which the Chinese perform in pursuit of world recognition, respect and esteem.' New times have given new purpose to this performance as resources in recent decades have allowed stress to be placed on allusive winning 'declamations' in the global theatre of sport. Beijing 2008 was the loudest [but not the last].<sup>115</sup>

Based on the above vision, international sport competitions were no longer mere sport competitions but carried an ideology. These elements come to justify the massive financial involvement of states in the preparation of their athletes for international competitions. In this view each political power and system elaborated well defined strategies and programs to secure the best possible result for the athletes. In the opinion of Houlihan and Green certain factors were key to the production of quality elite performances as pointed out in the following words "the three most successful countries at the Athens Olympic Games, Italy, United Kingdom and The Netherlands, all scored well in relation to the following four factors: funding for national governing bodies (NGBs); coaching provision and coaching development; athletic and post-career support and training facilities"<sup>116</sup>. Other factors can be added to the above four. What stood out clear was the active presence of the state for the realization of the program.

### **1. Cameroon at International Competitions: Participation and Outcome**

Sport arenas have become conflictual, passionate and emotional exposition centers. Every international competition is a moment for competing nations to settle their rivalry and impose their hegemony on a given sport against a particular nation. So, nations took special measure when preparing for international competitions to avoid humiliation. Competitions become areas where political, religious, geographical, regional, economic, scientific, ideological, technological rivalries were settled by sporters who become soldiers greater than their individual persons. In the case of Cameroon, the best athletes were called up to represent the country during these competitions. Most often they were selected from the national league competitions. Each federation organized competitions after which a national ranking was established. These outstanding athletes were reselected for camping in view of their participation at international competitions either at club or national team. At the approach of the competition each federation through the National Team coaches sent the names of pre-selected athletes to MYS/MINSEP<sup>117</sup>. The prerequisite for high level performances was preparation in its all aspects (physical, mental,

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<sup>115</sup> J.A. Mangan and Fan Hong, "Post-Beijing 2008: Geopolitics, sport and the Pacific Rim," Routledge Sport in the Global Society- Historical Perspective, New York, Taylor and Francis, 2011, p. 2.

<sup>116</sup> Houlihan and Green, *Comparative elite sport development: ...,p. 5.*

<sup>117</sup> V. Saidou, 51 years, PES teacher, head of Academic Affairs, Discipline, Internal Control and Monitoring of Lecturers Department and Lecturer at NIYS, AAC instructor, Conferencier and trainer in athletes.

material). In this view performance was a blend or savant mixture of the above cited elements plus available infrastructure in quality and quantity, able trainers, and wages or bonuses for motivation. The respect of these elements made the difference between an amateur and a professional *sporter*.

Amongst the viruses that had infected the Cameroonian society could be cited unpreparedness and improvisation as had been earlier mentioned. Sport management was not left out as Minister Tonye Mbog had regretted this state of things as far back as 1972. The fact that Cameroonian sporters recorded international victories with this state of affairs comforted many administrators in this poor and amateur way of doing things<sup>118</sup>. Toukene insist on the fact that the victories were more of a personal determination and devotion of the athletes for personal satisfaction. So, no matter the poor managerial and preparation conditions, outstanding performances were recorded<sup>119</sup>. Plate 18 shows Cameroonian athletes during the opening ceremony of the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games.

**Plate 18: Cameroonian athletes during the opening ceremony of the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games**



**Source:** P. Charitas, “Les conditions d’émergence du développement sportif...” p. 73

Certain conditions had to be put in place in order to expect high level performances, it was not the case in Cameroon but performances were demanded from athletes. E. Tche recalls

<sup>118</sup> A. R. Milla, 63 years, Roving Ambassador, former international footballer, African player of the century FIFA, 2 times African best player of the year, team manager TKC female handball team, Yaounde 16<sup>th</sup> March 2015.

<sup>119</sup> C. Toukene Guebogo, 41 years, Trainer of North Forks College in USA, Member of the Hall of Frame, many time best coach of the year USCA, former Cameroon international athlete, PhD candidate Biomechanics of Sport Performance, Yaounde 11<sup>th</sup> June 2018.

that only at the eve of international competitions that they had the privilege of seeing official from the federation and the ministry at their training site. This was just to be sure they were training hard and could undertake the journey<sup>120</sup>. In the same line of thoughts Atouba points out the fact that all these officials came to mount pressure on them for the final victory as per its importance for the nation but no one tried to know how they had been preparing and that sport was not a circus for the performance of miracles; victories were the fruit of hard work and serious preparation<sup>121</sup>.

Sport competition required a specific preparation. The requirements were different as the athletes had to undergo physiological, mental and physical transformations. This could only be done via training. Each discipline had specific requirements, so different training methods were used by coaches and trainer to enable athletes acquire the needed skills.

*Un des objectifs majeurs de l'entraînement est d'organiser la réponse motrice des chaînes musculaires pour de plus haut degrés de force et de vitesse. C'est pour cela que des techniques de développement de la force que la terminologie sportive rassemble sous les termes de musculation renforcement musculaire doivent optimiser la capacité du muscle à cette réponse motrice. Cela d'autant plus que le très haut niveau de performance se caractérise actuellement en termes de quantité de travail que l'on se doit de gérer dans la préparation des athlète<sup>122</sup>.*

This adaptation to a specific workload determines the outcome of performances. Top level *sporters* trained every day, with an average of eight (08) training sessions a week-equivalent to 14 hours per week assisted by a certified trainer. This makes the difference between professional sporters and those who do sport just for physical and mental fitness. This required transformations that led a person from a fitness *sporter* to professional *sporter*. The expected transformations were the duty of the coaches who studies the human body and work it to make it become super human: this was a long and well organized process that if not well organized will not produce quality results.

As from 1993, two bodies were charged with the preparation and participation of Cameroonian teams and athletes at international competitions. The ministry in charge of sports (the former Department of Sport today DDHPS) and the CNOSEC which had taken over certain missions of the former NSC had this as mission. In some instances, these bodies did not collaborate as was expected partly because their missions were not clearly defined and were interwoven. This also

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<sup>120</sup> E. Tche, 57 years, Lectuerer with North-Eastern, South Cadin, associate lectuerer at Jackson State Universities USA, international consultant in athletics, expert with Cross River State Nigeria, former Cameroonian international athlete long and triple jumps, retired PES teacher, Yaounde 19<sup>th</sup> September 2019.

<sup>121</sup> Atouba Essama, 37 years Yaounde 17 July 2019.

<sup>122</sup> Tadjore, "L'entraînement sportif moderne...", in MJS info, n° 5, p. 10.

brought to the limelight the question of management of financing. Who paid the bills and at what time?<sup>123</sup> This was particularly true for sovereignty competitions which needed the implication of both bodies. It should be mentioned the ministry was normally supposed to have the last word. The prerequisite for high level performances was preparation in its globality. In this view performance was a blend or savant mixture of the above cited elements plus available infrastructure in quality and quantity, able trainers, and wages or bonuses for motivation. The respect of these elements made the difference between an amateur and a professional *sporter*.

The very short camping periods for Cameroonians lasted between 14 to 45 days, and were most often beneficial to collective team sport. It was generally during these periods that team cohesion, playstyle, tactics and complicity were developed and strengthened<sup>124</sup>. But as concerned individual (judo, athletics, boxing, gymnastic etc...) sport events, the camping periods did not serve any major purpose in terms of performance production. Athletes were handed to different coaches and trainers who exposed them to completely different working methods which were rather counterproductive<sup>125</sup>. Athletes that were students had to completely change their routine. The best thing they could benefit from camping was sleeping and eating in hotels<sup>126</sup>. Worst was when they were sent aboard for such camping through exchange programs. How could we expect our future opponents to take good care of our athletes? This camping periods completely change most often as there was just one competition per year this campings' had a limited impact on their carriers. Actors recommended that regular camping sessions be organized to upgrade the standards of athletes<sup>127</sup>.

## 2. Coaches and Trainer in the Quest for Performances

In the early days after independence Cameroon adopted the French system of recruitment of trainers. This approach insisted on PES teacher and monitor to become trainers<sup>128</sup>. This approach as said was contrary to that of the Anglo-Saxon approach which dissociated PES teachers from coaches as they had opposite backgrounds philosophies. In this light the first training in Cameroon after the colonialists were students from NIYS and NCYS. For a long

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<sup>123</sup> Assiène, 49 years, Yaounde, 21st July 2019.

<sup>124</sup> Atouba Essama, 37 years Yaounde 17 July 2019.

<sup>125</sup> Mbango Etone, 41 years, Yaounde 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2017/ Tche, 57 years, Yaounde 19<sup>th</sup> September 2019.

<sup>126</sup> Tche 57 years, Yaounde 19<sup>th</sup> September 2019.

<sup>127</sup> Kinang, 40 years, Yaounde 21 June 2018

<sup>128</sup> J. F. Loudcher, "Introducing sport coaching and its cultural and historical perspectives. An international comparative study", *STAPS*, 2016/4 (n° 114) cairn.info, p. 10.

period, they were the holders of the carrier, but some few passionate persons follow the trail, most of which were sporters<sup>129</sup>.

The key difference between a coach and a trainer is their priority: coaches are primarily focused on a team, while a trainer focuses on an individual athlete or small group. All of these persons involved in the development of the potential of athletes were evaluated primarily during competitions at local, regional, national and international levels. The introduction of scientific and financial resources made it possible for continuous innovation and greatly improved performances.<sup>130</sup> This required a multitalent skill development and demanded a pre-established road map to avoid adventurers to get into the profession. These measures were not only to secure the athlete but ensure the health of the profession. Many countries in the western world opened sport academies and organized crash or short certified programs to give essential know-how and *savoir-faire* to those who wished to get into the profession<sup>131</sup>. This was done in view of the professionalization of sport which had high perfectionist requirement in terms of generating and production of performances different from PES which was sport animation<sup>132</sup>.

In Cameroon coaches and trainer had no real legal status. This was observed and highlighted at the general conference of sport and physical education of September 1992; it was proposed that a sample status be elaborated for trainers<sup>133</sup>. The 1996 charter of physical activities and sports said nothing about the status of trainers and coaches. The situation was again put on the table by Betala Head of the Department of Development of High Performant Sport at the Minsitry in charge of sport:

*Les encadreurs techniques nationaux n'ont pas des statuts juridiques, ne bénéficient pas d'indemnités de sujétion. Plus grave, les encadreurs techniques non fonctionnaires n'ont pas de rémunération car aucun contrat ne les lie avec l'administration. Les textes fixant les attributions des uns et des autres ne sont pas explicitement clarifiés et sont sources de conflits récurrents.*

*Les encadreurs techniques nationaux n'ont aucune lisibilité sur leur travail, ils ne disposent pas d'une feuille de route aux fins de la mise en œuvre des objectifs fixés soit par la tutelle ou la fédération.*

*Ils ne disposent pas de locaux pour effectivement planifier et préparer leurs activités autour des réunions de direction. Le matériel de bureau et les moyens financiers ne sont pas mis à leur disposition aux fins de faire la prospection et le suivi des talents<sup>134</sup>.*

<sup>129</sup> Sama Douala, 52 years, Yaounde 10 August 2019.

<sup>130</sup> C. M. Kiosoglous, "Sports Coaching through the Ages with an Empirical Study of Prediction of Rowing Coaching Effectiveness", Ph.D in Human Development, University of Virginia, USA, 2013, p. 3.

<sup>131</sup> Koisoglous, "Sports coaching through the ages...", p. 7.

<sup>132</sup> Stewart et als, *Australian sport: Better by design ...?* p. 126.

<sup>133</sup> Archives MINSEP, Synthèse thématique des conclusions des Etats généraux, p. 15.

<sup>134</sup> Betala, "Le sport au Cameroun...", p. 106.

Notwithstanding the miserable situation, some passionate persons wrote their names in golden letter in certain sport disciplines. They were the pionier actors in the popularization process of certain sport discipline. The following names can be cited for the case of Yaounde: Abolo Biwole Emmanuel in Judo on picture 19 below, Bitanga Emmanuel in Athletic, Nyongha Jules in Football, Enanda Modo Patrice in basketball, Tchikanda Charlie in volleyball on picture 20 below<sup>135</sup>.

**Plate 19: Emmanuel Abolo Biwole: ‘master of ipon’**



**Source:** Adapted from <http://www.fecajudo.com>, Emmanuel Abolo Biwole

Emmanuel Abolo was a 3<sup>rd</sup> degree black in judo and had represented Cameroon during the 1984 Los Angeles OG and was national trainer and had a judo school.

**Plate 20: Tchikanda Charlie: expert in ‘smash points’**



**Source:** Adapted from <http://www.wikipedia.Com/> Charlie Tchikanda

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<sup>135</sup> Ndongso Minsolo, *Le livre d'or du sport...*, p. 189.

The trainer and coaches in Cameroon developed passion for the profession before getting recognition. In the majority of cases trainer and coaches were graduates from the schools of youth and sports. This situation only started changing in the period after 2004 when federations were endorsed with the duty of organizing training sessions for trainers.<sup>136</sup> This was with the recommendation from their international bodies which delivered certificate programs for those who had passion for a coaching and training carrier. Each international federation established a scale for the evolution in the carrier (from regional to international level and from kids to senior categories). Coaches and trainers who were recruited had to fulfill these eligibility requirements<sup>137</sup>. All those who were appointed to the position of national trainers had to fulfill these requirements to be accepted by the international federations. As for the other trainers in the championships they were recruited by the team officials in most cases the team presidents based on their negotiations. This negotiation involved salaries and working conditions that suited both parties. In many cases there was no written contract by both parties which made the coaches and trainers vulnerable with the absence of a legal backing for their profession. The team or collective sport trainers and coaches had more opportunities than those of individual sports. In both cases they could not make a decent living out of this profession.

### 3. Allocation of Funds for International Competitions

The state was the sole financier of the pre-competition preparation and actual competition. The budget allocated varied from one competition to another and from one period to the other. Exceptionally in 1992 a private sponsor Union Cameroonian des Brasseries (UCB) sponsored 8 athletes of the athletics team to the 1992 Barcelona Summer Olympic Games.<sup>138</sup> This implication according to Oloko was because six (6) out of the eight (8) athletes were members of the UCB track and field team.<sup>139</sup> The amount of the budget supported by this company was not disclosed. Below on table 21 are allocated budgets for certain international competitions (preparation and participation).

**Table 21: Budget allocated for preparation and participation of Cameroonian teams at certain international competitions between 1980 and 2000**

Year	Competition	Budget
1984	Summer Olympic Games (Los Angeles)	379.588.860

<sup>136</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24<sup>th</sup> June 2018.

<sup>137</sup> Kingue Dihang, 46 years, Yaounde 15<sup>th</sup> November 2017

<sup>138</sup> Archives MINSEP Extrait des travaux du Comite National des sports du 17 Aout 1992

<sup>139</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24<sup>th</sup> June 2018.

1984	AFCON (Côte d'Ivoire)	229.074.120
1988	Summer Olympic Games (Seoul)	100.749.000
1989	Men Volleyball world cup (Japan)	27.166.010
1989	Men Volleyball African Championship (Côte d'Ivoire)	8.334.870
1990	FIFA men world Cup (Italy)	520.000.000
1991	All Africa Games (Cairo)	400.000.000
1991	FIFA Female world Cup (china)	50.000.000
1991	Maltonic International Cycling Tour (Nigeria)	4.581.800
1992	Summer Olympic Games (Barcelona)	300.000.000
1999	Men Basketball Qualifier All Africa Games (Johannesburg)	51.055.000
1999	Women Basketball Qualifier All Africa Games (Johannesburg)	39.433.000
2000	World Judo championship (Britain)	19.389.000
2000	Summer Olympic Games (Sydney)	2.101.239.348

**Source:** By Koizah Karh based on field work data

In these budgets we had preparation and participation expenses. As for the major competitions such as the OG, AAG, AFCON and FIFA world cup, other actors came into play. Officials from the Ministries Sport, Culture, Communication, Prime Ministry and Presidency and from National Security Services were part of the delegation.

As for the Seoul Summer Olympic Games of 1988, the official delegation for the Games was as follows: 14 Sporters, 4 trainers and 7 officials making a total of 25 persons<sup>140</sup>. The expenses included: visa fees, logging, feeding, international flights equipment, bonuses for all those present. The reason for the presence of officials was simply because this competition had a political, diplomatic and socio-cultural backing. As for the Sydney Olympic Games there was a pre-preparation budget which stood at 366.098.656 FCFA and the budget for the Ministry of Communication stood at 473.321.000 FCFA<sup>141</sup>. This budget was also for a live coverage of the competition and presences of members of the security services. The official delegation stood at 247 persons including 43 athletes and 20 trainers, 82 officials from Ministry of Youth and Sports, 13 officials from Ministry of Communication, 90 officials from Ministry of Culture, 2 DGRE officials, 1 DGSN official and 16 AN 2000 commission officials<sup>142</sup>. There was visibly

<sup>140</sup> Archive MINSEP Budget preparation et participation du cameroun aux jeux olympiques de Seoul 1988, p. 3.

<sup>141</sup> Archive MINSEP Compte rendu de la reunion interministerielle du 28 juin 2000 relative à l'examen du budget special de participation du Cameroun aux Jeux Olympiques de Syney 2000, p.4.

<sup>142</sup> Archive MINSEP Budget Special de participation du Cameroun aux Jeux Olympiques Sydney 2000, pp. 2-5.

a big gap between the number of athletes, trainer and officials who consumed most of budget. The highest budget was consumed by 65 top officials (including VIPs). The budget allocated for them was under the section “*budget participation officiels et administratifs resident hors du village olympique entierement pris en charge par le budget Minjes*” and stood at 1.152.662.560 FCFA<sup>143</sup>. This was visibly mismanagement of funds as sporters and their coaches received only 278.570.640 FCFA for preparation and 479.268.768 FCFA as participation fees out of the total budget. This revolted the population as they believed the officials were profiting from the competition more than the sporter who did all the playing.<sup>144</sup>.

There was a similar situation in 2008 at the Beijing OG. The athletes particularly the footballer had to strike for the bonuses to be paid to them. Each member of the delegation received one million FCFA, back in Yaounde. But the composition of the official delegation was rather curious: 33 athletes, coaches and medical staff compared to 44 administrative officials including three state ministers<sup>145</sup>. Cameroon recorded one of its highest numbers of defection during this competition. One of the reasons been the absence of adequate preparation and duplicity of administrator who threaten athletes when they demand for their bonuses<sup>146</sup>. This did not contribute to appease tension between athletes and officials.

#### **4. Putting in Place of a Reward Sytem for outstanding Performances**

Rewards to athletes for outstanding performances were regulated only for football. In 2009 the Department of Development and High Performance Sport proposed financial rewards for the different disciplines (sport events) based on the standard of the competition. It should be recalled that except for footballers almost all the other national sporters were amateurs. For this reason, they were to be rewarded. Some western countries had solved this situation by officialising the reward for medals at the Olympic Games as can be read in the following: “In 1988, USSR, South Korea, Hungary, France, China, Spain, Poland, Malaysia, India, East Germany, and the Philippines began to give cash awards to their winners, and in 1993 the USOC offered to pay \$15,000 to its gold medal Olympians”<sup>147</sup>.

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<sup>143</sup> *Ibid*, p. 13.

<sup>144</sup> E. Nchang Fuh, 40 years, sports analyst and consultant, sport manger, former footballer, Yaounde 20<sup>th</sup> September 2020.

<sup>145</sup> S. Sunou “Cameroon and the Olympic record of mediocrity”, [www.camerfoot.net](http://www.camerfoot.net) retrieved on 12-7-2018 at 6 am

<sup>146</sup> Mbango Etone, 41 years, Yaounde 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2017.

<sup>147</sup> McComb, *Sports in the world...*, p. 92.

The rewards could be financial, material, medal award and a day to honor them (public holiday and tour of the town). It's important to note the fact that sport was a tool of the state machinery to promote her domestic and foreign policies. And these victories were a joyful moment to exhibit their power. The first planetary victory for Cameroon was during the Mexico Summer Olympic Games of 1968 when Josephy Bessala gras Silver Medal in boxing. He was received on return with a financial reward and a house which unfortunately he never saw<sup>148</sup>.

From President Ahidjo to Biya his successor, *sporters* had regularly been given honorific recognition for the outstanding performances and honor given to the nation. Sporters were not left out as concerned honorific reward for service to the nation. So, in the different medals awarded to outstanding Cameroonian of all works of life, there also existed medals for sports. Law N°70/LF/10 of 20 may 1970 instituting a Sport Order of Merit, for the most meritorious sporters based on 3 classes (Order of Sport Merit 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> class).<sup>149</sup> Before the official reception and decoration ceremony, the victorious team had the privilege to tour the town from the airport to their hotel and for certain case after decoration again.

These sporters received their medals in grand style at the Presidency from the hands of the President himself. And they were addressed a special message of congration and a speech to magnify their archievement. When the President could not be available the Prime Minister or a special representative of the president preceeded the ceremony. This honorific distinction given to sporters in the words of President Biya: “constituted an important aspect of the recognition due to our sports heroes and staff”<sup>150</sup>.

Under President Ahmadou Ahidjo, the athletes were received and decorated at the Presidential Palace and later a public holiday was declared. It was the case in December 1980 after Canon Yaounde won the African Champions Club Cup. In December 1981 when Cameroon qualified for the 1982 FIFA World Cup due for Spain a public holiday was declared. During other victories the sporters were simply decorated at the Presidency of the Republic. This was the case with the Cameroun Delegation after the Central African Games, the Cameroonian Delegation from the Brazzaville All African Games 1964, Oryx Douala in 1965, and Bessala after his silver Medal at the 1968 Summer Olympic Games<sup>151</sup>. These were some of the simplified ceremonies in honor of sporters.

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<sup>148</sup> Dikoume, 72 years, Yaounde 12<sup>th</sup> May 2019.

<sup>149</sup> Plan Strategique de Development du sport ...p. 77.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>151</sup> Ndongo Minsoko, *Le livre d'or du Sport...*, p. 198.

The government had made it a point of honor to reward outstanding sporters with national decorations and used them as example during speeches to the nation. Below is a quote of the speech of President P Biya in July 1990 on return of the Indomitable Lions from the 1990 FIFA World Cup : *“Vous avez inscrit dans l’histoire et la mémoire des hommes, la marque de l’Afrique renaissante et montante le marque du Cameroun, le cameroun dont le football est une autre de ses plus belles cartes d’identité”*<sup>152</sup>.

The link between politics and sport was strenghten during victories. Certain sporters after their sporting carriers became polictical actors, this was particular in the westem countries such as France. This drift was based on their convictions, popularity and outstanding archievement. Some were appointed to top government positions and other through elections. In the case of France, we can cite Jean-François Lamour, Chantal Jouanno, David Douillet, and Bernand Laporte, who were all appointed Ministers, in Ukrain we can cite Seguei Bubka appointed Advicer to President Victor Lanoukovytch<sup>153</sup>. The brough honour and inspired other sporters.

Cameroon was not left out in the reconversion of former sporters into political figures. After a long period of waiting, President Paul Biya appointed a legend sport figure into his government Roger Milla was appointed Roving Ambassador. He was the first Cameroon sporter in history to be given such an honorific position in government<sup>154</sup>. Another sporter to illustrate himself in the field of politics in Cameroon was Theophile Abega who ended up as Mayor of the Yaounde IV Council.

Some other sporters received medals and also saw the names ‘Immortalising.’ Their names were given to certain sport infrastructures. Amongst them can cited the Mbappe Leppe stadium in Douala and the Doumbe Aboubakar gymnasium of the NIYS in Yaounde, and Stade Abega at the Ekounou neighbourhood in Yaounde.

This system of rewarding sporter was part of a propaganda, particularly as internationally it attracted positive attention. The patriotic spirit was reawaked during such ceremonies and the pride to belong to a winning nation gave moral satsistaction to the nationals. Each victory

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<sup>152</sup> Pigeard, *Au Cameroun de Paul Biya...*, p. 181.

<sup>153</sup> “Ces sportifs devenus personages politique ou hauts responsable en entreprise” [www.journaldufootball345fr](http://www.journaldufootball345fr), posted on 16 mars 2018, 18h45, retrieved on 18<sup>th</sup> November 2019 at 1:30pm

<sup>154</sup> Ndongo Minsoko, *Le livre d’or du sport...*, p. 197

mobilised patriotic feelings and the national flag was seen all over as symbol of the belonging and identifying oneself to that nation.

**Plate 21: Joseph Bessala on podium 2: silver medal at the Mexico 1968 Olympic Games**



**Source:** From [www.wikipedia.gettyimages.com](http://www.wikipedia.gettyimages.com), “Joseph Bessala” retrieved on 12-10-2018 at 10pm

The 1968 Olympic Games came just eight years after French Cameroon got her independence and was just participating for the second time. Joseph Bessala got to the finals of -67 kg category bowing down to Manfred Wolke of West Germany picture 21 above. He became the first Cameroonian sporter to have such a performance at world level. Another boxer by name Ndonga Ebanga was next to record a world class performance at the 1984 Los Angeles OG when he won a bronze medal just at the tender age of eighteen years. This was also the golden age of Cameroonian boxing with boys such as Jean Marie Emebe, Louis-Pergaud Ngatchou and Jean Paul Nanga. Still in Cameroon’s OG history, on picture 22 below shows Françoise Mbango who forty (40) years after (2008) Joseph Bessala won her second gold medal in the tripple jump event after her victory in 2004. She also established the Olympic record of 15m39. In 2011 she took up the French nationality throught a naturalization process.

**Plate 22: Françoise Mbango after her Gold Medal victory at the Beijing 2008 Olympic triple jump event**



**Source:** From MINSEP Archive, consulted 28-03-2017

**Plate 23: The Indomitable Lions bidding farewell to spectators after losing to England at the quarter Final of 1990 Italy FIFA World Cup**



**Source:** From <http://www.la-taniere-du-lion.net> “les lions galactiques a Etoudi”, retrieved on 12-10-2019 at 8pm

As concerns football picture 23 above show from left to right Omam Biyick, Stephen Tataw and Roger Milla putting on the England jersey. This was after Cameroon lost to England by 3 goals to 2 during the quarter finals match during the 1990 Italy World Cup. Omam scored the first goal against Argentina during the opening match of the tournament in San Ciro. At the time it was the best performance of an African nation at the FIFA World Cup. Picture 24 below shows the intermediary Lions jubilating their gold medal at the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games Football tournament. It was Cameroon’s best performance in this competition be it football or any other sport. This team was composed of some Team A player who had just won AFCON 2000 we can name here: Mboma, Njitap, Wome, Etame, Eto’o. the head coach was Jean Paul Akono who became the first Cameroonian national to win a major title with the Lions.

**Plate 24: The intermediary Lions jubilating with Olympic Gold Medal in Sydney**



**Source:** From <http://www.la-taniere-du-lion.net> “sydney 2000”, retrieved on 12-10-2019 at 8 pm

**Plate 25: Cameroon's National Female Handball Team Decorated after their Gold Medal won at the 2003 All Africa Games in Abuja (Nigeria)**



**Source:** Private archives of Solle Mossy

Picture 25 above show the National Female Handball Lionesses at the Unity Palace after they decorated by President Paul Biya. It was Cameroon's best handball result at continental level and particularly the AAG. It was the first time another team apart of football was received by the president at the Unity Palace. Cameroonian handball club teams had not succeeded in conquering Africa which was dominated by Angolan teams. Cameroon with almost this same team participated at the 2005 World Female Handball Championship in Russia.

Picture 26 below show a partial view of the Cameroonian delegation 'en route' for the Francophonie Games in Beirut Syria. In many instances for OG, AAG, Commonwealth Games and Islamic Games there was generally a farewell ceremony at the CNOSC with the presence of the MINSEP and in certain cases the Prime Minister. In this particular case it was handled by Minister Michel Zoa. Such ceremonies also saw the handing of competition kits and participation bonuses to lathletes, trainers and other members of the delegation.

**Plate 26: Partial view of Cameroon's delegation before departure for the 2009 Francophonie Games in Beirut (Syria)**



**Source:** Private archives of J. Solle Mossy

**Plate 27: Albert Roger Milla displaying his Lion dance after scoring during the 1990 FIFA World Cup in Italy**



**Source:** From “Milla la danse du lion” from [http:// www.peuplesawa.com](http://www.peuplesawa.com), retrieved on 12-10-2019 at 8 pm.

The picture 27 above show Roger Milla performing the Lion dance he created. After every goal scored, he ran to the corner kickline to perform this dance. He ended the tournament with four (4) goals being in the top five best scorers of the competition and also became one of the oldest players to score in a world cup. He was 42 years in 1994 when he scored a goal for against Russia during the World Cup in USA. He was appointed Roving Ambassador in the year 2000 by President Paul Biya.

### **III. LEGENDARY NAMES IN CAMEROONIAN SPORTS**

This section will focus on some of those *sporters* who wrote their names in the golden annals of African and world sport through their performances. Little attention will be given to football in this section. Focus here will be on individual sports.

#### **1. Weightlifting**

Cameroon and African weightlifting noted the achievement of members of a single family. This family was the Matam family madeup of eleven weightlifters out of fourteen children. Their father a former weightlifter drill almost all his children both girls and boys. David Matam also called Hercule Matam was the first to start, followed by his younger brothers and sisters, Bernadin was next to follow. Some have naturalized particularly in France after giving much glory to Cameroon.

This discipline was amongst the marginalized sport disciplines in Cameroon which always brought honor through medals. This marginalization could be seen under major situation: the first was infrastructure. These athletes trained under very rudimentary and hash

conditions. Their two training venues were Tsinga (created by Papa Matam) and NIYS which was better equipped than Tsinga.<sup>155</sup> The second was the lack of state interest in the management of athletes and competitions. These athletes received little attention no matter the out-standing results they produced at international competitions. It stands out with boxing as one of the sport discipline which recorded the highest number of defections during international competitions. Example all of the Matam's and other champions had changed their nationality.<sup>156</sup>

## 2. The Cycling golden age

It was one of the oldest sporting disciplines practiced in Cameroon. During the 1972 Munich Olympic Games Cameroon presented four (4) cyclists who had obtained the required qualifying performance. Again, in Montreal for the 1976 OG four cyclists were present although they obtained no medal it was a good start. Amongst the actors of the time can be cited Joseph Evouna, Joseph Kono who had grabbed many titles at international cycling competitions.<sup>157</sup> On picture 28 below we see the Joes: Evouna and Kono in action.

### Plate 28: The legendary duo of Cameroonian cycling: Joseph Evouna and Joseph Kono



**Source:** From “Indomitable at London 2012” in MINSEP Magazine, p. 9.

Cycling was one of the popular sports disciplines as it was done on the street of the town and commanded that traffic be halted. This attracted the attention of the population who lined along the streets to watch their heroes paddle pass by. Cycling just as cross-country and marathon races required good roads to avoid accidents. The prioreess of these legends paved the way by inspiring the youth who saw them as they role-models.

<sup>155</sup> Nchang Fuh, 40 years, Yaounde 20<sup>th</sup> September 2020.

<sup>156</sup> Idem.

<sup>157</sup> Dikoume, 72 years, Yaounde 12<sup>th</sup> May 2019.

### 3. Marchal Arts (Judo and Wrestling)

Turning to combat sport which include wrestling (traditional and Greco-Roman), karate, and judo were the most played. Traditional wrestling was part of many cultures and traditions so was performed for many different reasons during ceremonies. It was also performed during international sport competitions. Cameroon had her first medal in wrestling during the 1978 AAG in Algeria, when Jean Claude Biloa won a silver medal (BM). In 1998 Isaac Mpia won gold in the more than 100kg and became the first ever Cameroonian African champion in wrestling<sup>158</sup>. Some female athletes who illustrated themselves in the discipline included L. Ali Annabel first Cameroonian to win Gold Medal (GM) at world level in beach wrestling in 2008. She was Cameroon flag bearer during the London 2012 OG

Karate and Judo were imported from Asia during the 1950s and as judo became an Olympic sport discipline it easily attracted youths and the administration. Cameroon had her first ever international medal in Judo during the 1965 AAG in Brazzaville, silver medal by E. Ndoumbe Ngoua. It was only in 2007 that F. Moussima Ewane won GM for Cameroon during the Algeria AAG in the more than 100kg category. He later won a SM and BM during the Port Louis (Senegal) AC<sup>159</sup>. He had earlier won a SM during the World University Games of 2007. Today he is national Judo trainer for Botswana and was awarded Price of Judo Ambassador by the International Judo Federation<sup>160</sup>.

In this endeavor to become the best amongst the best in Judo, the female sex was not left out. Two young ladies clearly stood out of the crowd, Francoise Nguele who became first Cameroonian lady to win a GM during the 1999 AAG and 2000 during the AC. She was also present at the Sydney 2000 OG. Her example was followed by C. Okodombe Foguin who won SM and BM during the 2007 AAG, 2 BM during the 2009 AC and and BM during the Beyrouth 2009 Francophonie Games<sup>161</sup>.

It is worth noting that most of the above cited champions particularly in judo, wrestling, weightlifting and boxing today live out of Cameroon. Most of them had naturalized and could no longer represent and defend the Cameroon flag. This was as a result of the poor manager policy of athletes by MINSEP<sup>162</sup>. Abdourahman on his part said Cameroon was a

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<sup>158</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24<sup>th</sup> June 2018.

<sup>159</sup> Nchang Fuh, 40 years, Yaounde 20<sup>th</sup> September 2020.

<sup>160</sup> Kingue Dihang, 46 years, Yaounde 15<sup>th</sup> November 2017.

<sup>161</sup> Idem.

<sup>162</sup> Anonymous, 60 years, Retired PES teacher, former international handballer, former President of Centre Regional handball league, trainer and team manager, Yaounde 20 February 20220.

country which killed her heroes so was not a fertile land for the prosperity of sports legends.<sup>163</sup> In a nutshell the participation at international competitions was a diplomatic tool by the government to portray her strength.

This chapter was focused on Cameroon's organization local competitions and her preparation and participation at international competitions. Government through its management units had all the power in the conception and implementation of sport results. MINSEP stood central in the process as it centralized all powers. National competitions were actually the gate-way to international competitions which were a diplomatic battle field for many nations. The different level of administrative implication through the financial support was a sign. State federations particularly the educational federations received with football more attention than the other civil federations.

The quest for the amelioration of the situation so as to bring forth performances did follow. Cameroon did not actually prepare for these competitions so had very inconsistent results. Preparation was short term oriented with limited funds and at times under poor infrastructure. Administrative bottlenecks and mismanagement had caused a lot of frustration amongst sporters who defected during competitions and some even took up other nationalities. For certain performances sporters were received and decorated by the President of the Republic and also received financial and material gratification. The Cameroonian government acts like a rational actor who comes just to rip the fruits without haven sowed.

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<sup>163</sup> Abdourahman, 50 years, Yaounde 20<sup>th</sup> November 2019.

**CHAPTER SIX: DIFFICULTIES IMPLEMENTING AN  
UNDESIGNED SPORTS POLICIES IN CAMEROON**

This chapter analyses the difficulties in formulation and implementing sport policies. The creation of the Ministry of Sports was not a policy designation and carried in its some elements of malfunctioning: the appointment of ministers, the availability of funds and human resources, collaboration with stakeholders and the conception of policies. We shall also have a look at the implementation of policies on sport amenities and competitions. We shall use the Critical Realism approach to get to the root cause of the difficulties in the conception and implementation of sport policies. We shall bear in mind that the new institutional approach places the state via the ministry in charge of sport as major actor in the policy process of Cameroon: from conception, to implementation and evaluation.

### **I. MANAGERIAL WEAKNESS IN THE CONCEPTION, PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICIES**

In every planning process each element has a time to be put in motion. In Cameroon conception was not always done on the bases of a well-established timetable. The formulation of a policy had as objective to correct and/or anticipate an on an upcoming situation. Unfortunately, there was a lot of rush over the policy formulations due to unpreparedness and improvisation. Tonye Mbog in his time as minister of Sports in 1972 complained of this, in the following words:

*L'improvisation est un mort endémique du mouvement sportif camerounais. Quand en 1972, je suis arrivé aux affaires, nous avons lancé la politique de la rénovation sportive. L'un des problèmes de fond, l'un des maux que nous avons à combattre, c'était l'improvisation... je ne peux pas dire qu'il soit éradiqué mais j'avais attiré l'attention à l'époque.<sup>1</sup>*

As concerns sports it was at the eve of a meeting that it was recalled that working documents were not available or that convocation letter had not been sent to participants. It was at the eve of competitions that equipment's and administrative documents were been produced for athletes travelling for the competitions. Tche recalls during the University Games in Bertoua in 1984 his competition equipment arrived when he was about to start his race. This was funny as all the administrators knew one year before that the games were to take place on that day.<sup>2</sup> Improvisation and unpreparedness was seen in the disbursing of funds, organization, preparation and participation in competitions. The case of the Men National Handball Team during their preparation of African Handball National Cup in Egypt in 2010 was such an example. The selection of players was done at the eve of the camping,

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<sup>1</sup> Ndongo Minsoko, *Le livre d'or du sport... p. 205.*

<sup>2</sup> Tche, 57 years, Yaounde 19<sup>th</sup> September 2019.

the players had no transportation available to take them to training venues, a lot of unnecessary persons around the team with negative influences. The outcome was a poor performance by the national handball team due to poor administrative, medical and sport management<sup>3</sup>.

Policy implementation in Cameroon was not based on a strictly respected established calendar. This managerial option was according to certain actors done intentionally in order to avoid control and evaluation. Doing things at the last minute gave free access to managers to misuse funds as it made traceability at times difficult. This was according to Sama Douala<sup>4</sup> a method of enabling corruption and embezzlement. Emergence management also has no consistency as many fundamental issues could be left out accidentally or intentionally. This was the case according to him with Cameroon's preparation and participation for the AAG in 2007. It was one week to the Games that athletes started camping and were asked to sign for having received two weeks bonus. Athletes only knew who were to travel for the competitions on the day of departure. The list of members of the delegation signed by the Prime Minister was rewritten with pens canceling certain names. Certain actors could alter the policy to their advantage or retarded the evolution of procedures creating bottlenecks. At the end of the day, the implementation was not complete and virtually couldn't yield the desired results. This went a long way to retard the development of sport and enhance the wellbeing of *sporters*. Beside these two ills, there was uncertainty in the minds of those who were appointed to manage the ministry in charge of sports.

### **1. The constraints Attached to the Position of Minister in charge of Sports in Cameroon**

The Ministry of Sport was created in 1970 and by 2011 had witnessed one change of name that was in 2004. There were lots of constraints attached to the position of head of this ministry. These constraints caused frequent change of minister which in many cases caused a change in the management teams. This instability and constant movement of minister paved the way for poor management and uncompleted projects. The stability or instability of a managerial team in a competition situation determines the outcome of set objects or goals. Whereas in the case of Cameroon, it was the reverse as some Ministers stayed in office for less than one year (Njiensi June 1970-January 1971, René Ze Nguele, November 1979-

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<sup>3</sup> Yves Curierman interviewed by Ekombo in MINSEP Infos, N°9 Nouvelle Serie..., p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> Sama Douala, 52 years, Yaounde 10 August 2019.

June 1980, Théodore Lando, April 1992-November 1992. Between 1970 and 2011, 19 Ministers served under both Presidential regimes. Some Ministers served longer periods than others. But the consequence of this instability coupled with personal capacities and managerial skills made it difficult to have policy conception and implementation. The number of Minister gives an average stay in office of 25 month per minister. Table 22 below show the names of Minister of Sport and their number of years and months in office.

**Table 22: Names of ministers that have managed the ministry in charge of sport affaires between 1960 and 2011**

Name of minister	Name of ministry	Year in office	Time frame
Songue Simeon	Secretariat of State at the Presidency of the Republic in charge of Mass Education, Information and Youth and Sports	June 1959-May 1960	11 months
Ndibo Mbarsola Gabreil	//	May- June 1960	1 month
Vroumsia Tchinye	//	June 1960- March 1962	1 year 9 months
Vroumsia Tchinye	Secretariat of State for National Education in Charge of Technical Education and Youth and Sports	June 1962-March 1963	9 months
Vroumsia Tchinye	General Commissioner for Youth, Sports and Mass Education	March 1963- July 1964	1 year 4 months
Mbombo Njoya Ibrahim	//	July 1964 –May 1965	10 months
Mbombo Njoya Ibrahim	Deputy minister in charge of Sports and Mass Education	May 1965- June 1970	4 years 11 months
Njiensi Michel	Ministry of Youth and Sports (MYS)	June 1970 - Jan 71	7 months
Ngoubeyou Francois-Xavier	MYS	Jan 71- July 72	1 year 6 months
Tonye Mbog Felix	MYS	July 72 - Nov 79	7 years 4 months
Ze Nguele Rene	MYS	Nov 79 - June 80	7 months
Ngongnag Ouandji Andre	MYS	July 80 - July 83	3 years

Mbombo Njoya Ibrahim	MYS	July 83- Nov 86	3years 4months
Fofe Joseph	MYS	July 86- Sept 90	4years 2months
Mbombo Njoya Ibrahim	MYS	Sept 90- April 92	1 year 7months
Lando Theodore	MYS	April 92- Nov 92	7months
Massoua II Bernard	MYS	Nov 92- July 94	1year 8months
Bipoum Woum Joseph-Marie	MYS	July 94-Sept 96	1years 11months
Makon Wehiong Samuel	MYS	Sept 96- Dec 97	1year 3months
Owona Joseph	MYS	Dec 97- March 2000	2years 3months
Bidoung Mkpatt Ismael	MYS	March 2000- April 04	4years 1month
Etame Massoma Siegfried	MYS	April 04-Dec 04	8months
Mbarga Mboa Philippe	Ministry of Sports and Physical Education (MINSEP)	Dec 04-Sept 07	2years 9months
Edjoa Augustin	MINSEP	Sept 07-June 09	1year 9months
Zoa Michel	MINSEP	June 09 -Dec11	2years 6months
Garoua Adoum	MINSEP	Dec 11 – Dec 16	

**Source:** By Koizah karh based on the field work data.

On table 22 above we clearly see that 15 Ministers handled the MYS 34 years between 1970 and 2004, and 4 Ministers in 7 years that is between 2004 and December 2011. It was not possible under such conditions to conceive and bring a policy to maturity. The fact that a policy needs evaluation before a new program or policy was put in place. How efficient could this instability be in promoting sport? This is one of the causes for improvisation and circumstantial decisions which yield no fruits and build the bridge for future chaos.

The first two ministers did not stay in office for more than three years, which did not enable them implement their vision for sport. During the period between 1990 and 1994, three ministers passed through the ministry. This was after the 1990 success at the FIFA Football World Cup in Italy. Cameroon during this period won no outstanding competition. The economic crisis had started in 1987, the country was under the International Monetary

Fund (IMF) Structural Adjustment Program (SAP),<sup>5</sup> and then came the devaluation of the currency CFA Francs in 1993. The outcome of which was political tension and conflicts which were materialized by the ghost town<sup>6</sup> system call up by the opposition political parties. The Sticks that occurred did not give room for the conception and implementation of any sport policies. There was no real continuity as each minister came in with a new orientation different from that of his predecessor. Ndongo Minsoko points to the fact that when Mbombo Njoya left he was focused on the reorganization of NIYS and its relocation but it was dropped down by his successors Lando. Lando stayed in office for about 7 months and was replaced by Massoua II, who paid more attention to the organization of youth competitions<sup>7</sup>. In 2003 Bidoung Mkpatt had undertaken to relocate the NIYS to a new site in Olembe but upon his replacement the project was not continued by his direct successors Etame Massoma and Mbarga Mboa. The problem of absence of continuity was according to Assiene observed when Edjoa was replaced by Zoa, the former focused on infrastructure development and the project of the creation of a Sport High School in Lycée Général-Leclerc while the later had all his attention on the wellbeing of athletes and the personnel of his ministerial department<sup>8</sup>. Policy implementations depended on financial resources available. Below shall be seen the financial resources at the disposition of the ministry to carry out its missions and projects.

## **2. The problem of Limited Financial Resources**

The elaboration of a budget was to meet with the requirements to achieve a number of set up goals and objectives in a given period. A budget is provisionary because it can be modified in the course of time based on realities. From the elaboration of the budget of Cameroon to its adoption and promulgation by the Head of State, is aimed at stabilizing the nation. There were priority domains which receive special attention in terms of budget. In Cameroon we had Defense, Education, and Health.

The ministry of sport had not always had a budget that could permit her fulfill her missions and obtain results. We shall in this section have a vivid view of the budgets allocated to the Ministry in charge of Sports and analyze how well they could enable this ministry implement her programs and plans. The relocation of the NIYS to Ahala could not

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<sup>5</sup> Touma Mama, *L'Economie camerounaise...*, p.17.

<sup>6</sup> Pigeaud, *Au Cameroun de Paul Biya...*, p. 49.

<sup>7</sup> Ndongo Minsoko 56 years, Yaounde, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2017.

<sup>8</sup> Assiene, 49 years, Yaounde, 21<sup>st</sup> July 2019.

be effective because the ministry's investment budget could not alone sustain the project. The NIYS had never been relocated as was scheduled after its creation.<sup>9</sup> Between 1999 and 2011 the Ministry could not enable all federations participate at international competitions. During the period only 15 out of 43 federations participated at international competitions. Oloko recalls that the number of athletes was always reduced when the list of athletes selected left the federations for the ministry. The case of athletic for the 1999 All African Games in South Africa when only 8 out of 17 athletes and 2 of the 5 trainers finally travelled<sup>10</sup>.

The major debate in Cameroon has always been of what importance was sports and related issues to national development? This widespread question had an impact on decisions as concerned the financing of sport. The budget allocated to the Ministry in charge of Sport was the portion of the national budget that was deemed sufficient to meet up with the needs of this department. The budget was to be divided to all agencies and department involved in the development of sports. The budget of the ministry had to cover: investment (constructing of infrastructure), running expense (central- (provincial) regional- divisional, departmental administrations), subvention to stakeholders (federations, committees, associations), organization and participation at competitions (at home and abroad), buying of equipment's, bonuses to athletes etc.

Why invest on sport when there was education, health security, agriculture, and industrialization, diplomacy which represented and had more impact on the society. Sport was always opposed to health and education by many when it concerned financial resource allocation. A look at the past during the introduction of modern sport in the colonial period could give a slight explanation for their involvement though limited in terms of financial resources<sup>11</sup>. During the per independence period in French Cameroon, the budget allocated for sport was voted at Territorial Assembly of Cameroon under the request of the High Commissioner of the Republic of France to Cameroon to his collaborators on 13th May 1953<sup>12</sup>. The implication of the local population was paramount to the success of the program. The population provided free human labour to compliment with limited financial and technical resources.

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<sup>9</sup> Dikoume, 72 years, Yaounde 12<sup>th</sup> May 2019.

<sup>10</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24<sup>th</sup> June 2018.

<sup>11</sup> Mbida Nana, "De nouvelles articulations entre les politiques publiques ...", p. 5.

<sup>12</sup> NAY 3AC file 4123, Désignation d'un représentant du service de la jeunesse et des sports, 1949, pp. 3-4.

This attitude of indifference of researchers as concerns sport is literally translated in political decisions and management. There were moment and situations during which sport received special budgets to finance specific events. Other sectors of the society were considered more important and crucial for development. The mental frame position sport in the mind of the elit as leisure but the did not evaluate the outcome and potential well organized sport carried for development. In this view they saw no need investing in sport<sup>13</sup>.

In Cameroon, the MINSEP received a budget for its activities as other ministries: investment and running budget, beside them we had special awards. The budgets were public funds so had to be accounted for in due time, and were to be spend through standard financial mechanism. The table 23 below illustrates the variations in budgets allocated to the MYS as compared to the national budget between 1982/83 and 2011.

**Table 23: A balance between the national budget and that for the ministry MYS/MINSEP**

<b>Year</b>	<b>National Budget (NB) in Billion</b>	<b>Budget for MYS/MINSEP in Billion</b>	<b>Percentage on NB</b>
1982/83	410 000 000 000	2 174 407 059	0.52
1983/84	520 000 000 000	2 704 771 961	0.52
1984/85	620 000 000 000	6 074 311 000	0.97
1985/86	740 000 000 000	6 765 139 000	0.91
1986/87	800 000 000 000	6 199 082 101	0.77
1987/88	650 000 000 000	7 479 407 000	1.15
1988/89	600 000 000 000	7 763 259 000	1.29
1989/90	600 000 000 000	7 373 000 000	1.22
1990/91	550 000 000 000	7 373 000 000	1.34
1991/92	545 000 000 000	7 373 000 000	1.35
1992/93	546 000 000 000	8 206 000 000	1.50
1993/94	546 000 000 000	7 926 170 000	1.45
1994/95	546 000 000 000	3 965 000 000	0.72
1995/96	640 000 000 000	3 853 830 000	0.60
2005	1,760 655 226 183	4 939 083 000	0.28
2006	2 118 693 706 968	5 610 000 000	0.26

<sup>13</sup> Minirakiza, "Sport et société en contexte africain. Analyse des enjeux sociaux...", p. 7.

2007	2 251 000 000 000	9 387 000 000	0.41
2008	2 276 000 000 000	15 398 000 000	0.67
2009	2 301 400 000 000	14 409 000 000	0.62
2010	2 570 000 000 000	17 323 000 000	0.67
2011	2 571 000 000 000	8 674 000 000	0.33

**Source:** By Koizah karh based on the field work data.

This budget was stable at certain periods but never exceeded 1.50% of the national budget at the height of the sociopolitical and economic crisis. The paradox was that during the crisis period (1987-1994) the MYS had a budget above 1% of the national budget. There was a great drop as from 2005 although Cameroon had attained completion point of HIPCI. This drop in budget coincided with a period of victories for other sports but not football. The problem was that Cameroon had not had a clearly defined sport policy. In chapter three the fraction of the ministry's budget allocated for investment will be analyzed. Other countries gave orientations to budgets. In the case of Australia, the budget was targeting the achievement of the following objective and outcome between 1976 and 1988:

- Increase the base for talent;
- Assist elite athletes achieve first class performances.

The budget for the dual objective of sport stood at 150 260 million Australian dollar of which 134 298 million Australian dollars were government find and other sources completed it. Of this amount 115 704 million Australian dollar was for elite athletes and the rest 34 556 million Australian for the talent pool development<sup>14</sup>. From this budget layout, Australian manifested her ambitions toward the upcoming Olympic Games.

There was a problem with the budget of the Ministry in charge of Sports as much of it was for running expense and very little for investment. It was normal then that with the multiplicity of missions, they could not have sufficient resources to implement their policies. On table 24 below is illustrative of this.

**Table 24: The General and Investment budget of MINSEP between 2006 and 2011**

Year	General Budegt for MINSEP	Investment Budget	Percentage %
2006	5 610 000 000	680 000 000	12.12

<sup>14</sup> Stewart et al, *Australian Sport: Better by Design?...*, pp. 176-177.

2007	9 387 000 000	1 100 000 000	11.71
2008	15 398 000 000	1 100 000 000	7.14
2009	14 409 000 000	3 100 000 000	16.65
2010	17 323 000 000	2 400 000 000	13.8
2011	8 674 000 000	700 000 000	8.07

**Source:** By Koizah karh based on the field work data.

Investment in the field of sports needed to be financed. The above budget shows the low percentage of the budget awarded to investment. This was the amount that the ministry was to use in case she needed to build new or renew offices, maintain or construct new stadiums and purchase equipments. The ministry did very little in terms of investment. We note that the highest budget was 2010 which had many competitions and activities: AFCON, FIFA World Cup, National Football Forum, General Conference of Sports and Physical Education but just 13.8% was awarded for investment. The increase in the budget between 2007 and 2010 was to respond national program to improve on the quality and quantity of sport facilities.

The general situation of the budget in Cameroon was influenced by the economic and social constraints in and out of the country. The most part of the ministry's budget was used for running expense. The staff of the ministry of sports were all civil servants including national team coaches (except foreigner).<sup>15</sup> They were state personal paid as other staff under the public service.

There were also special budgetary allocation for spontaneous events, particularly for sovereignty competitions. Special budgets and financial allocation in times of competitions were common. For Cameroon's participation at the FIFA world cup, AFCON and Olympic Games there were generally special budget (preparation, participatiob and/or after victory). This special treatment was most often reserved for senior national football team.<sup>16</sup> The massive finances injected in sport can be justified in these words of Youcef Fates "Le sport est un instrument du politique, les athlètes d'élites sont les soldats, les ambassadeurs du sport et les représentant de la nation, ils sont des combattants pacifiques des drapeaux vivants, l'affirmation et la reconnaissance sur la scène international de l'État-nation."<sup>17</sup> It is clearly

<sup>15</sup> Betala, "le sport au cameroun", in MINSEP Infos..., p. 105.

<sup>16</sup> Assiene, 49 years, Yaounde, 21st July 2019.

<sup>17</sup> Youcef Fates, "Sport et Tiers monde," in Géopolitique. Revue de l'institut international de géopolitique. Sport et politique n° 66 juillet 1999, p. 70.

visible that this massive financial input during sporting competitions was for state prestige and propaganda.

Before the 2004 split of the MYS the budget allocated to it was not dedicated only for sport. The ministry was a two in one: Youth and sport. So there existed a department of Youth affairs and that of sport. In themes of expenditure there was to be balance in inventing projects. So the budget register and allocated to this ministerial department had a dual and conflicting target. It is only with the 2004 reform that the entire budget was for the MINSEP as it had been separated with that concern with youth questions. The budget was not also just for competition, athletes and amenities they had to invest on administrative amenities like offices equipment and staff.<sup>18</sup> This posed numerous problems to the administrative personnel that had difficulties managing both projects. This can be seen in a note by the pedagogic inspector with subject: Realization of sport and socio-educative equipments projects issued on 15-5-1973, the Ministry had three main projects: construction of provincial stadium (Garoua-Bafoussam), construction of holiday villages (Ngaoundere, Victoria, Kribi) and construction of inspectorates for administrative services. All of these were registered under the national budget for 1972, but had to be forward to 1973-1974 financial year<sup>19</sup>. Some of the projects had never been completed by 2011, the case of the Bafoussam stadium.

Although it was paradoxal that the economic crisis and the dependence on international funds for development were required for projects, the MYS during this period witnessed a steady evolution of her budget. The budget went relatively increased from less than one billion in 1971 to above seven billion in 1992 before drastically dropping to less than four billions in 1994. At the same time the national budget had also experience a steady evolution still 1987 before of a down-ward move<sup>20</sup>. One will be tempted to question if the lack of perspective in sport amenity acquisition and construction was only due to this crisis? Was there no degree of negligence on the part of staff of the MYS and other stakeholders in the decision chain? Which was the level of cooperation between the MYS and municipal councils and other Para-state institutions? This situation did not permit the Ministry of Sport fully implement their policies. The financing of leagues and federations greatly impacted the development of sports.

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<sup>18</sup> Archives MINSEP, DEAD 16: Ministry of Youth and sport. Budget for 1982-1983, p. 4.

<sup>19</sup> Archives MINSEP, Note à l'attention de Monsieur le Ministre de la Jeunesse et des Sports. Objet : réalisation des projets d'équipement sportifs et socio-éducatifs du 15- 5-1973.

<sup>20</sup> Archives MINSEP, Note à monsieur le ministre de la Jeunesse et des sports, objet : le point sur nos projets d'investissement après la réunion du 28-06-1987

### 3. Leagues/Federations with Limited Funds to Invest in the Development of Sport

For institutions like federations accomplishing their missions and attaining their objectives, they must have finances to finance their activities. The state was the major stakeholder in the promotion of sport in the country. Sport was under public policy as part of state prerogative in themes of infrastructure, personnel and finance. At this level it should be noted that in most European countries sport clubs and associations federated themselves on private bases before the state came in to regulation. In the case of France they made use of the 1901 law of civil liberties on association to startup multisport to uni-sport grouping with private law backing.<sup>21</sup> By the end of WWII, the Vichy government-imposed state full control over sports federations to make them state agents in that domain. This transformed federations into public utility ‘service publique’<sup>22</sup> as they had in hand a lot of powers in the society and the state needed to have a grip over all associations. It was based on this experience that the French colonial authorities took up to regular the sports sector in their colonial territories. This was done via the creation of sport associations.

In Cameroon as far back as the colonial period, French colonial authorities applied the direct financing approach in which sport leagues were partly financed by public funds. These funds were approved by the Assembles (territorial, legislative).<sup>23</sup> The administration financed sporting activities via the Physical Education and Sport Committee which was the overseer of sporting activities on behave of the colonial administration. Table 25 below shows the financial allocation for sporting activities by the administration during 1956 legislature of the Assembly. This was for the French Cameroon Territorial budget of 1957<sup>24</sup>.

**Table 25: Subventions for the functioning of sport organizations in French Cameroun for 1957**

<b>Destination</b>	<b>Amount in FCFA</b>
Ligue de football	1 300 000
Ligue de cyclisme	1 300 000
Ligue de boxe	1 060 000
Office du sport scolaire et universitaire	1 400 000
Union sportive de l’enseignement primaire	1 700 000

<sup>21</sup> Klein., “ Reformer la gouvernance des fédérations sportives françaises....” p.11.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, p.11.

<sup>23</sup> NAY 3AC file 4104, Créations Conseil supérieur de l’Education Physique de la Jeunesse et des Sports, 1956, p. 2.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*

Sporting-club Yaounde	1 100 000
Club parallele 4 Douala	1 100 000
Club judo Douala	130 000
Club judo Yaounde	130 000
Société Lutte Africaine Yaoundé	170 000
Ligue Multi Sports	1 500 000
Total	2 590 000

Source : NAY 3AC file 4104, Création Conseil supérieur de l'Éducation Physique de la Jeunesse et des Sports, 1956.

Federations under the direct supervision of the minister of sport. In all federations and provincial/regional leagues, the ministry dispatched officials to supervise the activities of these leagues through the Department of Norms and Monitoring of Sport Organizations based on Degree N° 2005/098 of 06 April 2005 organizing the Ministry of Sports and Physical Education such as Secretary Generals, national Technical Directors and national Trainers.<sup>25</sup> The subventions given by the state as noted was not regular and very insufficient. The Judo Federation need six million Francs to implement its youth development policy between 2004 and 2007 in the Central Provincial league. The subvention from the Ministry of Sport for the period was four million Francs to the Federation<sup>26</sup>. Clearly the state via the Ministry of Sport could not fully finance sport. As these grants could not enable them carry out their missions. This subvention was too meaningless to the point that regional leagues could not benefit from them. All the ground works was done by the regional and departmental leagues, so no funds no activity and the results was death of certain sports<sup>27</sup>. The state was at the center of sport management and financing as sole actor. Norway developed another method of financing sport with stakeholders as presented below.

The economic and political conditions have to be seen together. The political position of the government in office has little influence on sports matters, because the state's money to sport is distributed outside the Parliament negotiations (KKD, 1992). It is based on the revenues from the state's gambling agency, and is administrated solely by bureaucrats in the DSP. Although there is a theoretical possibility for the DSP to allocate the money to other recipients, the NOC has, as mentioned above, developed a monopoly and autonomy with regard to public funding for sport<sup>28</sup>.

This system of sport financing reduced administrative on sport organizations. The funds gotten from gambling was not debated in the parliament but only the taxation imposed on these companies. Could this be used in Cameroon as the Loterie National had once been

<sup>25</sup> Betala, "Le sport au Cameroun", in MINSEP info n° 7, nouvelle série, Avril-Mai-Juin-Juillet 2008, p. 106. Law n° 98/08 of 5th August 1996 fixing the Charter of Physical and Sport Activities.

<sup>26</sup> Kingue Dihang, 46 years, Yaounde 15<sup>th</sup> November 2017.

<sup>27</sup> Abdourahman, 50 years, Yaounde 20<sup>th</sup> November 2019.

<sup>28</sup> Skille, "Understanding Sport Clubs as Sport Policy Implementers....," p .190.

a partner to football in the 1970s and 1980s before it went bankrupt? Does direct state financing guarantee a good development of sport and institutional management?

Based on the fact that sport was a social and/or public service under the state vision, the federations receive not only personal but most important the state via the MSY/MINSEP granted their financial assistance for the achievement of their assigned mission<sup>29</sup>. These funds hardly enable the federations to organize a single competition<sup>30</sup> and worst was the fact that it was the MYS which appointed president of federation before the charge based on the 1996 law enhance democratic practices in sport. The Minister appointed Presidents, Secretary Generals and Treasurers of all sport federations<sup>31</sup>.

Based on decree n° 2005/098 of 6<sup>th</sup> April 2005 Organizing the Ministry of Sport and Physical Education, which attributed to the department of Norms and Monitoring of Sport Organizations the following missions coordinate, control and evaluate the activities of federations, this prerogative was the manifestation of ministry tutorship over federations was done with satisfaction<sup>32</sup>. In reality very few federations achieved satisfactory results because very little ground work was done to promote youngsters through a designed objective-oriented program. Many Provincial/Regional leagues except for football had above one million francs from the sales of licenses and insurance to athletes. The consequence of this situations the total dependence of state grants as they had not succeeded in have private sponsors<sup>33</sup>. Financial constraints, battle for leadership, corruption, limited personnel, sociocultural difficulties and availability and access to sport facilities were the major obstacles to overcome both by the ministry and the federations in other to achieve any reasonable result.

#### **4. Conflict between the State and Sport Leagues and Federations**

In Cameroon, the relationship between sport federations and the Ministry of Sport had not always been peaceful. Federations were all placed under the supervision of the Ministry of Sports which issued their authorization to run their activities at the national level. Before 1996 top management staff of federations were appointed by the minister of sport. Conflicts

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<sup>29</sup> Betala, "Le sport au Cameroun ", in MINSEP, p. 106.

<sup>30</sup> Wouassi, 57 years, Yaounde 21<sup>st</sup> October 2018.

<sup>31</sup> Archives MINSEP, Procès-verbal de la 2<sup>e</sup> Assemblée générale des présidents des fédérations sportives nationales et dirigeants sportifs, 23 février 1974.

<sup>32</sup> Mouloke Ebénézer, interviewed by Yves Bertrand Ekombo, in MINSEP info, n° 09, Nouvelle série, Mai 2010, p. 19.

<sup>33</sup> Sama Douala, 52 years, Yaounde 10 August 2019.

only started when federation with their stakeholders were given the responsibility to elect their top management staff.

The leagues had been transformed to federations after independence based on the 1962 Sport Charter. This Sport Charter had two major points as to the management of federations. The first was the method use to choose those to be at the helme of the institutions. The second point was the putting in place of management organs. This changed in 1996 with the new Sport Charter which gave a certain liberty to federations in the choice of their leaders.

A lot of tension existed between them, particularly during the renewal of bureau members of federation and subventions. This is confirmed by Monloke director of Norms and Monitoring of Sport Organization at MINSEP expressing his relief after the organization of election of federation manegement bureaux in 2008. There was a lot of tension prior to this election.<sup>34</sup> It was hope that the incoming federal executives have less conflict with the ministry.

In 1994 FECAFOOT pushed by FIFA organised elections to elect its bureaux member. This was the first of its kind as before this date top managers (President, Secretary General and Treasurer) of executive bureaux of federations were appointed by the minister of sport. Minister Massoua II, rejected the elections of Maha Daher as president of FECAFOOT on 17th February 1993. FIFA through a correspondance warned the Cameroonian government of interference into the management of football. On 1st September 1995 Cameroon was suspended by FIFA from international football due to the dismissal of Maha Daher and his bureau by the minister of sport Bipoum Woum. The suspension was lifted when the bureau was reinstated to their rights.<sup>35</sup> In 1998, 2008-2009 FIFA had treaten to suspend cameroon from international competitions due to hyper state intrusion in the management of football affairs. The consequence had been the creation of commissions for the management of football after the collapse of the elected bureau.

There was a major crisis between the Athletics Federation and the Ministry over the appointment of National Technical Director and National trainers in 2005 and 2007. The president of the federation Sama Douala had appointed Eko Nkodo as National Technical Director to replace Michel Nkolo. The ministry rejected the appointment and maintained

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<sup>34</sup> Monloke interviewed by Yves Bertrand Ekombo, in MINSESP info, n° 09, nouvelle série Mai 2010, p. 19.

<sup>35</sup> Dikoume, 72 years, Yaounde 12<sup>th</sup> May 2019.

Nkolo in office. During camping periods of the national team there was always tension and the athletes did not know who to listen to<sup>36</sup>. The situation only had a partial solution as Nkolo was accredited for competitions directly under the ministry such as AAG and Commonwealth and Nkolo was accredited for African Championships. Again in 2007 there was another conflict between the Athletics Federation and the ministry when the ministry decided to renew the technical staff of National Teams without consulting the federation. The federation rejected some of the persons appointed by the ministry. Kinang was appointed national training in charge of horizontal jumps but the federation rejected this appointment. It was only in 2009 that he fully took over duty, when a new bureau was elected with J. S Mbous as president<sup>37</sup>.

Kingue Dihang points to the fact that, if a candidate for the position of president of a federation was not approved by the ministry of sport, his candidacy was rejected by the ministerial commission charge with the supervising and overseeing election<sup>38</sup>. His candidacy to run in for the presidency of FECAJUDO was rejected during the 2009 March elections. Assiene points to the fact that some individual had undertaken legal action against the ministry for the rejection of their candidacies<sup>39</sup>. This situation would eventually be a cause for concern in the eve of a new election as those who won the cases will expect to be restored to the legal position. As this only increased the tense situation between the federations and the ministry.

The chosen candidate by the ministry benefited from legal protection from the election supervisors from the ministry who discredited other candidates making them ineligible<sup>40</sup>. The result was that some incompetent persons were put at the head of certain federations and at the end of their mandate had worked to kill the sport they had a mission to promote. And some of them were not sanctioned as they could again benefit from their connection in the ministry to be reelected<sup>41</sup>. Due to this electoral and post electoral tension many federations found themselves implicated in legal battles instead of working to promote and develop their sport which was the main *raison d'être* of these federations (Karate in 2004, Cycling in 2004, Volley in 2008, Boxing 2008)<sup>42</sup>. These frequent battles between the

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<sup>36</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24<sup>th</sup> June 2018.

<sup>37</sup> Kinang, 40 years, Yaounde 21 June 2018

<sup>38</sup> Kingue Dihang, 40 years, Yaounde 21 June 2018.

<sup>39</sup> Assiene, 49 years, Yaounde, 21st July 2019.

<sup>40</sup> Anonymous, 60 years, Yaounde 20 February 2020

<sup>41</sup> Kingue Dihang, 46 years, Yaounde 21 June 2018.

<sup>42</sup> Sama Douala, 52 years, Yaounde 10 August 2019.

ministry and sport federations slowed the development of sport. During these periods competitions were not organized for the athletes to continue showcasing their talents. Team presidents could not pay bonuses to their teams because they were not active. In most cases teams suspended their training and the athletes left helpless. In such situations, athletes could not perform at their optimal potential. Another consequence was that sponsors refused to invest in sport due to the absence of recognized leadership. Moreover, all development programs designed by the bureau were halted during the period of the conflict.

## II. IMPLEMENTATION OF A SPORT INFRASTRUCTURE MAINTENANCE POLICY

In the previous chapter was mentioned the sporting successes of Cameroonian athletes at international competition. These victories did not awake the will to create and provide the country with new outstanding and modern sport amenities and infrastructure. The option of the renovation and maintenance was chosen during the period of economic hardship. Rehabilitation became the master word as concerned sport amenities. The country was undergoing a SAP and later a HIPCI, so the country adopted the rehabilitation policy which was considered less costly. This was the justification approach used by the Secretary General of MINSEP to justify rehabilitation works instead of constructing a new stadium in Yaounde in 2005. Building new facilities was more costly and would not be appreciated by the international donor countries who considered sport less important at the time<sup>43</sup>.

It should be noted that the rehabilitation works on the Yaounde Ahmadou Ahidjo Omnisport stadium was to cost about one billion five hundred million FCFA (1 500 000 000 FCFA) that is about three hundred million Japanese Yens ¥ (300 000 000).<sup>44</sup> It was not the first rehabilitation taking place on this stadium. The huge amount allocated for its rehabilitation could start-up a project for a new stadium. While rehabilitation was envisaged for the Ahmadou Ahidjo stadium in Yaounde, the Reunification stadium was being suspended from use by African Football Confederation (AFC) in 2006. The situation is explicit in the following words:

*Chaque année le stade de Yaoundé connaît de travaux d'aménagement mais jamais celui de Douala. Il faudra peut-être la suspension de la CAF pour que le ministère se bouscule pour se pencher sur le cas de vieux malades abandonnés depuis des lustres. Depuis sa construction en*

<sup>43</sup> Cameroon-Tribune of 19/10/2005 "Le Japon au chevet du stade Ahmadou Ahidjo", cité par King Tchapia, de [www.camfoot.com](http://www.camfoot.com), consulted on 28/11/2017 at 3 :15 pm

<sup>44</sup> Rapport des études du concept de base pour le projet de réhabilitation du stade Ahmadou Ahidjo de Yaoundé <http://www.openjicareport.pjp> retired on 12/06/2017 at 3 :40 pm

*1972, le très sollicité stade de la Réunification de Douala n'a jamais connu les joies d'une quelconque réfection, même pas sa pelouse aux mille trous, réputé être le meilleur champ de tubercules, excellent piège pour ballon et chevilles de footballeurs<sup>45</sup>.*

The truth was that Yaounde being the nations' capital hosted almost all international sporting events. Almost all national teams, particularly the national football team, the Indomitable Lions played the matches in Yaounde except for 1999 when some AFCON 2000 qualification matches were played in Douala. So, all was done for the Ahmadou Ahidjo Stadium to be available for use to the detriment of other stadiums which were abandoned without any serious attention.

The Bafoussam stadium had never been completed just like that of Yaounde where only pitch was done. The construction works of the Bafoussam stadium was suspended in after the pitch and the athletic track had been done. The field had become a farmland for inhabitation of the area. There was a budget allocated for the completion works of the stadium between 1978 and 1985, but nothing was made concret on the field. The state had envisaged to carryout works to render the stadium operational again in the works of the SG of MINSEP in 2005. He acknowledged the fact that there was a poor approach as concerns sport infrastructure.<sup>46</sup> Ombga was of the opinion that the Ahmadou Ahidjo Omnisport stadium was not suspended for international football matches because Issa Hayatou was president of the CAF<sup>47</sup>.

A series of questions arose as to the evolution of things, why so much difficulties in managing projects? What obstructed the completion of these construction projects even when the budget had been allocated? How could Cameroonian authorities be so lukewarm as concerns sport amenities? Why did the state not invite private investors and business guns accompany her in this endeavor?

The state did not want to share her pride with any private none state actor. In a purely centralized bureaucratic system, the administration regulated the power and management apparatus. The whole administrative and management system established never permitted none state institutions to takeup such initiative. This can be seen in the suspension by MYS and CNS of the project for the construction of an omnisport field by the S.D.O of Abong-Mbang in 1972; because of non-respect of norms and collaboration with other stakeholders

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<sup>45</sup> King Tchapia., "stade Omnisport de Douala bientôt suspendu" in [http://camfoot.com.>a-la.une>le\\_stade\\_omnisport de douala bientôt suspendu](http://camfoot.com.>a-la.une>le_stade_omnisport_de_douala_bientot_suspendu), 16/4/2006 consulted on 28/11/2017.

<sup>46</sup> Cameroon-Tribune of 19/10/2005 "Le Japon au chevet du stade Ahmadou Ahidjo", cité par King Tchapia, de [www.camfoot.com](http://www.camfoot.com), consulted on 28/11/2017 at 3 :15 pm

<sup>47</sup> Ombga, 58 years, Yaounde 20<sup>th</sup> March 2019.

and finally the project was abandoned<sup>48</sup>. The non-involvement of the NSC which was the organ in-charge of managing sport amenities played against the S.D.O. The NSC and later the NSEB which had as mission the elaboration construction projects, management and maintenance of sport infrastructure in the country were not part of this project.

### **1. Destruction of Sport Facilities and the Reallocation of the Spaces for other Purposes**

A well know problem in Cameroon had been that of destroying in hope of replacing or giving priority for other activities. Many at times the existing infrastructure was destroyed before any project to build a new one was put in place. With the rapid demographic expansion of Cameroon and fast urbanization, the demand for sport facilities increased. Unfortunately, balance between need and availability of sport amenities was continually imbalance. The pressure on available sport facilities was so much that any single available space was battled between different social actors for their use.

In the Ministry of Sport there was a service and later a sub department in charge of sports infrastructures. This service was the technical organ which had amongst its mission the planning, construction and maintenance of sports facilities. They did not always have the means to achieve these missions.

As concerns sports infrastructure in the educational domain, many schools were built without adequate or even no space allocated for the play of sports. This was contrary to the 1974 Law which recommended that all schools have available space for sports. Unfortunately, some of the schools which respecting this Law later transgressed it. The major reason been that the need for classroom was more important than having space for sports. School principals argue that they needed space to accommodate the ever-increasing student population who had a right to education<sup>49</sup>. Colleges such as Lycée Mballa II, Biyem-Assi, Mendong, Angissa, Lycée Bilingue d'Application, CETIC and CES Ngoa-Ekelle used the available space for other purposes rather than sports. These spaces were at times used to build classroom even when there was available land elsewhere in the campus. This same situation was witnessed in Côte d'Ivoire<sup>50</sup>. Institutions such as the University of Yaounde I,

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<sup>48</sup> Archive MINSEP Confidentiel : note à l'intention du Directeur Adjoint des sports sur le dossier du stade d'Abong-Mbang and confidentiel : V/L n° 35/CE/IGE du 14/01/72 Monsieur le Ministre Délégué à l'inspection générale de l'État, p.1.

<sup>49</sup> Omgba, 58 years, Yaounde 20<sup>th</sup> March 2019.

<sup>50</sup> Koffi, Bini, "Marginalisation de l'Éducation Physique et Sportive... ", p. 259.

the National Institute of Public Works, National Polytechnique etc, should be added to the list of sport space killers. According to Assiene, all correspondences from MINSEP to the concerned administrations yield no results.<sup>51</sup> This was a clear situation of lack of governmental collaboration.

At a higher-level mention should be made of bigger and more costly infrastructure destroyed by the state. The first and most striking example was that of the first sport omnispport stadium of Yaounde, Stade Omnisport Hippodrome. This stadium was destroyed a few years after independence when the Yaounde Ahmadou Omnisport had not been constructed. On the site today is found the CNPS Headquarters in Yaounde<sup>52</sup>. Normally there was to be an increase in the offer not a reduction of available space.

There was also the destruction of the Madagascar Multipurpose Complex of Yaounde. This was mostly used for the play of handball and its destruction was almost a big blow to the expansion of handball in Yaounde and Cameroon as a whole<sup>53</sup>. We continued by saying many other parts of the country had suffered from such decisions which deprived many youths from having space to occupy themselves during leisure time but also of becoming professional *sporters*<sup>54</sup>.

Sport infrastructures were of prime importance to the development of sport. Cameroon had a long period after her first designed sport infrastructure policy before the second one was conceived. Because of the threat by international sports organization to suspend Cameroon due to her absences of infrastructure pushed her to rethink of investing in sport amenities. The available amenities were rudimental and generally located in the urban and semi-urban areas which limited the chances of citizen living in the rural areas in expressing their talents. Also, the great focus on football limited the scope of the sport environment as only cheap sports that demanded little finances for the play were encouraged. The birth of PNDIS after raising hope soon brought sorrow as it was slow in deriving the expected results. Atangana warns that the football-based policy encourages and promotes the exile of non-football talents to other nations<sup>55</sup>. The construction of elite infrastructure does not ease the access of the majority of children to play grounds. It limits the development of talents and

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<sup>51</sup> Assiene, 49 years, Yaounde, 21st July 2019.

<sup>52</sup> E. G. Sammick, "Ou sont les stades?" in Mutation of 1st November 2004, quoted by [http://www. Camfoot. Com](http://www.Camfoot.Com), consulted on 13<sup>th</sup> January 2020, at 11:23 am

<sup>53</sup> Assiene, 49 years, Yaounde, 21st July 2019.

<sup>54</sup> Idem.

<sup>55</sup> Atangana Fouda, "Cameroon-opinion: finalement le PDNDIS du foot et non du sport", Cameroun-info net, and Cameroun-com retrieved, 21-12-2017 at 5:31 pm, p. 6.

reduces the chances of having a high number of talented and skilled *sporters* at proximity facilities so as to have a greater number of youths express their talents and skills on play grounds.

## 2. Difficulties in Hosting Sport Events

Concretely Cameroon had been famous for her sport victories and triumph around the world, but had very few such victories at home. The diplomacy of attraction was not used by Cameroon and it greatly slowed down the development of the sports industry. Edjoa MINSEP asked the following questions during an interview in a television program.

*Les camerounais se demandent pourquoi depuis 1972 nous n'avons plus organisé une compétition majeure à l'image de la CAN. D'ailleurs, beaucoup que ce soit au Cameroun ou ailleurs se demande pourquoi pas le Cameroun, nous sommes forts pour aller gagner ailleurs et pourquoi nous ne pouvons pas organiser une compétition majeure au Cameroun ?<sup>56</sup>*

Public policies had not particularly handled the issue of sport infrastructure. The sport sector was handicapped by lack of sectorial programs as concerned the construction of infrastructures which lead to incapacity in organizing competitions. The almost inexistent infrastructural policy coupled with financial constraints due to the economic crisis, had greatly contributed to this situation. If we compare Cameroon in terms of competition hosting to Qatar, the difference is much. The issue is a political vision and ambition to make things move. The soft power of attraction is not found in the Cameroon diplomacy language. This was usually heard in the regressive rhetorical question asked by many about the importance of sport and its outcome. The lack of a good data base erected by experts of the domain can justify this speech. Grix and Lee, present the advantages of organizing and hosting sports events in the words:

The key advantage as we have started of a sports mega-event is that the hosting state is able to communicate their attractiveness through shared cultural values of sports hosting states can enhance their attractiveness to others by demonstrating that they not only share those values, but also that they wish to champion and collectively celebrate these within the context of their own distinctive cultural, social and political values<sup>57</sup>.

Visibly Cameroon had not benefited from these advantages that others were gaining through this policy of attraction. The usual question “Has sport ever developed a nation?” was often used to marginalize initiative toward the upgrading of sport. More often sport was

<sup>56</sup> Edjoa, MINSEP during the CRTV Television program « Actualité Hebdo with Ibrahim Cherif, on 12th October 2008 in MINSEP info n° 8 nouvelle série, mars 2009, p. 52.

<sup>57</sup> Grix and Lee, “Soft Power, Sports Mega-Events and Emerging States: The Lure of the Politics of Attraction”, University of Cambridge, CRP working paper series, working paper n° 12, September 2013, p. 6.

used by politician to justify their actions when there was victory, but there was no real sport vision<sup>58</sup>. Federations and other stakeholders were totally under the control of the government via the ministry who owned all sport facilities and had a veto power in case of such an initiative.

### 3. Problems faced by University Games

FENASU had to handle the organization of its competition which had no qualification criterials and quotas in term of performances. Their competition was limited to the organization of a National Finales of the Games without any preselection<sup>59</sup>. The absences of preselection competitions made many institutions to come with athletes simply for participation due to their unpreparedness. The Catholic University of Central Africa most often presented athletes to fulfill her engagements with the government<sup>60</sup>. So very low performing athletes were qualified, that which made certain competition days very boring and unbalance.

Another problem was the status of sport in universities and other higher education institution. Institutions lacked technical staff and we must make a difference here between sports and physical education and sport for competition. In most private institutions there were no qualified staffs to prepare athletes for games. PES was absent from timetables of many institutions depriving students from physical exercises. Also talented athletes could not be detected during PES lessons as it was intended because the staff was not qualified to perform this level of work. Couple with the lack of staff was the absence of sport facilities, making it impossible for the organization of the lesson, which could permit the detection of talents. Owing to the fact that PES was not a compulsory lesson in all universities and higher education institutions, getting athletes was pretty difficult<sup>61</sup>.

The status of the federation had not been clearly defined and the bureau was transitioner by 2008. In the words of Dorothy Njeuma, president of the Executive Transition Bureau in office since 2001, it was time for a more permanent bureau with the participation of more institutions and to review the membership of the bureau by integrating other institution to make it more solid. Also, to reduce high dependence on state subventions and

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<sup>58</sup> Pigeant., *Au Cameroun de Paul Biya...*, p. 182.

<sup>59</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24<sup>th</sup> June 2018.

<sup>60</sup> Beling Nkoumba, 53 years, 24<sup>th</sup> June 2018.

<sup>61</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24<sup>th</sup> June 2018.

grants through MINESUP and MINSEP while increasing contribution of members and searching for more sponsors<sup>62</sup>.

The consequence was that institutions recruited non students to represent their institutions during the games. The Siantou Institute of Yaounde, National Polytech of Bamenda and University of Douala had been heavily sanctioned for haven enrolled non-students in their teams. The Siantou Institute was suspended from the games after recruitment and enrolling ineligible athletes during the 2007 games in Ngaoundere. Most of the athletes did not have the Advance Level Certificate which was the first eligibility requirement<sup>63</sup>. A review of this state of things could better the organization of the games while making its impact positive on the development of elite sports. This system of recruitment was a major setback to the development of sport as it became an affair of a few.

Another technic used by university institutions to recruit athletes was offering scholarships to talented students so they could represent them during the games. This technic was used by the National Advanced School of Public Works. The sport recruitment enabled them emerge overall 3<sup>rd</sup> during the Douala 2008 Games with 13 Gold Medals, same with the Universite of Yaounde I and the NIYS who made the difference at the level of silver medals.<sup>64</sup> This made many instiution to invest less on longtime detection and training programs. Another consequence was the scramble for talented athletes trained by others institutions which was at the base of many conflicts between institutes.

The organization of the U.G witnessed a handful of difficulties in many ways similar to that seen during the FENASSCO competitions, expect for transportation. A balance sheet of the U.G uptill 2011 brings the follow difficulties:

- Poor lodging conditions: sleeping on poor quality small size mattresses on bare floor in lecture rooms, officers particularly in universities with small capacity dormitories; Dschang, Ngaoundere, Buea, Yaounde II Soa.
- Poor organization and low-quality food served to athletes general to all universities throughout the years;
- High mobility of athletes: change of institution every year and corruption practices;

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<sup>62</sup> Thobi, entretien avec Dorothy Njeuma, Présidente du Bureau Exécutif provisoire de la FENASU, in *MINSEP Infos*, n° 7, Mai-Juin-Juillet 2008, p. 91.

<sup>63</sup> Otto Mbotto, 40 years, Volleyball instructor and statisticien with the national men volley ball team 2011-14, administrative staff at the ministry of Finance, Yaounde on 15-11-2017; Mbarga Bikie, 41 years, Yaounde 21<sup>st</sup> May 2019.

<sup>64</sup> Thobi, entretien avec Pr Bruno Bekolo Ebe, Recteur de l'Université de Douala, in *MINSEP Infos*, n° 7, Mai-Juin-Juillet 2008, p. 90.

- Fraud on ages and falsification of certificates;
- Difficulties in harmonizing the university calendar, some lecturer organized their lectures while the games were going on in their universities (Yaounde I 2003, 2009; Dschang 2005; Douala 2002, 2008; Yaounde II 2004, 2010).

- Inadequate technical staff
- Inadequate technical and quality equipments.
- Little attention to sporting performances.
- Poor, inadequate and low standards sport amenities;

These situations had been seriously criticized particularly by athletes unfortunately no serious actions were taken. This negatively played on the standard, credit and consideration given to the UGs. By 2011 all the state universities which were the only institutions with organizing rights of the UG had hosted at least two (2) editions, as seen on the table 13 above. These institutions that benefited from state subvention for the organization of the games particularly for the development and construction of sport facilities unfortunately could not boast of adequate standard infrastructures<sup>65</sup>.

### **3.1. Transportation during National Games**

The transportation of athletes, be it for the, divisional, Provincial/Regional finals or national finals was not easy. Most often athletes were transported in military lorries that had very little comfort and security. Athletes of the Centre Province/Regional uptill 2007 traveled for the OSSUC/FENASSCO A Games traveled in military lorries. Coupled to the poor state of the roads which were a real danger for many athletes particularly the very young ones. This negatively impacted on the athletes and the quality of the competition<sup>66</sup>. These poor travelling conditions made athletes arrive the competition venue tired and exhausted. They received little medical attention to take care of eventual body pains<sup>67</sup>.

Little changes were brought to the transportation system even when the road network had been improved. The Centre Regional FENASSCO 'B' delegation for the 2008 edition travelled to Ebolowa in a military truck.<sup>68</sup> Uptill the 1990s there were difficulties travelling to certain towns due to the poor state of the roads but the period after 2000 witnessed an improvement in the road network. This encouraged the use of more comfortable cars for transportation. Officials did not think it wise to use modern buses that

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<sup>65</sup> Dikoume, *Le service du sport...*, p. 114.

<sup>66</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24<sup>th</sup> June 2018.

<sup>67</sup> Tche, 57 years, Yaounde 19<sup>th</sup> September 2019.

<sup>68</sup> Kinang, 40 years, Yaounde 21 June 2018.

offered more comfort and security<sup>69</sup>. In reality these military trucks were less costly to obtain.

### 3.2. The Quality of Lodging Facilities during National Competitions

In the whole organization system of the games, the constant element of shame had been lodging. Amongst the reasons behind the organization of the games, was to improve the infrastructural facilities of the host town; reason for the rotational host system. In terms of lodging athletes were treated like slaves just like during transportation<sup>70</sup>. Classrooms were used for the lodging of athletes during the provincial and national finals. This was risky and made many parents to stop their talented children to partake in this competition. It was a Service Commando as Ombga called it<sup>71</sup>. The lodging venues for the 1987 edition of the OSSUC Secondary Schools were the following in the town of Ebolowa. It was described as follows:

*a) athletes et accompagnateur :*

*Le problème a été très crucial à Ebolowa en raison de la modestie des structures d'accueil. Cependant, nous avons réussi à répartir le logement des délégations aux cinq lieux suivant en fonction de leurs effectifs :*

- ✓ *Collèges Unis d'Etat : Centre et Sud-Ouest soit 343 personnes*
- ✓ *Lycée Mixte d'Ebolowa, Littoral, Nord, Sud, soit 518 personnes*
- ✓ *CES Bilingue Nord-Ouest soit 343 personnes*
- ✓ *Collège Bonneux Est-Adamaoua, soit 343 personnes et Séminaire Jean XXII*
- ✓ *CETIC : Extrême-Nord soit 168 personnes<sup>72</sup>.*

In such an environment, it was difficult to have good security and appropriate health, hygiene and sanitation conditions. As concerns hygiene and sanitation, there was a problem of toilets and access to healthy potable water. There was a lot of promiscuity which exposed athletes to infections<sup>73</sup>. It was difficult to lodge in such unhealthy conditions and perform well. In the classrooms mattresses were thrown on the floor and twenty persons or more slept inside. No protection against mosquitos and other insects. No real brainstorm was done to see into this matter. Official reports sent to the ministries in charge exposing the chaotic situation were completely ignored. Some reports described a different situation from the realities witnessed by the athletes during this period<sup>74</sup>. Authorities always said lodging and

<sup>69</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24<sup>th</sup> June 2018.

<sup>70</sup> Toukene Guebogo, 41 years, Yaounde 11<sup>th</sup> June 2018.

<sup>71</sup> Ombga, 58 years, Yaounde 20<sup>th</sup> March 2019.

<sup>72</sup> Rapport général des finales nationales des jeux scolaires (OSSUC) organisés à Ebolowa du 16 au 21 mars 1987, p. 2.

<sup>73</sup> Toukene Guebogo, 41 years, Yaounde 11<sup>th</sup> June 2018

<sup>74</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24<sup>th</sup> June 2018.

feed during the games were the best for the athletes while the athletes complained of poor lodging and feeding some became sick after the competitions.

#### 4. Slow Development of Sport Infrastructure during National Games

One of the reasons for the rotational organization of the Games as from the origin was to enhance the development of sport facilities. Each host town was to benefit quality sport facilities that were to profit to the youths after the games. It is true that many towns benefited from sports facilities after hosting the games but due to the poor quality of the constructed facilities and lack of maintenance, a few years after funds had to be disbursed again for these towns host the same games<sup>75</sup>. The city of Yaounde hosted the following competitions: University Games 2003 Yaounde I and 2004 in Yaounde II, and the FENASSCO A and B Games in 2004 in Yaounde and Presidential Guard complex and the DIXIADES Games 2008 and finally the University Games in 2009 in Yaounde and 2010 in Yaounde II. During all these competitions funds were allocated for infrastructural development but no new infrastructures was constructed only maintenance was done.

Normally, the games were to promote sport development as the stipulated in the 1974 Law cited in chapter 4 above. The law stipulated that each school, social construction and development project was to have sporting facilities and amenities. The government was obliged to spend huge sums of money to construct sport facilities so as to fill the unfilled requirements of the law.

There was as better change between OSSUC and FENASSCO budgets. OSSUC budgets did not make provisions infrastructural development projects. It can be seen below on table 26 in the layout of OSSUC expenditures:

**Table 26: Budget layout for organization of 1987 OSSUC Finals in Ebolowa**

N° D'ordre	Désignation	Dépenses effectuée
Prestations	Restauration	25,387,700
	Transport	22,775,1915
	Hébergement	6,166,317
	Equipement sportif, coupes et brelogue	4, 331,515
	Matériel audio-visuel	300,000
	Pharmacie	600,000

<sup>75</sup> Ombga, 58 years, Yaounde 20<sup>th</sup> March 2019.

	Secrétariat	3,000,573
	Réception	1,041,170
	Gratification	6,672,000
	Total	65,943,672

**Source:** From rapport général des finales nationales des jeux scolaires (OSSUC) organisés à Ebolowa du 16 au 21 mars 1987 p. 16.

The list above shows that, nothing was allocated for the construction of new sport facilities. The existing ones were simply upgraded through maintenance works. But most often than not the works were patched up and poorly done. This caused them to be reconstructed again at the eve of a new competitions as the previous maintenance had last just the period of the competition<sup>76</sup>.

Among the reasons for the creation of the educational based sport competitions was the construction of sport facilities. Each host town had to increase her offer in sport facilities. For the FENASSCO each available infrastructures in the school had to improved upon and/or build. It was rather surprising that few school could boost of having quality sport facilities after the games. The organizing committee rather preferred renting in the case of Yaounde the Presidential Guard Sport complex, the Hamadou Ahidjo Stadium for their competition. Apart of Lycee General Leclerc no other school could boost having improved her sport facility offer due to the games.

### **5. Competition Conditions for Athletes during National**

Athletes had to fulfill certain conditions to be eligible for each competition. In the days of OSSUC there was no limitations as concerned age or number of participations for an athlete. This situation impacted on the quality of the competition as it became difficult to discover new talents due to the fact that teams came in with almost the same athletes each year<sup>77</sup>. There was the mercenary phenomenon where ‘professional’ non-enrolled *sporters* were hired to compete in place of regularly enrolled student by falsifying their documents<sup>78</sup>. Some Provinces/Regions were known for such acts such as the: South West, Littoral, Center, North West and less extend North and West Provinces/Regions. In addition, management of logistic was poor as competitions equipment usually arrived the competitions venue late. This gave the impression they never knew the competition will take place.

<sup>76</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24<sup>th</sup> June 2018.

<sup>77</sup> Yano Yano, 52 years, Yaounde 19 July 2019.

<sup>78</sup> J. P. Ekoula, “Comment se porte le handball dans le Littoral ? ” in Cameroun Tribune (n° 1112), du samedi 4 mars 1978, p. 9.

Despite poor the feeding and lodging conditions, the inadequate amenities as well as the difficult transportation conditions, the games had produced a number of champions. During certain editions of the games national records were broken in certain sport disciplines. The case of Achuo from the Littoral who set a new national record in the 800m finales in athletic during the 1987 Ebolowa games.<sup>79</sup> Most of the outstanding athletes of the OSSUC were selected for the various national team. The National OSSUC Games were not only a clash of emotion and showcase of sporting skills and talent but also a clash of provinces and coaching capacities.<sup>80</sup>

Unfortunately, as time went on, the passion for the games died down gradually. The follow remarking was made by Mbaké Martin provincial OSSUC secretary for the littoral.

*Il m'est revenue de constater une nette diminution des équipes engagés en handball et plus flagrant encore aucune équipe engage dans la catégorie minime sur les stades il faut remarquer plusieurs cas de forfaits, des fraudes sur les âges. La situation est également identique dans les autres sports collectifs: Le football, le volleyball, le basketball<sup>81</sup>.*

A number of factors could account for this drop in the participation some of which include: poor lodging, feeding, transportation, quality of competition facilities and total lack of consideration for the children. In the past, sport was done for the love and passion of the game as will be seen later. It was considered a means of social ascension. At the end of the games many, could not boast of any financial gratification or bonus that could have a significant long terms impact on their lives. But it gave them recognition. Athletes, after giving their best on the arenas and sustained injuries return to their homes almost as they had left<sup>82</sup>. Outstanding performances and/or victory, at the games could for some enable enrollment into a civilian team which usually offer a token as bonus or employment into a Para-state company or enterprise. In some cases, it was the start of a professional sport carrier<sup>83</sup>. But the pride and prestige of victories, did not go only to the sports, it also went to the authorities particularly school principals who simply offered scholarship to meriting *sporters*<sup>84</sup>.

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<sup>79</sup> Rapport général des finales nationales des jeux scolaires (OSSUC)..., p. 6.

<sup>80</sup> Yano Yano, 52 years, Yaounde 19 July 2019.

<sup>81</sup> Ekoula, "Comment se porte le handball dans le Littoral ?" in Cameroun Tribune (n° 1112), du samedi 4 mars 1978, p. 9.

<sup>82</sup> Yano Yano, 52 years, Yaounde 19 July 2019.

<sup>83</sup> Milla Milla, 63 years, Yaounde 16<sup>th</sup> March 2015.

<sup>84</sup> Ombga, 58 years, Yaounde 20<sup>th</sup> March 2019; Milla, 63 years, Yaounde 16<sup>th</sup> March 2015.

### III. NON-IMPLEMENTATION OF A LEGAL STATUTE FOR ELITE SPORTERS

In Cameroon workers are legally under the labour code which secures a certain number of right and privileges. The authorities had thought it wise to give a legal backing to elite sporters, particularly the elite athletes of the national team. The non-implementation of the law keeps athletes vulnerable. The 1972 Law contained mainly disciplinary issues of the men senior national football team. The name Indomitable Lions' was only for them based on Decree n° 72/600 of 31 October 1972<sup>85</sup>. Elite athletes who were called up for the national team benefited from state attention usually at the eve of competitions. They were lodged, feed, dressed and other advantages. All of these ended after the competitions. In the past many were happy to be called up to the national team no matter this absence of status and follow up, gave their outmost best to make the Green-Red-Yellow flag fly<sup>86</sup>. This was a voluntary act by the federation officials and administrators of the ministry of Sport who gave no respect and consideration to the athletes. E. Tche who said these administrators "saw in athletes their visa, air ticket, allowances, bonuses and increase in bank account figures in times of competition." And these persons only checked on them (athlete) at the eve of international competition<sup>87</sup>. Philippe Boney adds that these administrations have no consideration for athletes, what mattered was what they extracted from them not their wellbeing. These was evidenced through the lack of attention shown to sporters in their moments of difficulties or after their carriers.<sup>88</sup> In the same line of ideas Ndongo Minsoko says:

Les joueurs camerounais en cas de blessure ne sont pas assistés c'est le cas de Ndonga, Ndongo ou Manga Onguene, joueurs de talents qui ont été plus ou moins abandonnés après avoir été blessés et ceci sous les couleurs du Cameroun. A travers ces exemples, on est en droit d'exiger un minimum de garanties<sup>89</sup>.

This situation had a great negative impact on the choice of sport as a career by many youngsters and their families. They did not wish to have a similar treatment if faced with a similar situation. Yano Yano recalls on the miserable condition under which Mbappe Leppe died at the CNPS Hospital in Yaounde and how it enhanced this feeling of insecurity in a sport career.<sup>90</sup> This situation was not addressed in the Sport and Physical Education Charter

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<sup>85</sup> Betala, "Le sport au Cameroun...", p. 107.

<sup>86</sup> Tche, 57 years, Yaounde 19<sup>th</sup> September 2019.

<sup>87</sup> Tche, 57 years, Yaounde 19<sup>th</sup> September 2019.

<sup>88</sup> Boney, 47 years, Yaounde 5<sup>th</sup> May 2019.

<sup>89</sup> Ndongo Minsok, *Le livre d'or du sport...*, p. 197.

<sup>90</sup> Yano Yano, 52 years, Yaounde 19 July 2019.

of 1996. P. Boney was of the opinion that the Department of Development and High Performance Sport would have made it possible for an *Elite Sporters* Status to be inserted in the 2011 Law on Sports and Physical Activities that would secure them a wellbeing, social status, retirement or after career benefits. The law simply evoked the issue and required an application text from the president<sup>91</sup>. If in the past the question of status was not of importance to *sporters* and the administration, the changing world required that this be reviewed due to the place held by sports and sports actors. Sport had since become a profession, so the actors needed a legal framework and backing to better carryout the activity. The experience of professional Cameroonian *sporter* who lived in the western countries where these conditions already existed made it more pressing. This lack of legal protection had been one of the reasons evoked to justify the muscle drain, of Cameroonian *sporters* who have opted to naturalize and put their talent and skills to the benefit of other nations. It also impacted on the preparation and participation of Cameroonian athletes in international competitions.

### **1. Treatment given to “Local” National Team Trainers**

Under the labour code and the laws that govern job security, every worker should sign a contrat which gives his job description, duration, means available and mission. Unfortunately dis legal disposition was not applied to local national team trainer. No local national coach or trainer had a signed contract. It made the vulnerable in the performing of their duties. This was done only when it was a foreigner. If we take the care of football which had recorded a great number of foreigners as national team coaches, many had contracts and other advantages that no national could ever dream of. Claude Leroy French born coach who worked in Cameroon between 1986 and 1988 received a monthly salary of 2 000 000 FCFA was logged in Hotel SOFITEL Mont Febe by the state for 870 125 FCFA monthly and 1.5 million FCFA for feeding allowance.<sup>92</sup> Other sport such as volleyball, handball and ruby had also enrolled foreigners as national team coaches.

During the period between 1960 and early 1990, foreign coaches employed in Cameroon had as mission to not only qualify teams and participate in international cmpetitions but also had to upgrade local coaches<sup>93</sup>. This was done through workshops and

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<sup>91</sup> Boney, 47 years, Yaounde 5<sup>th</sup> May 2019

<sup>92</sup> Confidential letter (soit transmis n° 060/ST/CF/SP, copie fiche de renseignement n° 0173/PS/SPSNC/DAR du 4 février 1987 relative au contrat de l’entraîneur national de football Claude Leroy avec le Ministre de la Jeunesse et des sports.

<sup>93</sup> Ombga, 58 years, Yaounde 20<sup>th</sup> March 2019.

seminars. Their expertise was a great input for the nationals who acquired new skills and training technics. In later years foreign coaches just came in to qualify and take teams to international competitions, the majority of cases lived in Cameroon, so simply came at the same time with players for competitions. This situation did not favor any fruitful collaboration between them and the locals who believed they could also deliver the same results<sup>94</sup>.

In Western countries there was a certain level of stratified organization which enabled the continuous training and recycling of coaches. Sport academies were opened to enhance research in the domain of sport performance based on local abilities. That is, many more coaches were drilled on sport disciplines that were accessible to the local population and also could produce long term champions. In the case of Canada, the coaches had seven (7) sport centres where they could undertake research in their domains. These sport centers worked in collaboration with the Canadian Olympic Commission and the coaching Association of Canada and benefited from state subventions<sup>95</sup>. This group of coaches who worked in a perfecting center acquired the required training technics to enable them produce outstanding athletes and good performances at international competitions.

The absence of sport academies and the orientation on physical education in the NIYS made it difficult for trainers to be well structured. Some had the opportunities to do the studies in foreign countries with which Cameroon had cooperation agreements in the field of sport such as Germany and France<sup>96</sup>. But there was no formal structure or institution to govern, manage and direct this knowledge upon their return to Cameroon. They went with authorization from the Ministry in charge of Sport but nothing was done for them to elaborate a restitution workshop upon return. This almost rendered the training they received useless and restricted it to personal use thereby wasting state funds.

This situation negatively affected the development of sports and production of high and quality performance in the country. The absence of quality performances had as effect, a poor show which had a negative impact on spectators and eventually sponsors. Spectators could not derive satisfaction and pleasure watching low level competitions. For more interesting and quality competitions and sport shows coaches had to pick out the best out of their athletes. How could these coaches enable athletes to participate at international competition and

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<sup>94</sup> Dikoume, 72 years, Yaounde 12<sup>th</sup> May 2019.

<sup>95</sup> Thibault and Harvey, *Sport policy Canada...*, p. 26.

<sup>96</sup> Oloko, 53 years, 24<sup>th</sup> June 2018; Assiène, 49 years, Yaounde, 21<sup>st</sup> July 2019.

produce outstanding results and performances? How were these international competitions prepared by government through the Ministry and the CNOSC and Federations? Also why did Cameroon embark on international competition to the detriment local competitions? De Bosscher et al. cite nine points which to them explain international sporting success<sup>97</sup>. They are:

- Financial support;
- Integration approach to policy development;
- Participation in sport;
- Talent identification and development system;
- Athletic and post career support;
- Training facilities;
- Coaching provision and coach development;
- International competitions;
- Scientific research.

The above cited points will not apply only to international sport success as they implicitly require in-depth structural transformations at the local level. If these points are taken into consideration and implemented judiciously Cameroon, will only be a great sporting nation but also stand out for its development through sports.

## **2. Financial and Honorific Reward to “*sporters*”: a Source of Frustration**

The motivation for sport and its play was not only for the pleasure of playing, to many it was a job, sports had become with time professional. Above had been presented the requirements to obtain a high-level performance. Athletes invested heavily in terms of time, material and finances to be at top form and grab medals to honor their nations during international competitions. All athletes needed gratifications and other forms of rewards to encourage them for outstanding performances.

In Cameroon, right up till the 1990s sporters were contented with what they were given by the state during international competitions. Wouassi points out that the media played a

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<sup>97</sup> De Bosscher et al., “Explaining International Sporting Success: An International Comparison of Elite Sport System and Policy in six countries”, in *Sport Management Review* 12, Elsevier, 2009, p.115.

great role in the change of mind set of Cameroonian sporters during this period.<sup>98</sup> Ndongo Minsoko adds that the success of Cameroonians teams and the new wave of professionalism greatly imposed consideration to their job<sup>99</sup>.

The quest for better living conditions and gaining more social recognition were the reasons that motivated many to get involve in certain professions, sport being one of them. Professionalism demanded that people made a living with their skills and savoir faire. The capitalist conception of every activity is to produce income: input equals' output. Back to sport athletes invested their time in training hard to produce performance which will enable them recieve financial and material rewards.

As said earlier sporters in Cameroon witnessed an evolution as concerned rewards be it financial, material or honorific. In the period before the 1990s athletes were very comfortable with material and material rewards, these athletes started requesting for financial rewards. Sport was for passion and sporters were happy to travel and win. Patriotism was the lead word for Cameroonian sporters in the period before the mid 1990. This did not however imply that they stopped patriotic but rather they became more conscious of the fact that they were in a capitalist world in which every activity required a reward and pay. Ndongo Minsoko quotes Felix Tonye Mbog former ministers of Youth and Sports who said.

Dans les années 70 les sportifs Camerouniens ne savaient déjà pas ce que c'est que l'argent dans le sport. C'est vraiment un sujet accessoire quand on avait les moyens, on accordait aux sputifs ce que nous appelons les primes olympiques, quelque chose de symbolique. En mon temps, je ne suis pas si un joueur a eu plus de cent milles francs CFA en quelques compétition que ce soit<sup>100</sup>.

Mbombo Njoya goes in the same line to say that“ On n'avait non seulement pas d'argent mais les questions financières n'étaient pas l'enjeu numéro 1. J'avais coutume avant et pendant chaque compétition de leur rappeler qu'ils sont des militaires au font pour la défense et l'honneur de la patrie”<sup>101</sup>.

The above view reveal that that very little was done for the welbieg of the sporters. How then could they prepare for competitions and produce good performance and results? This proves that sporters were marginalize and could not afford descent living stands which inturn discouraged many from getting involved. Parents considered sports as an activity for

<sup>98</sup> Wouassi, 57 years, Yaounde 21<sup>st</sup> October 2018.

<sup>99</sup> Ndongo Minisoko, 56 years, Yaounde, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2017.

<sup>100</sup> Ndongo Minsoko, *Le livre d'or du sport ...* p.125.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

frustrated persons in the society and school drop outs. This could also account for the reason why many sporters died poor and frustrated as they had never received any substantial funds to prepare for their lives after sporting careers<sup>102</sup>.

Athletes had nothing meaningful in terms of financial reward. As for material rewards they had the same items with the other members of the delegation. A surprising fact was that athletes who were civil servants did not have mission orders in regards to their status.<sup>103</sup> This greatly handicapped them when it came to finances as they were merely considered as athletes. This had to change because officials had all the advantages and prerogatives while athletes who strived to come out with results on daily bases had nothing.

An athlete who could not qualify for the Olympic Games could not benefit from such attention and rewards. Only during such competition such as the OG, Commonwealth Games, AAG, Francophonie Games that sporters received heavy amounts of money. In a country like Britain, the government allocated sufficient funds to their athletes and on time to enable them adequately prepare for their competitions. For example, in 2000 and 2004, the UK government allocated £70 million and £75million of direct financial support to athletes for the preparation of the Athens 2004 and Beijing 2008 Olympic Games<sup>104</sup>. The officials who already had their monthly salaries still received more money than the sporters. The “notion of patriotism” was the master word given to athletes when they demanded from them good performances. It was but normal to talk of patriotism but it was not to be limited only to athletes with it was to apply also to administrators and officials. The table below 27 illustrates the evolution in the bonuses given to sporters in Cameroon between 1963 and 2003.

**Table 27: Financial Rewards Received by some Cameroonian Athletes and Teams for their Performances between 1963 and 2010**

Year	Team	Competition	Bonuses in F CFA/per athlete
1963	All athletes	Jeux de l’Amitie	10.000
1972	National Football Team	AFCON	25.000
1974	Handball	African Championship women	6.200
1974	Joseph Bessala	African Heavyweight boxing champion	1.000.000 and a house and car

<sup>102</sup> Yano Yano, 52 years, Yaounde 19<sup>th</sup> July 2019.

<sup>103</sup> Dikoume, 72 years, Yaounde 12<sup>th</sup> May 2019.

<sup>104</sup> Houlihan and Green, *Comparative elite sport development...*, p. 2.

1976	All Athletes	Central African Games Cup	Gold 15,000 Silver 10,000 Bronze 5000
1979	Union Douala football team	African Club Champion (victory)	180.000
1982	Indomitable Lions	FIFA World Cup (participation)	4.000.000
1990	Indomitable Lions	FIFA World Cup (Quarter finals)	22.000.000 plus a house
2002	Indomitable Lions	FIFA World Cup (participation)	30.000.000
2003	All athletes	All African Games (victory)	3.000.000
2003	Cadet Football Lions	African Cadet Nations Cup (victory)	3.000.000
2004	Francoise Mbango Etone	Olympic Games (Gold Medal)	40.000.000
2008	Francoise Mbango Etone	Olympic Games (Gold Medal)	42.000.000
2010	Indomitable Lions	FIFA World Cup (participation)	45.000.000

**Source:** By Koizah Karh based on field work data

Things gradually changed with the world revolution that occurred with the dominance of capitalism over communism and the digitalization. The international social, political and economic changes coupled with the media improvement raised sports to real consumers good. Sporters started demanding for higher wages and rewards. This world-wide change affected Cameroon. Some of the reason behind this change was the fact that many had become professional and lived aboard where conditions were better. The two major consequences of these situation were the: increase in escape of the athletes during competition and after migration (better known as muscle drift) and stick action organized by sporters to demander for bonuses and/or their increase (particularly footballers). Ndongo Minsoko quoted Albert Roger Milla who vividly presented the situation in these words:

*Par ailleurs ils ne sont pas près à tout lâcher sur l'autel du patriotisme. C'est à ce niveau que l'on enregistre souvent des situations de tensions très rare fort heureusement entre les sportifs Camerounais, surtout professionnels et les dirigeants sportifs ce fut notamment le cas avant la CAN de 1996 en Afrique du Sud, ou les Lions pour une histoire de primes non payées ont refusé de rallier*

*Johannesburg... l'on ne saurait dans le registre oublier de mentionner l'épisode des volleyeurs dans la capitale française en 2001,<sup>105</sup>.*

It was also observed that on the eve or during some competitions, sporters had to stage a strike action before the bonuses were given to them. This brought shame and dishonor to the country as in many instances this happen out of the national territory in front of international medias which broadcasted it worldwide.

The notion of patriotism was generally demanded on sport by administrator when it concerned financial benefit was not applicable the other way round. The number of defection in the different teams during international competitions was in the increase and it was noted that many camerounian sporter did not only migrate to these countries but also took up other nationalities. This defection during international competitions was a form of resistance by sporters to the officials against their poor conditions.<sup>106</sup>

It became almost systematic during international competitions out of Africa to hear of defections in the Cameroonian delegation as from the 1996 Atlanta Summer Olympic Games in USA. This was the case in all categories: cadets, juniors and seniors except for football juniors and seniors. Many said that what they were to receive would not enable them take care of themselves and their families. Added to that they had dreams of becoming the best in the disciplines so needed better training conditions that which Cameroon could not provide for them.

Another reason was the possibilities of gaining social recognition. The muscle drain or drift was only, part of a movement that had been commenced earlier called the brain drift "*tous ont la possibilite de s'eleve socialement par le sport en jouant dans les clubs professionnel francais...permenttent de mettre en evidence l'existence d'une difference de potential social entre les conditions de depart et les conditions d'arrivee*"<sup>107</sup>. They expected their new social statut to be an opener to certain melieuse. Just the fact that you lived and was professional abroad bought about respect and presitige for your family. So often the defection of these sporters was with the complicity of family relatives who planified the

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<sup>105</sup> Ndongo Minsoko, *Le livre d'or du sport ...p.197*

<sup>106</sup> J.C. Scott, *La domination et les arts de la resistance. Fragments du discours subalterne*, Paris, Edition Amsterdam 2008 p.199.

<sup>107</sup> S. Frenkiel, "La permanence de la condition d'immigre sportif africains. Une socio-histoire des footballeurs professionnels camerounais en France (1954-2010) Histoire social/social history, Vol XLV N° 90 (Nov/Dec 2012) p. 271.

escape for their children. Others families even mounted pressure on those children who taugt of returning to Cameroon<sup>108</sup>.

With the fast-changing international scene, sport gained and attracted more investments from nations for its expansion. This was done to maintain their talents by providing them with better conditions. It included: improve sports infrastructure, medical attention, and increase bonuses to avoid them picking up new nationalities in the quest for a better living conditions. The entry of new actors in the international sport system (multi-nationals and para-state companies) made sport become a geopolitical and strategic question. The receiving countries of these sporters hand put in place savant strategies to ease their arrival and integration<sup>109</sup> and put in place of conduisive conditions for them to showcase their talents and enable their nations to be present at the podium of mega sport events.

### **3. Absence of a Designed Youth Long Term Development Program**

Sport performnces are not different from academic achievement. Certificates are just as performances are obtained after many years of hardwork. Performances were the fruits of a short-, medium- and long-term preparation. In many sport disciplines it was done on a sequence of four years which corresponds to an Olympic cycle. Within this period certain elements were perfected through annual, meso and mirco cycles<sup>110</sup>. Most trainers particularly those working with young athletes used this approach to prepare athletes well ahead of time for future competitions. Unfortunately, this had not been the case in Cameroon as athletes knew nothing about the target of the training program. Everything was done hastily on the eve of the competition but with expectance of high stand performances<sup>111</sup>. This had sometimes produced spectacular results on which officials could hang on for their propaganda. There had hardly been continuity in the production of such results be it in football, athletic, volleyball, handball, basketball, weightlifting<sup>112</sup>.

Preparation for the future starts with youths below the age of eight years to be sure of having atleast a double Olympic period to be performant at the age of twenty. The first problem was that there was no national or federal program to encourage the creation of training camps for this category and the few trainers who decided to do it most often did not

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<sup>108</sup> Saidou, 51 years, Yaounde 20th August 2019.

<sup>109</sup> Poli, "Conflit de couleurs enjeux géopolitiques...p. 151.

<sup>110</sup> Kenney et al., *Physiology of Sports and Exercise...*, p.10.

<sup>111</sup> Tche, 57 years, Yaounde 19<sup>th</sup> September 2019.

<sup>112</sup> Kinang, 40 years, Yaounde 21 June 2018.

have the required competence<sup>113</sup>. The end result was that most often athletes were taken to competition just for participation with no real ambition. Tche said “these officials from the ministry and federation saw us (athletes) as their flight tickets, mission bonuses, free of charge vacation and tourism, new equipment and salary without any other consideration for our own ambitions and dreams”<sup>114</sup>. This was not only true of the 70s and 80s; athletes of the periods after, had the same complain as they received the same treatment. There are very few children that played the FENASSCO Games and proceeded to played the University Games. Very few got involved in civil competitions. After inquiring we discovered that nobody at the FENASSCO, Ministry of Sport and Federation secretariats could give the names of children discovered during the FENASSCO Games that had progressed to the National Teams after 8 years. It was simply to understand as the existed no evaluation dashboard.

To secure international success many countries invested heavily on their athletes. In Former East the government was reputed to spend about 1% of the Gros Domestic Product on elite sport and put in place an elite sports program colosely similar to that put in place by Australia after the 1976 Commonwealth Games<sup>115</sup>. Tche says that as a young athlete he only saw federation officials and persons from the ministry assist in their training sessions only when an international competition was about to start,<sup>116</sup> and they expected from them medals. In the same light Atouba Essama says that, nobody cared about how they prepared but all put pressure on them for the final victory forgetting there in no miracle in sports<sup>117</sup>.

The government was not to solely responsible for this, federations at their own level to put in place long term program through the creation and functioning of training camps. This was to enable them replace their aging elite athletes<sup>118</sup>. Such a program was to be comprised of the creation training groups, sports academies, teams and clubs. They were to be runned by experienced qualified coaches who had received roadmaps<sup>119</sup>. The youth categories were poorly structured and lacked adequate follow up, although it was a prescription of the international federations. There existed international competitions by categories but Cameroon was not often present contrary to countries like Canada, Nigeria,

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<sup>113</sup> Idem

<sup>114</sup> Tche, 57 years, Yaounde 19<sup>th</sup> September 2019.

<sup>115</sup> Houlihan and Green, *Comparative elite sport development: ...*, p. 2.

<sup>116</sup> Tche, 57 years, Yaounde 19<sup>th</sup> September 2019.

<sup>117</sup> Atouba Essama, 37 years Yaounde 17 July 2019.

<sup>118</sup> Kingue Dihang, 46 years, Yaounde 15<sup>th</sup> November 2017.

<sup>119</sup> Saidou, 51 years, Yaounde 20<sup>th</sup> August 2019.

Germany and Australia who were always present. Federations such as the Cameroon Athletics Federation did not have National Trainers for the youth categories. According to Kinang one thousand (1000) young athletes are to be trained in order to have one world class athlete<sup>120</sup>. Atouba adds that these youths must have at their disposal sufficient space to exercise their talents and skills but that was not the case<sup>121</sup>. This was the approach used by Australia during the 1960s and 70s with the elaboration of a national youth sport program<sup>122</sup>.

It was evident that with the limited attention given to medium- and long-term preparation, a lot of pressure was put on athletes during short term programs. This led to repetitive meso and micro cycles programs. This was done especially at the eve and during competitions. It was the case for competitions such as Olympic Games (OGs), All African Games (AAG), Commonwealth Games, and some confederation competitions. These were all sovereignty competitions. These camping programs were done in Cameroon and/or abroad. Camping abroad also served as acclimatization as it was done in an environment similar to that of the competition venue. The Indomitable Lions for example benefited from an acclimatization preparation camping in Yugoslavia and Bari in Italy prior to the 1990 FIFA World Cup in Italy<sup>123</sup>.

#### **4. The Defection of Cameroonian Athletes during International Competitions**

In search of better living conditions humans have often moved from their place of origin to areas where they believe will offer them better conditions. This phenomenon has no limit to particular continent nor country. Each person has particular reasons that motivate his or her decisions to migrate. Researchers termed this phenomenon brain drain or brain drift and muscle drift for sporters. Many Cameroonian sporters had used different methods and opportunities to leave the country. A number of them escaped during international competitions and others got short term visas that later expired and made them illegal in the host country and a very few number of them fulfilled the legal conditions. The pull and push factors that determine migration<sup>124</sup>. Some did it to better the sporting conditions under good conditions and for financial benefits.

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<sup>120</sup> Kinang, 40 years, Yaounde 21 June 2018.

<sup>121</sup> Atouba Essama, 37 years Yaounde 17 July 2019

<sup>122</sup> Stewart et al, *Australia sport: Better by Design?...*, p. 143.

<sup>123</sup> Archives MINSEP, Preparation du Mondial 90, programme de preparation Lion Indomitable.

<sup>124</sup> H. Edik, "La fuite des athletes camerounais...", p. 30.

Sometimes sporter took up other nationalities just to avoid problems with the law and migration but remained Cameroonian. However, some athletes later came back to representing Cameroon and even won medals for her during international competitions. In athletics we could cite: Miriam Leonie Mani, Claude Toukene, Ernest Tche, Ebong Salle, Nguimgo Mireille, and Serge Begono II<sup>125</sup>.

Many other sporters completely took up their new nationalities and went on to represent them. This depended on their migration and residential conditions. Some did this because they were disappointed by the Cameroonian system: arrogance of authorities, blackmail, lack of finances, lack of consideration and regard as humans<sup>126</sup>. Here we can cite the case of weightlifters who escaped and went ahead to compete for their new countries: the Matam Brother who competed for France and Ngom Priso in athletics for the same France.

Uptill the year 2011, only 1 national decree talked about financial bonuses to sporters. This legal document actually concerned only football it was Decree n°72/600 of 31 October 1972 organising the National Senior Football Team. The second used document was Ministerial Decision n°2621/MJS/CAB of 09 December 2000, Internal Regulation of the National Football Team<sup>127</sup>. Other sport disciplines benefited from bonuses as not document made mention of that as can be read below:

Il importe de relever que seule d'Equipe Nationale de Football Fanion est régie par un texte juridique. Par principe de parallélisme une extension a été faite aux autres disciplines en vue d'avoir un document servant de boussole en attendant l'aboutissement du texte régissant les Equipes et Sélections Nationales (texte d'application de la Loi 96/09 du 5 Août 1996 fixant la charte des activités physiques et sportives)<sup>128</sup>.

It should be mentioned here that the bonuses varied between the different disciplines: there was Football and the others. This difference was because in the calculation for football consideration was given to their professional status, the contribution of sponsors and other partners and special bonuses by the state<sup>129</sup>.

In such conditions it was obvious that Cameroonian sporters could not be consistent in their performances. Cameroon became specialist of spontaneous and unexpected outstanding performances at international competitions with this way of doing things. E. Tche

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<sup>125</sup> Douala Sama, 52 years, Yaounde 10 August 2019.

<sup>126</sup> Obama, 54 years, Yaounde, 10<sup>th</sup> August 2019.

<sup>127</sup> Plan stratégique de développement du sport... p.80.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid. p. 83.

<sup>129</sup> Ombga, 58 years, Yaounde 20<sup>th</sup> March 2019

recalls that he received thirty thousand Francs CFA (30.000F CFA) after forty-five (45) day camping and participation at the 1981 All African Games<sup>130</sup>. A similar remark was made by Toukene “for our preparation and participation at the Athenes 2004 Summer Olympic Games we received 100 000 CFA after 3 months of preparation and participation and I was not even reimbursed my expenses flight back to the US where I came from”<sup>131</sup>.

This situation could be better understood through certain aspects of the Seoul 1988 Olympic Games layout.

**Phase Préparatoire :** *Prime olympique athlete* 1000f x nombre de jours 1000f x 15 = 15 000F CFA. *Prime Olympique encadreur* : 3000 x 15 = 45000F CFA

**Phase de compétition :** *Prime Olympique athlete* 2000F CFA x nombre de jours 2000 x 23=46,000F CFA. *Prime de participation athlete* 150 000F. Frais de mission des entraineurs et des officiels (forfait). Entraineurs: 35000 x 23 = 805.000F CFA, Officiels 45000 x 23 = 1.035.000F CFA<sup>132</sup>.

The relative absences of forecast by the Cameroonian administrators in the domain of sport encourage the defection of its athletes. The athletes did not dispose of proper and quality training venues and equipment. Many dreamt of becoming world champions in their disciplines. The difficulty of the situation in Cameroon was that the financial expenses for sport came from the national budget and for special funding and budget allocations; no mechanism was put in place to auto finance sport. In Qatar the financing of sport was done through the Qatar Sport Investment (QSI) which handled all sport related funds: Construction of infrastructure, financing of teams and organization of organizations<sup>133</sup>. This organism worked to have sporters live in the best possible conditions during and after their sport career.

The escape of athletes during competitions had greatly affected the management of team. Unfortunately no legal decisions has been taken to reduce such behaviours. Edik in his work point out that 60% of the escapist drop away from sport because the reality they face in these countries are different from what they were told and belief<sup>134</sup>. With the reality they

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<sup>130</sup> Tche, 57 years, Yaounde 19<sup>th</sup> September 2019.

<sup>131</sup> Toukene Guebogo, 41 years, Yaounde 11<sup>th</sup> June 2018.

<sup>132</sup> Archive MINSEP Budget pour la préparation et participation du Cameroun aux jeux Olympique de Seoul 1988 p.3.

<sup>133</sup> La diplomatie sportive Qatarie, “Le « sport power » : Le sport au service de la reconnaissance internationale du Qatar”, in Diplosport, RIS/CSFRS, 2012, p. 4.

<sup>134</sup> H. Edik, “ La fuite des athletes camerounais...”, p.

start fighting for survival because their legal statutes limited their opportunities and also face real adversary with the nationals and other migrants.

In this chapter our focus was the difficulties faced by the government in the conception and implementation of the Cameroonian sports policy. These difficulties were a serious set back to the development of sports. The most serious was improvisation and unpreparedness which eventually lead to circumstantial and unplanned decisions. This was seen in the centralized administrative set up where all decisions depended on the Ministry of Sport. This affected their relationship with technical management organs and the sport infrastructure policy. The training of PES teachers was incomplete and they faced difficulties in the execution of their duties.

The government had to redefine the missions of MINSEP and technical management institutes to reduce the conflict amongst them. At the same time enable them to be financially autonomous so as to reduce over dependence on state funds. Application texts for laws needed to be signed and respected. The consequent lack of regulations has been the circumstantial decisions which has not helped sport and sporters. Cameroon was a great sporting nation and believed sport could play an important part in the development of their nation if things were better organized and managed.

## **GENERAL CONCLUSION**

Coming to the end of this research what conclusion can we make of the above analysis on the study entitled **Sport in Cameroon: Difficulties in the Development and Implementation of a Sport Policy 1970-2011**. Without any doubts the work has brought out the triple face of sport in Cameroon. On one hand the socio-political, economic and diplomatic reasons that prompted state implication in sport promotion and management and on the other hand, the educational importance of sport. The organization and participation in competitions, be it at national or international level. It is evident throughout this reflexion that there had been a sport policy. But that the policy was not always well defined so could not be well implemented. The actions and decisions had in most cases been circumstantial and/or un-designed. This relegated sport to a mere unproductive activity for social drop out. As from the colonial days to post-independent, the state had favoured the play of sport for social cohesion.

The whole perception, layout and ideology governing modern sport in Cameroon and certain African countries was a colonial heritage. The sport management texts were after independence reproduced almost without change. The Ahidjo government issued a Sport Charter in 1962 which transformed the existing sport leagues into federation under the tuitorship of the government. This Charter enabled Cameroon integrate the international sport system which was affected by the cold war. The Cameroon adopted the Soviet block conception of sport which was a state managed activity and used for propaganda and imancipation. In 1976 Olympic Games Cameroon as certain African countries did not play any sport because of the presence of New Zealand that had played friendly matches with Apathied South Africa. Ever sport victory by a Cameroonian athlete or team was magnified as it was a factor of national unity and a way to express patriotism. Algeria the Front National de Liberation had created a football team which played matches around the world to create awareness over the situation in Algeria and demanded for their independence.

The turning point was in 1970 when the MYS was created with mission to organize sport in the national territory. Our work therefore focuses on the period that runs between 1970 and 2011, to see how the creation of the MYS (which became MINSEP Ministry of Sports and Physical Education in 2004) impacted sporting environment on aspects such as organization and functioning of the Ministry, creation, management and collaboration with other stakeholder institutions, infrastructural policy, PES and the training of their staf objective behind the organization and management of local competitions and finally the participation at international competitions. The creation of the MYS was certainly

circumstantial as Cameroon had been appointed to host the 8<sup>th</sup> edition of AFCON. Many countries of the former French Africa had done so with the same appellation. The ministry witnessed the passing of nineteen ministers at its head during the period of our study. The very short term in office of some did not enhance any major change coupled to the fact that the ministry had very limited finances to carry out its missions. Notwithstanding, a number of decisions were arrived at to during the Conferences and forums to promote sports within the nation and out. The 1974 law on socio-educational and sport amenities, the statut of PES teachers, the statut of the National Football Team and its baptismal name the Indomitable Lions were signed. Also, there was the 1996 Physical Activities and Sport Charter and lastly the 2011 law on the Promotion of Physical and Sport Activities. In this same light two General Conferences on sport and physical activities and a forum on football were organized after poor football results. Unfortunately, these laws and suggestions of were almost never implemented due to administrative bottlenecks and mismanagement. This greatly hindered the development of sport and the use of its full potential for development.

Sport was reinforced in the educational system as it was extended to the anglo-saxon educational system as a subject. This was already the case in the Francophone educational system. To complete the process, training institutions for the training of PES staff were created and other upgraded. It was part of the nationalization of the civil administration which was to replace the cooperants by nationals in the administration. Through this measure the NIYS was created along side the existing CREPS of Dschang and the CENAJES of Garoua. No infrastructural program had been set up at that time. All the sports amenities available were those left behind by the colonial powers.

This mismanagement and absence of a clear vision greatly impacted on the creation and management of the auxillary institutions. The creation of these institutions were as a result internal and external reasons which were of two orders the will to develop sport at home and comply to internal norms. The 1962 law paved the way for the creation of sport federations (former leagues) to work for the promotion and organization of their various sports. To assist the State, the COC which had all sport federations under her umbrella. During a later period, the CNS was CNS. This institute was to control the finances of the federations and sport competitions. And ONES was created to see into the construction, maintenance and use of sport facilities. But these institutions died because of mismanagement and the economic crisis of the late 1980s and early 1990s. The other reason was that these institutions enable Cameroon go international by getting her membership into

international federations and institutions. Based on this that Cameroon participated at the OG and by 1968 had her first Olympic Silver Medal. The choice of persons to head these associations brought many problems as non-qualified persons were appointed. There were little or no changes even when democracy was introduced into sport, which was one of the reasons for the constant conflict between the state and federations. These institutions and federations almost solely depended on state financial assistance to financial stability. However, some Cameroonians managed to occupy important management positions at continental and world sport organizations.

Sport was to hold a place of choice in the educational system through PES lessons. However, until the 1990s, Cameroon still had a two in one application and perception of PE and sport in the educational system; used as a leisure and recreational activity in the Anglo-Saxon educational system but a full subject in the Francophone educational systems. This was a colonial legacy that was only partially corrected in the 1990s. The 2011 Law increased the coefficient of PE and introduced it, into the Anglo-Saxon official examinations, as was the case in the other systems. Sport was part of entrance requirements for many administrative institutions competitive examinations and during the recruitment process into the Security and Defense Forces. But school and all other institutions that practiced sport had a problem with regards to the availability of qualified personnel. The NIYS and CENAJES were created to obtain PES teachers and other sport specialists. The institutes had not adapted to modern day sports and PE needs and there was a lot of controversy over the recruitment and training of the future teachers. Besides this was the low consideration given them, be it by the administration, fellow teachers peers and the society in general. This made them partially fulfill their mission of building a health spirit in a healthy body and a bridge between school and competitive sport.

As concerns infrastructural development, there was no real program and when it was designed, it was slow in implementation. Until 1970 almost all sport facilities were those left by the colonial powers. The construction of the Ahmadou Ahidjo and Reunification Stadiums in Yaounde and Douala came as a result of the hosting of AFCON 1972 by Cameroon. Unfortunately, their construction works were never completed due to mismanagement and later the economic crisis, and renovation worked costed more than new constructions. The budget of the ministry could not enable it carry out a real policy on sport facilities. The 1974 law on socio-educative and sport amenities brought little change as it was not respected and implemented even by the state. This law states that all schools and

residential areas were to have space for play and recreational activities. The only true sport facility program was designed in 2008 with financing from the Chinese government. But the project slowed and almost died out as nothing had been done by 2011 as per the schedule. This lack of infrastructure did not only hinder the development of competitive sport but also greatly impacted on sport for all and PE in schools. Infrastructure remains the backbone to the development of sport in all its aspects. Many sports could not be played in Cameroon because of lack of adequate appropriate infrastructure and also insufficiency of available.

The French colonial administration had created the OSSUC Games which was divided into university and secondary schools. This was the sport part of PE lessons during which interclass competitions were organized. Each school had to present a team at the regional (provincial) and the best qualified for the national finals which took place in a different town each year. The OSSUC/FENASSCO, FENASU were sovereignty educational federations with special statut so greatly depended on state funds for its activities. The CNOSC from 2008 organized the Dixiades Games which were a sort on NGs every two years. These competitions had other objectives which were far from sport which was just for amination with little search for performances. The other competitions were organized by the federations with the limited funds they had. Many companies who enhanced sport by owning teams and sponsoring competitions had closed down or redrew from sport due to financial difficulties. Thus, the local athletes had to move to the international level to represent Cameroon at international sports competitions. MINSEP, CNOSC and federations worked hand in gloves to see that these athletes produce good results for Cameroon. Outstanding athletes recieved honorific distinction from the state. In addition to these distinctions such as medals and receptions at the Presidency of the Republic athletes also received financial gratifications and material gifts for their performances. Cameroonian athletes and their coaches did their best to bring honour to their nation during these competitions.

The implementation process was not as smooth as one may believe. Cameroon had difficulties formulating and implementing its sports policies. Two major ills form the backbone of this situation: improvisation and unpreparedness. These two aspects affected management in the highly centralized administration as conflict of leadership occurred and the state wanted to stand out as the only financial sponsor for the entire sporting sector. This also affected the relationship between the ministry and the technical management organs (CNOSC and Federations) as it wanted to impose her visions. Corruption, embezzlement, traffic of influence became the norm. No real effort was done to standardize PE and Sport in

the educational sector as the country was in two-way educational system. PES teachers did not receive the appropriate training and with the lack of consideration that they faced they could not give the best of their expertise. The lack of amenities and sports facilities did not only affect PES lessons but also affected the detection and moulding of talents. The sport infrastructure policy was not uniform and created frustration as not all regions had sport infrastructures. The lack of sports infrastructures was a major setback for the preparation of Cameroonian athletes for national and international competition. This situation led to ill preparation of the athletes with the result being poor performances during competitions. The lack of vision and consideration for athletes pushed some to escape during competitions to search for greener pastures overseas.

### **Results of Finding**

Our findings bring out the following results as the implementation of a sport policy in Cameroon after the creation of the ministry of sport. The creation of the Ministry in charge of sport 1970 was to enable the Cameroonian government to give a certain vision and mission for sports in here development plan. That which was not the case as based on our definition of sport policy there was not elaborated strategic document with the vision, objectives, means, actors, timeframe and measurement tools to evaluate what was been done.

There was a constant conflict between the state and other stakeholders and technical organs such as the federations because of the absence of a clarification of their missions and their over dependence on state funds. All federations lack financial autonomy and highly depended on state subsidies for the functioning.

There were difficulties in implementing the programs due to lack of collaboration between state actors. The lack of administrative document stipulating the missions of certain services and role of actors brings confusion. Institutions were merged and/or attached to other without defining their new missions. This was the case of the CNOSC which inherited the missions of the NSB which were already handled by the ministry of sport. This conflict was visible in the appointment of personnel and management of allocated budget. This was seen in the construction of sport infrastructures and the implication of councils and parastate companies in the financing of federations and sport competitions.

There was a battle between PES teachers and other actors of the educational system as to their status and the non-acceptance of sport in the official examinations of the English subsystem. It was rather embarrassing as students in the same school did not have the

opportunity to socialize through sport. The students of the English subsystem could not be part of schools in bilingual mix schools as training hours coincided with lecture periods. Again PES teachers had serious conflict with these teachers due to their misconception and lack of consideration for the subject.

The non-existence of a status and career profile for sporters and their coaches was a source of frustration for many. This was one of the major reasons for the escape of athletes during competitions and subsequent change of nationality and strike for the request of their bonuses. It was becoming automatic that at every international competition Cameroonian athletes had to escape before or during or immediately after at times encouraged by their coaches and foreign agents. The major reason for this situation was the search for a brighter future. Social pressure had gone to the point of shaming every athlete who dared to return to Cameroon after an international competition particularly when organized by a western nation.

### **Perspectives**

In a global perspective the study gave us the opportunity to better understand the reasons behind the slow development of sport in Cameroon. It should be noted that Cameroon is a sport loving country so its development had to be adequately designed. The creation of a ministry in charge of sport, which had management and organizational duties, improved the situation but due to pending conflictual situations has not fully collaborated with other stakeholders. This study paves the way for further works with the following aspects to be closely monitored.

The 2011 Law on sport started a new vision for sports as it particularly outlines a number of issues to be dealt with to modernize sports. The creation of regional councils with the powers to manage sport at local level still faced blockages as the ministry had not decentralized its powers.

The lack and later very slow implementation of a sport amenity policy ripped sport from its most important tool. This also impacted on the development of PES and the recruitment of PES teachers. And the two-way implementation of PES in the educational system showed a lack of vision and perspective. The results of these situations were poor and dis-organized local competitions and the lack of appropriate preparation for international competitions. Most, if not all outstanding world standard performances were the fruit of coincidence and personal efforts of the athletes.

Going further we see the general administrative setup of Cameroon as centralized. The Ministry of Sport as many other ministries created, have conflicting department within its wall and with other institutions. The case with the DDSHN and the CNOSC regarding the preparation and management of teams during international competitions. The conflict as to who pays bonuses to sporters between the ministry and federations. The Ministry of Sport lack adequate qualitative and quantitative personnel. The personnel trained in the NIYS and CENAJES are not very specialized making their output limited. The number of students admitted had to be reviewed to march up with the high demands. The ministry lacks trained sport diplomats to brighten Cameroon image and safeguard its interest. Regional, divisional and subdivisional delegations lack personnel to cover grassroots activities. All departments were not represented in the delegations making the work cumbersome for the few available personnel.

Sport policy implies the elaboration of a plan of action with a long-term vision with mid- and short-term evaluations. This, alongside financial, human and material resources needed to lead the program to flourish. Sport has today become an industry needing more specialized labour and investment on research. Research will not only be to enhance great performances during competitions but for health and leisure purposes. Many people around the world today depend on physical activities to stay in good health. Sport for all is still gaining ground in the medical world. People suffering cardio-vascular diseases, obesity, insulin deficiency, are recommended physical and sporting activities to stabilise their health conditions and also as a preventive measure. Our too salty and sweet meals can be checked. A policy was to be elaborated in collaboration with the Ministries of Health and Social Affairs, Urban Development, Agriculture and Rural Development and Fishing and Animal Husbandry to carry out research and produce contextual solution to health issues, which are nuisance to productivity and development

This means that the Ministry of Sport should have a medical department to not only work on performant sport but for general health issues in collaboration with other ministries. This should lead to a health science department in the NIYS where adapted exercises and items will be designed to combat certain health related issues. It will go a long way to influence the construction of adapted sport infrastructure that will serve the public. There was very little collaboration between experts in sport and health practitioners who each acted independently and produced poor results.

Cameroon had a great problem of implementing laws, texts and decisions. This was detrimental for development. Decisions were taken based on a particular situation and context and after a certain while, they are no longer valide, certainly because the situation had worsened. The 1974 law on socio-educational and sport facilities was a great step in the reduction of sedentarism in the population particularly among youth and third age persons. Many school and residential areas were built without provision of space for physical activities. The absence of play and leisure space retarded the acquisition of self-cordination, stability, development of the brain and physical body structure (skeleton, joins and bones) in chidren. The statut of the PES teachers fells in the same situation, waiting for the implementation of text. This has brought a lot of fruastration amongst sport teachers and specialist of the sport domain. For example, PES teacher go on retirement as the ages of fifty (50) and fifty-five (55) considered to early by the PES teachers while the fellow peers of other subjects go at the age of sixty. A PES teacher was still stronger than other teachers at the age of fifty-five to teacher.

A certain say goes in Cameroon that “sport does not develop a nation, it’s just for leisure”. Ineffect, sport was a leisure but carried in it economic and social values. To start, we defined the notion of development, which was perceived differently in context and application by the different schools of thought. Basically, development was an evolution or a progress for the betterment of individuals and the community. It can be viewed in terms of economy, infrastructure, structures, technologic, education, health. As mentioned above, it was understood differently by different actors. Development as the provision of the needs of the people satisfactorily and engulfs the economic, social and cultural spheres, wherein resources were properly channelled into the cherished desires of citizens, development is attained.

The physical activities and exercises could be used, as weapons in the education of children be it mental, psychological and physical. This will also apply to adults. The fact that many schools, residential areas in cities had no available space (playgrounds, leisure space, sport parks) have caused social stragnancy. The increase in youth violence and alcoholism were by-products of this lack of space for organised activities. The time youths could spend in these organised areas was now used in anti-social activities and behaviors (smoking, alcohol consummation, over use of electronic diverses) that retarded their physical, physiological and cebral body development. This has as impact the early development of non-communication diseases (cardio-vascular, diabetes, ulcer, stress, obesity, cerebral).

With the exponential increase in cardio-vascular diseases, obesity, diabetes and related diseases, the conception and implementation of any sport policy will have to consider these aspects. The question of the importance of physical exercises for health and hygiene will need to be handled with caution. For this, an objective based policy to help fight against these pathologies that have great negative impact on the Cameroonian social and economic sphere. This requires the opening of sport medicine departments in all medical faculties and schools for experimentation.

The sport environment should be loose and the state should reduce its administrative grip on the management of sport. The high level of state centralisation in sport management reduces decentralisation and private initiative. The new sport law that came into force in 2011 provided for implication of council and other private actors in the management of sport events. Research has to be done to check how this has been actually put to reality.

This industry creates direct and indirect employment opportunities in countries that have decided to make reasonable use of it. Stewart et al mentioned that in Britain in 2003 about 275,000 direct permanent paid jobs (team staff, athletes, officials) with about 4000 business directly connected to the sport industry. Temporal employments, together with indirect jobs are twice the permanent and direct employments. The US economy also made use of the opportunities of the sport industry. According to Burrow the sport industry in the US produced \$14.3 billion in 2013, 456,000 jobs, \$39,000 as minimal annual salary per person.

Cameroon lacks a specialized sport media house or group. But most of the local media house (audio and television) offer special broadcasting slots for sport. Today many Cameroonians have acquired satellite dishes or pay for cable operators to enable them view their favorite programs. Top of these viewed programs are sporting competition. The French media group Canal + and Dstv from South Africa top the chart as they offer on the bouquets specialized sport channels. A monthly fee of 15,000 CFA was paid by those who had satellite dishes to operators and spend 25,000 CFA to have a decoder. This showed the willingness to pay for sports by Cameroonians. French media groups paid €726,5 million for the period 2016-2020, to the football league to acquire broadcasting rights, in England for the period 2016-2019, €2,3 billion was disbursed. These amounts were not spent in vain, as in any capitalist system this money yields profit in the business setting. They had an ever-increasing audience/clientelle, which has enabled them to modernize their equipment; sophisticated digital cameras, sound quality, designer and logistics. They had a qualified staff made up of

competent journalist, well-trained technicians, and experts in logistics and transport who received a good salary. They make a living out of the jobs. With the number of mega sport events in Cameroon a specialized sport channel could create employment opportunities for Cameroonian youths.

## APPENDIX

## Appendix 1 : Budget for the construction of sport facilities in French Cameroon 1953

ANY SAC 4123

M.J. KJ  
CAMEROUN FRANCAIS

W. Pubelin S 19

PROCES VERBAL

COMITE DE L'EDUCATION PHYSIQUE ET DES SPORTS

h° 504

REUNION DU 20 MAI 1953  
15 heures.-

Sous la Présidence de M. le Colonel STAEHLE ,  
en présence de MM. TROUVE, Représentant le Directeur des Finances,  
Cl. BEAUDIMENT, Président de la Fédération des Sports,  
BOUQUET, Représentant le Directeur des A.P.A.  
BECQUEY, Chef du Service des Relations Extérieures  
GINESTE, Représentant le Directeur de l'Enseignement,  
MOREAU, Administrateur-Maire de Yaoundé,  
PORTAL, Professeur d'Education Physique,  
RATABOUL,  
SEGUINEL, Représentant Mr. DURRIEU ,  
PLATERRIER ,  
BIKANDA,  
MANGA .

Secrétaire de séance : Mr. MEHEUST, Inspecteur de la Jeunesse et des Sports.-

Mr. MEHEUST présente des projets de textes concernant :

- la création du Conseil Supérieur de l'Education Physique des Sports et de la Jeunesse.
- la création du Comité Territorial des Sports olympiques de l'Union Française.
- la formation des Comités directeurs des associations ligues, fédération et groupements sportifs.
- les attributions du service de la Jeunesse et des Sports.

Ces textes après diverses modifications sont adoptés.

Ensuite sont examinées les demandes de subventions

- d'équipement sportif civil ,
- d'équipement sportif scolaire,
- de fonctionnement d'organismes sportifs.

Après examen des dossiers et diverses discussions les propositions suivantes sont adoptées :

..... 2/..

AFFAIRES POLITIQUES  
CONFIDENTIEL  
31 JUIN 1953  
M. J. K. J.

1.- EQUIPEMENT SPORTIF CIVIL?

2 690.000

- ESSE : Terrain municipal omnisport	150.000
- GAROUA: Terrain municipal omnisport	400.000
- MAROUA: Complément d'un terrain municipal	100.000
- KAELE : Complément d'un terrain municipal	50.000
- NKONGSAMBA: Complément d'un terrain municipal omnisport ;	600.000
- MBANGA: Complément d'installation spectaculaire (Tribune)	50.000
- YAOUNDE: Aménagement du Stade de l'hippodrome et complément des installations.	600.000
- DOUALA : Remise en état stade d'AKWA :	250.000
- YAOUNDE: Terrain militaire, éclairage du Basketball .	100.000

2.300.000

2.- EQUIPEMENT SPORTIF SCOLAIRE.-

- GAROUA- Ecole principale: aménagement d'un terrain scolaire :	25.000
- MOKOLO- Ecole principale: aménagement d'un terrain scolaire :	25.000
- MORA. - Ecole principale: construction d'un stade scolaire omnisport.	60.000
- KAELE - Ecole principale: complément d'un terrain scolaire :	30.000
- BATOURI- Ecole principale: construction d'un stade scolaire:	50.000
- BERTOUA- Ecole principale: construction d'un stade scolaire :	70.000
- KRIBI -Ecole principale: complément d'un stade scolaire :	30.000
- GAROUA -Collège : Aménagement d'une salle d'Education Physique	100.000

398.000

3.- SUBVENTIONS DE FONCTIONNEMENT AUX ORGANISMES SPORTIFS.-

2.340.000

- Ligue de Foot ball :	300.000
- Ligue de Cyclisme :	300.000
- Ligue de Boxe :	60.000
- Office du sport scolaire et universitaires.-	400.000
- Union sportive de l'Enseignement Primaire	700.000
- Sporting-Club YAOUNDE :	100.000
- Club Parallèle 4 DOUALA	100.000
- Club Judo DOUALA	30.000
- Club Judo YAOUNDE	30.000
- Société Lutte Africaine YAOUNDE	70.000
- Ligue Multi Sports	500.000

Subventions à faire

Une commission comprenant MM. les Colonels STAEBLE et BEAUDIMENT MM. MEHEUST et PORTAL est constituée pour étudier les propositions en vue du budget pour 1954.

Le Problème de l'aménagement du Stade de l'hippodrome de Yaoundé est esquisé par Mr. l'Administrateur-Maire MOREAU en collaboration avec les représentants des sports intéressés établira un plan d'aménagement et un ordre d'urgence.

M. PLATERRIER rapporte ensuite la question des dépenses faites lors de son déplacement en Métropole par l'Equipe de foot ball du Cameroun. De scandaleux abus sont constatés et Mr. PLATERRIER est chargé de préparer des lettres ayant pour but d'obtenir de certains bénéficiaires de cette tournée le remboursement de sommes indûment touchées.

L'ordre du jour étant épuisé, Mr. le Colonel STAEBLE lève la séance à 20 heures ./.-

Le Président du Comité Consultatif  
de l'Education Physique et des  
Sports,

**Appendix 2: Administrative situation of Claude LEROY and Pierre LECHANTRE in Cameroon**

PROVINCE DU CENTRE  
--:--  
SECRETARIAT PARTICULIER

REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN  
Paix-Travail-Patrie  
--:--

DOIT TRANSMIS N° 060 / ST/CF/J/SP  
--:--:--

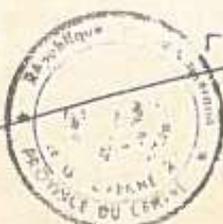
à MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE DE LA JEUNESSE ET DES SPORTS  
- YAOUNDE -

ANALYSE : Copie Fiche de Renseignements n° 0173/PS/SPSNC/DAR du 4 Février 1987 relative au contrat de l'Entraîneur National de Football Claude LEROY avec le Ministre de la Jeunesse et des Sports.

NOMBRE DE PIECES : UNE (1)

OBSERVATIONS : A toutes fins utiles.

YAOUNDE, le 10 FEV. 1987



NAMVOU Benoit

COPIE

FICHE DE RENSEIGNEMENTSN° 0173 /PS/SPSNC/DAR

YAOUNDE, le 4 FEVRIER 1987

O J E T : Contrat de l'Entraîneur National de Football Claude LEROY avec le Ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports.

De source crédible, il est revenu au Poste que depuis sa nomination comme Entraîneur National de Football, il y a de cela plus de deux ans, le Français Claude LEROY est logé et nourri à l'Hôtel SOFITEL aux frais de l'Etat.

A son salaire mensuel qui est de 2 000 000 de francs, s'ajoutent le loyer s'élevant à 870 125 francs le mois et sa restauration qui avoisine 1,5 million par mois.

A ce titre indicatif, Monsieur LEROY a été nourri pour le seul mois de Décembre 1986 pour 1 213 895 francs.

Cette situation, pour le moins inadmissible suscite des commentaires on ne peut plus défavorables de l'actuel Ministre de la Jeunesse et des Sports et de son entourage. C'est dans ce sens que le Chef dudit Ministère a décidé d'y mettre fin.

Il serait donc souhaitable qu'en cette période de crise financière le Ministère de l'Urbanisme conventionne un logement à Monsieur LEROY dans les meilleurs délais./=

DIRECTION DE L'ADMINISTRATION  
GÉNÉRALE

21 JUIN 1988

CP/29 /DAG

Monsieur le Secrétaire Général de la Présidence de  
la République

- YA O U N D E -

J'ai l'honneur de porter à votre connaissance pour la haute information du Chef de l'Etat, la situation administrative de Monsieur Claude LEROY, Directeur Technique National de Foot-Ball.

En effet, lié à l'Etat Camerounais par le contrat de travail n°000380/MFP/DP/SDPNF/SPCT/B3 du 14 juin 1985, l'intéressé a décliné jusqu'ici toute offre de logement qui lui a été faite conformément à l'article 6 du contrat de travail sus-visé, préférant rester indéfiniment à l'Hôtel SOFITEL où les frais d'hébergement et de restauration coûtent en moyenne un million de francs par mois en plus de son salaire (cf contrat de travail de l'intéressé).

Eu égard à cette situation, le Ministre de l'Urbanisme et de l'Habitat, sur instructions de la Présidence de la République du 16 novembre 1987 avait trouvé un logement dont le bail mensuel s'élevait à 550 000 francs ce qui n'a pas toujours été du goût de Claude LEROY (cf lettre n°8137/DCP du 16 novembre 1987).

Face à cette réticence, il m'a semblé indiqué de saisir le Directeur du SOFITEL pour le tenir informé de la position de mon Département ministériel qui n'était plus en mesure de prendre en charge les frais de restauration de l'intéressé (cf lettre n°544 du 26 avril 1988).

Par sa lettre en date du 31 juillet 1987, le Ministre de la Fonction Publique m'a saisi pour me rappeler que le contrat de travail liant Monsieur Claude LEROY à l'Etat Camerounais était arrivé à son terme

.../...

- 2 -

Le 14 juin 1987 et m'a fait tenir par la même occasion un projet d'avenant n°1 pour la signature du co-contractant afin de renouveler son contrat conformément à l'article 3.

Par ma correspondance du 7 juin 1988, j'ai transmis à l'intéressé les sept ampliations dudit avenant pour sa signature et leur retour à la Fonction Publique afin de permettre la régularisation de sa situation administrative (cf lettre du 7 juin 1988).

Sans toutefois remplir cette formalité, l'intéressé m'a plutôt saisi d'une demande de requisition de transport pour se rendre en France, omettant d'expliquer le but de son voyage. C'est en relation avec cette requête que j'ai demandé à Monsieur Claude LEROY par Message-Porté du 21 juin 1988 de fournir le motif de son voyage pour aider le Ministre des Finances à étudier favorablement son cas. (cf Message-Porté du 21 juin 1988 et de demande de l'intéressé).

Parallèlement à tout ce qui précède et depuis la Coupe des Nations, le bruit court que M. Claude LEROY souhaite avoir une carte de visite bien fournie suite aux différents succès obtenus durant son séjour au Cameroun, que l'intéressé serait sollicité un peu partout et n'était plus prêt à renouveler son contrat de travail.

Fort de cette situation, j'ai demandé par télex du 7 juin 1988 ci-joint au Ministre de l'Information et de la Culture de prendre toutes les dispositions nécessaires pour empêcher que Monsieur Claude LEROY ne fasse des déclarations publiques de nature à rejeter un discrédit sur le Cameroun.

Compte tenu de ce qui précède, les hautes instructions de la Présidence de la République sur cette affaire sont attendues.



REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN  
Paix - Travail - Patrie  
Présidence de la République  
SECRETARIAT GENERAL



REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON  
Peace - Work - Fatherland  
Presidency of the Republic  
SECRETARIAT GENERAL

N° B.99 /SG/PR  
Réf : Contrat du 13 Janvier 1999.

Yaoundé, le 06 JAN. 2000

OBJET : Paiement des droits et avantages  
Subject : de M. Pierre LECHANTRE.

Le Secrétaire Général  
The Secretary General

A MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE  
to DE LA JEUNESSE ET DES SPORTS  
YAOUNDE

*DS*  
*Donner*  
*éléments de*  
*réponse:*  
*tout à 50%*

J'ai l'honneur de vous demander de bien vouloir régulariser la situation financière de M. Pierre LECHANTRE, Directeur Technique National des Lions Indomptables.

L'intéressé réclamerait en effet à ce jour à l'Etat Camerounais son véhicule de fonction, 6 mois d'arriérés de salaires et la prise en charge de son téléphone.

Je vous saurais gré des dispositions que vous voudriez bien prendre pour remédier à cette situation dans le strict respect des clauses du contrat sus-référencé.

COPIE :  
- MINEFI



*Murafa Hamidou Luya*

REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN  
Paix - Travail - Patrie

MINISTRE DE LA JEUNESSE  
ET DES SPORTS

DIRECTION DES SPORTS

REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON  
Peace - Work - Fatherland

MINISTRY OF YOUTH  
AND SPORTS

Yaoundé, le 10 JAN. 2000

## NOTE

A L'ATTENTION DE MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE  
DE LA JEUNESSE ET DES SPORTS

\*\*\*\*\*

**Objet : Paiement des droits et avantages  
de Mr. Pierre LECHANTRE.-**

Conformément à vos instructions, la correspondance ci-  
contre, relative à l'objet repris en marge est soumise à votre signature.

Vos hautes instructions sont attendues./-

LE DIRECTEUR DES SPORTS



*Maurice Eadyone Nijocke*  
(A. D.)

REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN  
Paix – Travail – Patrie

MINISTERE DE LA JEUNESSE  
ET DES SPORTS

CABINET MINISTRE

REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON  
Peac – Work – Fatherland

MINISTRY OF YOUTH  
AND SPORTS

N°...230...../MJS/CAB

Yaoundé, le 11 JAN. 2000  
The

Réf. : N°B 99/SG/PR.  
Contrat du 13 Janvier 1999

Objet : Paiement des droits et avantages  
de Mr. Pierre LECHANTRE.-

*LE MINISTRE DE LA JEUNESSE ET DES SPORTS*  
*THE MINISTER OF YOUTH AND SPORTS*

A

**MONSIEUR LE SECRETAIRE GENERAL**  
**DE LA PRESIDENCE DE LA REPUBLIQUE**

Suite à votre lettre citée en référence et dont l'objet est repris en marge,

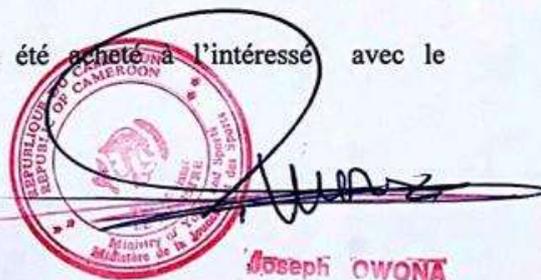
J'ai l'honneur de vous faire savoir qu'au départ Monsieur Pierre LECHANTRE était payé par une caisse du Ministère de l'Economie et des Finances depuis Novembre 1999 et sur recommandation du Ministre d'Etat Chargé de l'Economie et des Finances.

Devant le refus du Ministre d'Etat Chargé de l'Economie et des Finances de continuer à servir ce traitement, nous avons fait passer le salaire de ce dernier sur le budget du Ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports (ligne budgétaire 16-606-103); ligne consacrée aux rencontres Sportives Internationales.

Par ailleurs un véhicule a été acheté à l'intéressé avec le remboursement de l'assurance./-

Pièces Jointes :

- Lettres au MINEFI



Joseph OWONA

Appendix 3 : Report on mission to inspect situation of sport infrastructure in Adamaoua province 1974

REPUBLICUE UNIE DU CAMEROUN  
Paix — Travail — Patrie

UNITED REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON  
Peace — Work — Fatherland

Ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports

Ministry of Youth and Sports

09 AOUT 1975

RAPPORT DE MISSION

5 terrains de football réglementaires  
7 terrains de Volley-Ball dont 2 cimentés  
5 terrains de Basket-Ball dont 2 cimentés  
6 terrains de Hand-Ball dont 1 cimenté  
1 piste de 400m dont les travaux de réfection sont peu importants.

Des aires de lancer, de sauts à refaire entièrement, Ngaoundéré offre une infrastructure sportive adéquate capable d'accueillir l'organisation des Finales des Sports Scolaires et Universitaires.

Cependant, pour marquer le passage de notre département ministériel dans cette localité à de pareilles occasions, des travaux de première nécessité s'imposent :

- Réfection de la clôture du stade municipal de Ngaoundéré. Certains pans de murs en béton et parpaings sont à refaire.
- Tout le complexe de l'athlétisme à refaire entièrement ou d'autres à créer. Il s'agit principalement des aires de lancer : poids, disques, des aires de saut : hauteur - perche - longueur. La piste de 400m est à niveler, la lice à refaire et à peindre.
- Jeux collectifs : certains panneaux de Basket-Ball, poteaux de Volley-Ball et de Hand-Ball sont vétustes sur tous les terrains des jeux. Il faut prévoir leur remplacement.

Certains complexes sportifs étant créés par des organismes privés, l'idée émise par ces derniers d'une réfection au moins d'un terrain pour chaque établissement peut être retenue.

Suggestions : Le Ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports dispose d'une main d'oeuvre technique suffisante pour faire face à la mise en état de ces installations sportives. Son affectation temporaire à Ngaoundéré pour la circonstance peut être retenue pour limiter les dépenses inutiles qui découlent des devis estimatifs trop gonflés ci-joints.

Une dotation de 4 millions suivant les estimations du profane au Préfet de Ngaoundéré avec la main d'oeuvre gratuite reste suffisante pour refaire ou pour cimenter quelques aires sportives des établissements tant publics que privés de Ngaoundéré./-

Le Chef de Service de l'Équipement Sportif

Jean Samuel TONYE

J. Bosco  
MINISTRE DE L'AGRICULTURE  
-----  
DELEGATION PROVINCIALE DU NORD  
-----  
DELEGATION DEPARTEMENTALE DE L'ADAMAOUA  
-----  
SECTION DEPARTEMENTALE DU GENIE RURAL  
ET DE L'HYDRAULIQUE AGRICOLE  
-----

REPUBLIQUE UNIE DU CAMEROUN  
Paix - Travail - Patrie  
-----

TRAVAUX DE REAMENAGEMENT ENTRETIEN DU  
STADE MUNICIPAL DE NGAOUNDERS  
-----

DEVIS ESTIMATIF  
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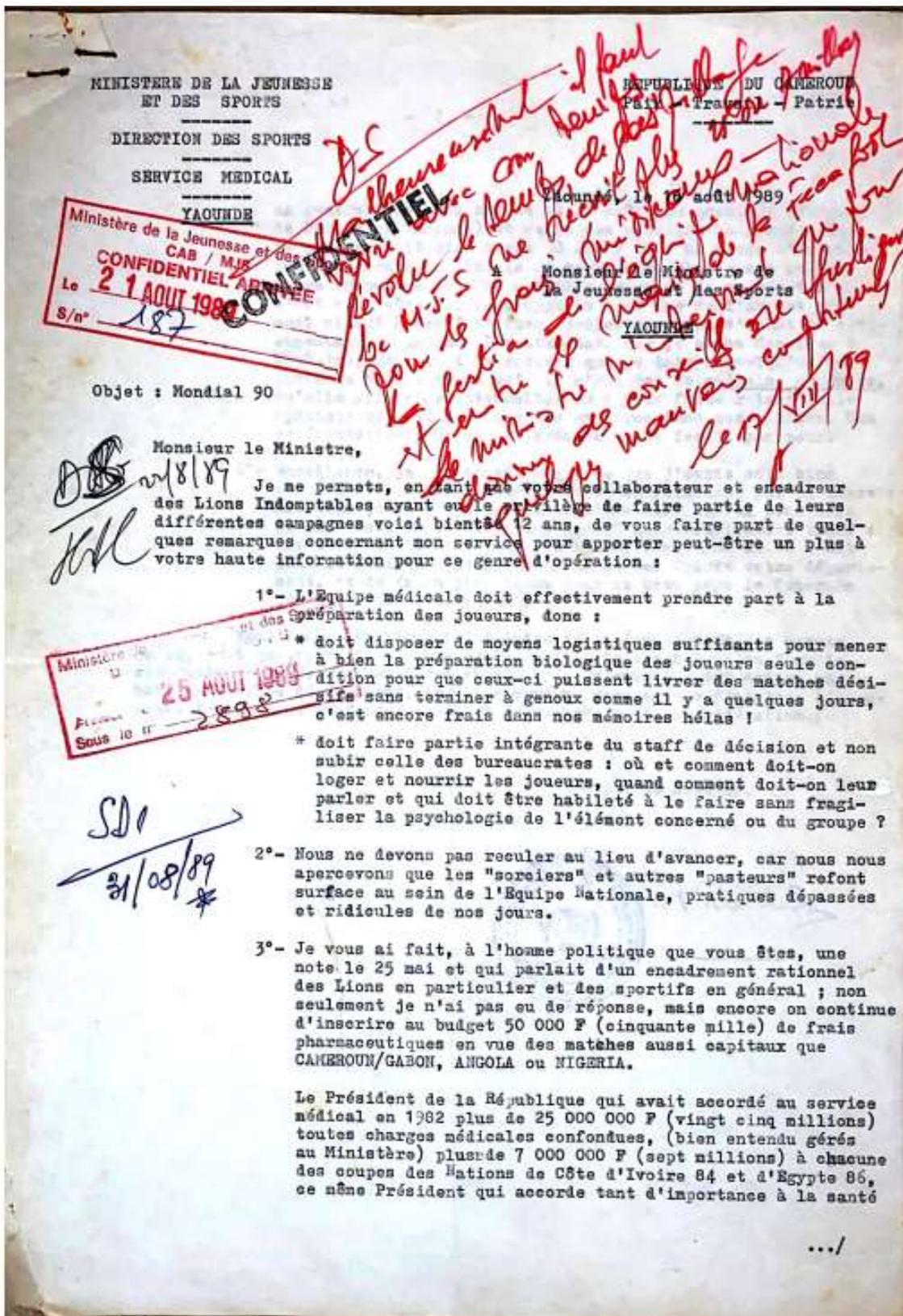
	DESIGNATION	UTE	QTE	P. UTE	P. TOTAL	OBSERVATIONS
	<u>Généralités :</u>					
1	mise en chantier	Forfait			50.000	
2	sarclage ou nettoyage des abords du terrain	m2	5.600	80	448.000	
	TOTAL PARTIEL .....					498.000
II)	<u>Mur de Clôture :</u>					
1	reconstruction de certaines parties du mur de clôture en agglos de 10 x (20 x 40)	M2	500,00	2.600	1.300.000	
2	<u>Béton armé : dosage</u> 400 Kg/M3 CPA					
	a) poteaux de renfort au mur à reconstruire (20 poteaux de 30 x 20 avec 4 fers de $\phi$ 16 et étriers de $\phi$ 6) avec toutes sujétions	M3	0,50	75000	37.500	
	b) Chainage de ceinture de 20 x 10 reposant sur poteaux (avec 2 $\phi$ 10 et 2 $\phi$ 8 et cadres de $\phi$ 6 sur 560 m	M3	15,2	62.000	818.400	
	TOTAL PARTIEL .....					2.155.900
III)	<u>ATHLETISME :</u>					
1	piste de 100,00 m x 8,80 m					
	a) déblais ou racleage de la piste :	M2	88	500	44.000	
	b) remblais par couches successives de 0,05 m arrosées et compactées, épaisseur totale maxi- mum 0,30 et toutes su- jétions	M2	88	800	70.400	
2	piste de 300 m x 6,20 m x 0,05					
	a) déblai, nettoyage et toutes sujétions :	M2	1860	500	930.000	
	b) remblais par couches suc- cessives de 0,05 m arro- sées et compactées sur une épaisseur de 0,10 m	M2	1860	800	1.488.000	
3	<u>Sautoir en longueur</u> (9,00 x 4,00 x 0,50)					
	a) creusement fouille à 0,50 m	M3	18	450	8.100	
	b) remblais avec sable moyen sur une profondeur de 0,40	M3	14;4	650	9.360	
	.../...					

	<u>Sautoir en Hauteur</u>					
	2,00					
	9,00 x 4,00					
	a) affouillement et déblais	M3	8,4	450	3.780	
	sable vieux sur 0,30					
	b) remblais avec sable	M3	8,4	650	5.460	
	moyen su 0730					
	c) Poteau de remplacement					
	avec toutes sujétions :					
	Forfait	U	1	8.000	8.000	
	<u>TOTAL PARTIEL</u>					2.567.100
IV)	<u>Terrains</u>					
1	<u>Hande-Ball</u> : reconstruction					
	avec couche de béton de 0,10m					
	et toutes sujétions : 44 x					
	24 dosé à 200 Kg/M3 de CRA	M3	105,6	30000	3.168.000	
2	<u>Basket-Ball</u> : remplacement de					
	2 panneau x en contreplaqué					
	avec peinture et toutes					
	sujétions (1,30 x 1,30)					
	Forfait	U	2	5.000	10.000	
3	<u>Volley-Ball</u> : tracage du					
	terrain à la chaux -Forfait			2.000	2.000	III
4	<u>Peinture à la chaux</u> pour					
	toutes les pièces exigibles					
	du stade Forfait			15.000	15.000	
5	Total des travaux impévus					
	6 % = .....				504.960	
	<u>TOTAL GENERAL</u> :					8.920.960

Arrêté le présent Dévis estimatif à la somme de : HUIT MILLIONS NEUF CENT VINGT MILLE NEUF CENT SOIXANTE FRANCS./-

A NGAOUNDERE, LE \_\_\_\_\_  
LE BUREAU D'ETUDES,

Appendix 4: Situation of medical staff in the national football team



- 2 -

en général (voir le niveau et le coût des hôpitaux généraux de Douala et Yaoundé) et celle des sportifs en particulier ne comprendrait rien à vos 50 000 F pour un stage d'un mois pour un groupe de plus de 26 personnes. Plus grave encore votre entourage le plus crédible ne cesse de me répéter que c'est vous même qui vous opposez à ce que de l'argent nous soit alloué à des fins aussi nobles que ceux d'achat de médicaments pour soigner les athlètes. Que je sache Monsieur le Ministre, avec tout le respect que je dois à quelqu'un qui porte la blouse comme moi, il n'y a pas de médecine gratuite, qu'elle soit conventionnelle, ou à plus forte raison celle mystique qui fait une rentrée en force dans nos milieux. Une confrontation pour ce qui précède ne me ferait pas peur.

4°- Excellence, je souhaiterais que ce que j'écris soit bien compris et non interprété de façon malveillante par un tiers ; moi-même je me tiens à votre entière disposition pour dire de vive voix ce que ma plume aurait involontairement trahi ; car tout compte fait pour qui travaillons nous si ce n'est pour le Ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports votre département, et de façon plus large pour ce beau pays le Cameroun que nous aimons tous tant.

Excellence, Monsieur le Ministre de la Jeunesse et des Sports, en espérant que votre indulgente et bienveillante compréhension fera de ces quelques remarques des idées forces qui soutendent votre action médicale dans votre département, veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Ministre, l'assurance de mon plus profond respect et de ma très haute considération./-

Le Chef de Service,





**b) Local :**

4 Cars + 1 Minibus : .....	P. M.
- 7 Voitures (Forfait) : .....	600.000 Frs
- Carburant : 3.000 l x 190 F = .....	570.000 Frs
<b>2 - <u>HEBERGEMENT ET RESTAURATION :</u></b>	
a) Officiels : 5 x 10j x 15.000 F = .....	750.000 Frs
b) Equipes Camerounaises : 37p x 10j x 5.500 = .....	2.035.000 Frs
<b>3 - <u>ENGAGEMENT EQUIPES CAMEROUNAISES :</u></b> .....	234.000 Frs
<b>4 - <u>MATERIEL DE COMPETITION :</u></b> .....	150.000 Frs
<b>5 - <u>COUVERTURE SANITAIRE :</u></b> .....	150.000 frs
<b>6 - <u>DIVERS ET IMPREVUS :</u></b> .....	50.000 Frs
<b>T O T A L :</b> .....	<b>5.605.500 Frs</b>
<b>* TOTAL I = TOTAL A + TOTAL B :</b>	
<b>1.195.500 F + 5.605.500 = .....</b>	<b><u>6.801.000 Frs</u></b>

\* **NB :** Cette partie sera prise en charge par le **M.J.S.**

**II/ - CHARGES FECAHAND + CAHB**  
(Délégations étrangères)

**A - PAYS PARTICIPANTS :**

1 - CONGO :	32 Joueurs	+	4 Entraîneurs	
2 - ANGOLA :	32 Joueurs	+	4 Entraîneurs	
3 - ZAIRE :	32 Joueurs	+	4 Entraîneurs	
<b>TOTAL :</b>	<b>96 Joueurs</b>	<b>+</b>	<b>12 Entraîneurs</b>	<b>= <u>108 Personnes</u></b>

**B - DUREE DU SEJOUR :**

- Du 15 au 26 Août 1991 soit 12 Jours

**C - HEBERGEMENT ET RESTAURATION :**

- 108p x 12j x 9.000 = ..... 11.664.000 Frs

**D - COUVERTURE MEDIATIQUE :** ..... 200.000 Frs

**E - DIVERS ET IMPREVUS :** ..... 300.000 Frs

**\* T O T A L II :** ..... 12.164.000 Frs

\* **NB :** Cette partie sera financée par la FECAHAND et la CONFEDERATION AFRICAINE DE HAND-BALL.

**TOTAL I + TOTAL II =**

**6.801.000 f + 12.164.000 F = ..... 18.965.000 Frs**

Arrêté le présent budget à la somme de : **DIX HUIT MILLIONS,**  
**NEUF CENT SOIXANTE CINQ MILLE Francs CFA.**

Yaoundé, le **28 AOUT 1991**

LE DIRECTEUR DES SPORTS.



*[Handwritten signature]*

## Appendix 6: Special budget for competitions in 1991-1992 sport season

**MINISTRE DE LA JEUNESSE ET DES SPORTS**  
**DIRECTION DES SPORTS**  
**SOUS/DIRECTION DES SPORTS CIVILS**

**REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN**  
**Paix - Travail - Patrie**

**GRANDES LIGNES DU PROJET DE BUDGET**  
**SPECIAL DU MINISTRE DE LA JEUNESSE ET DES**  
**SPORTS POUR L'EXERCICE 91 - 92.**

---

I - JEUX AFRICAINS DU CAIRE ( 20/9 - 1er/10/91)	400.000.000
II - COUPE DU MONDE FOOTBALL FEMININ EN CHINE (NOVEMBRE 91) (EVENTUELLEMENT)	50.000.000
III - ELIMINATOIRES ET PREPARATION J.O. 92 DE BARCELONE (FOOTBALL, ATHLETISME, BOXE, LUTTE)	300.000.000
IV - PREPARATION ET PARTICIPATION CAN/ 92 SENEGAL	500.000.000
V - OSSUC ET AUTRES FEDERATIONS NATIONALES ( FONCTIONNEMENT)	200.000.000
	1.450.000.000

**UN MILLIARD QUATRE CENT CINQUANTE MILLIONS DE FRANCS CFA./-**

**VISAS :**  
 NYEMBOG 28.06.91 *Ab*  
 SD1 \_\_\_\_\_  
 DS \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 7: Indomitable lions budget for FIFA 1990 World Cup

/JT MINISTRE DE LA JEUNESSE ET DES SPORTS ----- DIRECTION DES SPORTS ----- SOUS-DIRECTION DES SPORTS TRAVAIL CIVILS -----		REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN Paix-Travail-Patrie ----- Yaoundé, le	
<b>PROJET DE BUDGET RELATIF A LA PARTICIPATION COUPE DU MONDE DE FOOT-BALL 1990</b>			
<u>SUMMAIRE DE L'EXERCICE</u>			
<b>I.- PREPARATION</b>			
	<b>Effectif : 50 personnes</b>		
	<b>Durée : du 3 au 27/5/90 = 25 jours à Bioscore</b>		
	<b>du 28/5 au 3/6/90 = 7 jours à Bari</b>		
	<b>HEBERGEMENT</b>		
	<b>A BIOSCORE</b>	<b>: 30 000 F x 50 x 25 = .....</b>	<b>37 500 000</b>
	<b>A BARI</b>	<b>: 22 500 F x 50 x 07 = .....</b>	<b>7 875 000</b>
	<b>TRANSPORT</b>		
	<b>YAOUNDE - DOUALA - PARIS</b>	<b>: 300 300 F x 50 = .....</b>	<b>15 015 000</b>
	<b>PARIS - MARSEILLE</b>	<b>: 37 100 F x 50 = .....</b>	<b>1 855 000</b>
	<b>MARSEILLE - ROME</b>	<b>: 94 800 F x 50 = .....</b>	<b>4 740 000</b>
	<b>ROME - BARI</b>	<b>: 31 875 F x 50 = .....</b>	<b>1 593 750</b>
	<b>BARI-PARIS-DOUALA-YAOUNDE</b>	<b>: 31 875 F + 300 300 x 50 = 16 603 750</b>	
	<b>MARSEILLE - BIOSCORE</b>	<b>: 25 000 F x 50 = .....</b>	<b>1 250 000</b>
	<b>Transport à l'intérieur matches amicaux (Forfait)</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>0 000 000</b>
	<b>AUTRES DEPENSES</b>		
	<b>Couverture médicale</b>	<b>.....</b>	<b>8 000 000</b>
	<b>Achat matériel Audio-visuel</b>	<b>.....</b>	<b>3 000 000</b>
	<b>Frais des missions des encadreurs et Officiels</b>	<b>.....</b>	<b>20 000 000</b>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>: .....</b>	<b>125 437 500</b>
	.../...		

- 2 -

REPORT : ..... 125 437 500

Manque à gagner joueurs locaux .....	6 000 000
Manque à gagner joueurs professionnels .....	30 000 000
Intervention spéciale du M.J.S .....	5 000 000
Divers et Imprévus .....	5 000 000

EQUIPEMENTS DE COMPETITION

40 Ballons de compétition x 32 000 .....	1 280 000
6 Jeux de 20 maillots floqués = 90 x 20 500 = .....	900 000
120 Paires de Bas (3 jeux jaune, 3 vert) x 2 700 ...	324 000
120 Culottes rouges x 6 500 .....	780 000
45 Chasubles en 3 couleurs x 3 600 .....	162 000
60 Paires Training x 18 500 .....	1 110 000
50 Paires Godasses moulées x 27 500 .....	687 500
50 Paires Godasses vissées x 27 500 .....	687 500
24 Ensembles K-WAY x 27 500 .....	670 000
30 Survêtements de loisir x 42 500 .....	1 275 000
30 Jogging x 37 500 .....	1 125 000
6 Paires de Gants x 14 500 .....	87 000
30 Serviettes de toilette x 6 500 .....	195 000
30 Chemises x 20 000 .....	600 000
30 Sacs de voyage x 18 500 .....	555 000
100 Fanions x 12 500 .....	1 250 000
30 Costumes x 190.000 .....	3.000 000
30 Chaussures de ville x 20 000 .....	600 000
30 Cravates x 10 000 .....	300 000
30 Ceintures x 5 000 .....	150 000
1000 Insignes (Pius) .....	1 000 000
1000 Macarons habit .....	600 000
6 Pantalons Goal x 22 500 .....	135 000
6 Maillots Goal x 17 500 .....	105 000
Total : .....	189 015 500

.../...

- 3 -

REPOURT : ..... 109.015.500

HABILLEMENT

A BARI : 22 500 x 17 x 50 ..... 19.125.000

PRIZES

Primes de participation aux joueurs : 550 000 F x 35 19 250 000

Primes Olympiques des joueurs 3 000 F x 22 x 17 ..... 1 122 000

Primes de Victoires par match :

1er Tour, 3 matches : 750 000 F x 22 x 3 .... 49 500 000

Match 1/2 Finale : 500 000 F x 22 ..... 11 000 000

Match Finale 700 000 F x 22 ..... 15 400 000

AUTRES DEPENSES

Produits promotionnels ..... 5 000 000

Couverture médicale : Pharmacie ..... 2 500 000

Consultation externe ..... 3 000 000

Assurance ..... 3 000 000

Frais des missions : 50 000 F x 10 x 17 ..... 8 500 000

Manque à gagner joueurs évoluant au Cameroun ..... 4 000 000

Manque à gagner joueurs professionnels ..... 20 000 000

Intervention du H.J.S ..... 10 000 000

Divers et Imprévus ..... 5 000 000

TOTAL : ..... 365 412 500

Arrêté le présent Projet de Budget à la somme de :

TROIS CENT SOIXANTE CINQ MILLIONS QUATRE CENT DOUZE MILLE CINQ CENT  
FRANCS CFA./-

## Appendix 8: Previsional budget for the 1981-1982 OSSUC Games

<p>REPUBLIQUE UNIE DU CAMEROUN Paix — Travail — Patrie</p> <p>Ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports</p>	<p>UNITED REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON Peace — Work — Fatherland</p> <p>Ministry of Youth and Sports</p>
--	--

**NOTE A L'ATTENTION DE M. LE MINISTRE DE LA JEUNESSE ET DES SPORTS**

OBJET/ Présentation de la demande de subvention OSSUC pour 1981-1982.-

A/- **OBJECTIFS DE L'OSSUC :**

- Contribuer à l'Education des jeunes à l'Ecole par l'apport de l'Exercice Physique Sportif,
- Améliorer et maintenir la santé physique,
- Occuper sainement les loisirs des jeunes scolaires et universitaires,
- Préparer la relève des champions adultes.

B/- **ACTIVITES**

- Transport des athlètes pour les rencontres inter-établissements,
- Transport des athlètes pour les finales départementales et provinciales,
- Transport des athlètes pour les Finales Nationales,
- Location de véhicules pour les Finales Provinciales et Nationales,
- Fourniture de carburant pour les finales provinciales et nationales,
- Restauration des athlètes pendant les finales provinciales et nationales,
- Hébergement des officiels pendant les finales nationales,
- Fonctionnement des secrétariats provinciaux et national OSSUC,
- Assurance des sportifs.

.../...

- 2 -

C/- RECETTES OSSUC

L'OSSUC vit des :

- Subvention de l'Etat
- Produit de la vente des licences
  - de 6 millions en 1958, la subvention de l'Etat est passée à 8 millions 1976-77, à 12.500.000 en 1977-78 et à 17.250.000 en 1980.
- Pendant que les effectifs variaient de 3.000 licenciés en 1958 à 21.000 licenciés en 1980.
- La vente de licences produit des recettes au niveau des Comités Provinciaux uniquement. La vignette d'assurance et le carton de la licence sont revendus aux Comités Provinciaux par le Secrétariat National à leur prix d'achat. Les Comités Provinciaux et Départementaux sont autorisés à revendre un peu plus cher et conservent le bénéfice pour fonctionner.

D E P E N S E S :

- A titre d'exemple, l'exercice 1979-1980

OPERATIONS	COUT
- Subventions aux Comités Provinciaux OSSUC :	
. CENTRE-SUD.....	700.000
. EST.....	450.000
. LITTORAL.....	450.000
. NORD.....	550.000
. NORD-OUEST.....	400.000
. OUEST.....	500.000
. SUD-OUEST.....	450.000
- Subvention à l'Enseignement Supérieur	300.000
- Fonctionnement des bureaux et impression des licences.....	600.000
- Salaire d'une secrétaire.....	355.000
- Assurance des sportifs.....	1.500.000
- Frais de déplacement.....	200.000
- Location de véhicules et carburant..	250.000
- Réaffiliation aux organismes internationaux.....	250.000
- Finales Nationales.....	20.233.377
Total.....=	27.188.377.
<u>Déficit</u> .....=	9.938.377.

.../...

- 3 -

Ce déficit a été supporté par la Direction des Sports et la Direction de la Jeunesse, mais il serait 4 à 5 fois plus grand si nous avions les rapports financiers de nos Comités Provinciaux et Départementaux. En effet plusieurs de nos provinces, tel le Centre-Sud, ne peuvent plus tenir des finales provinciales en bonne et due forme, leur recette qui se limite souvent à la subvention que leur accorde le secrétariat national étant insuffisante à le faire. Aucune recette de l'Etat n'arrive pratiquement plus au niveau des départements et des arrondissements. Celle qui est octroyée aux provinces suffit à peine à financer l'organisation à ce niveau.

#### EN CONCLUSION

1 - L'OSSUC est le réservoir de tout le sport national. Ses effectifs sont passés de 3.000 licenciés en 1958 à 21.000 licenciés en 1980, soit une augmentation dans la proportion de 1 à 7 pendant que la subvention progressait de 6.000.000 en 1958 à 17.250.000 en 1980, soit de 1 à 3.

2 - Le coût de la vie a presque doublé depuis 1958.

3 - Les Finales Nationales seules coûtent 20.000.000, hormis le transport par train sur réquisition payé par d'autres Directions du Ministère.

4 - Il est temps que l'OSSUC commence à vivre comme tous les autres offices, c'est-à-dire qu'il dispose de son personnel, de ses locaux, de son mobilier, ses machines, ses moyens de locomotion.

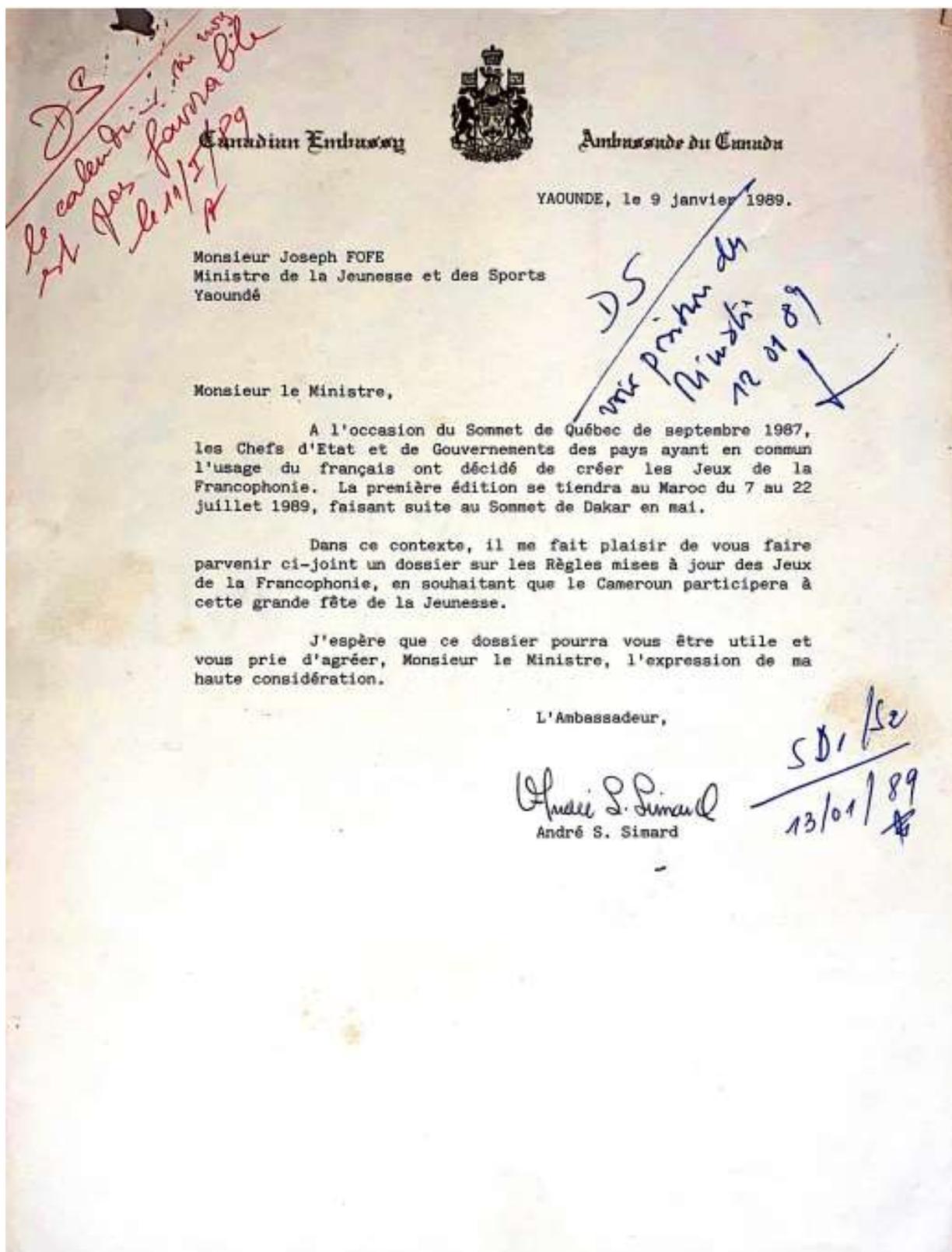
En raison de ce qui précède, une subvention de 50.000.000 (CINQUANTE MILLIONS) de francs CFA est actuellement le minimum qu'il faut pour un nouveau départ qui permette à l'OSSUC de remplir sa mission./-

Yaoundé, le 7 Avril 1981

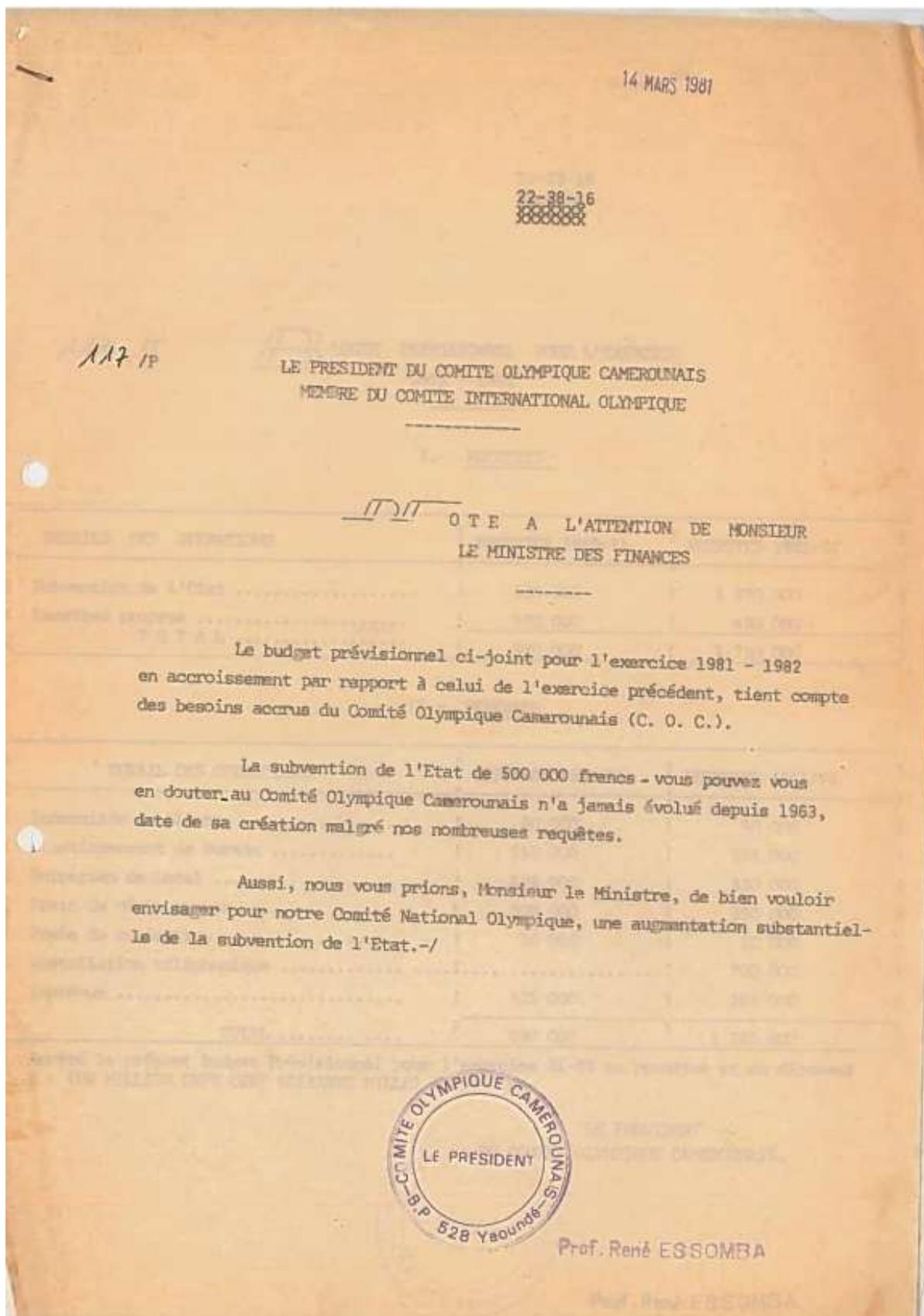
*Avis conforme du DS.*

*Doun Owona P. E*

**Appendix 9: Invitation for Cameroon participation at the first edition of the Francophonie Games in Canada**



Appendix 10 : Financial support to the CNO



14 MARS 1981

22-38-16

XXXXXXXX

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BUDGET PREVISIONNEL POUR L'EXERCICE  
1981 - 1982

I.- RECETTES

DETAILS DES OPERATIONS	RECETTES 1980-81	RECETTES 1981-82
Subvention de l'Etat .....	500 000	1 270 000
Recettes propres .....	490 000	490 000
<b>T O T A L</b> .....	<b>990 000</b>	<b>1 760 000</b>

II.- DEPENSES

DETAIL DES OPERATIONS	DEPENSES 1980/81	DEPENSES 1981/82
Indemnités du planton .....	60 000	60 000
Fonctionnement de Bureau .....	350 000	365 000
Entretien de Local .....	125 000	130 000
Frais de déplacements .....	300 000	350 000
Frais de cotisation .....	50 000	50 000
Installation téléphonique .....		700 000
Imprévus .....	105 000	105 000
<b>TOTAL</b> .....	<b>990 000</b>	<b>1 760 000</b>

Arrêté le présent Budget Prévisionnel pour l'exercice 81-82 en recettes et en dépenses à : (UN MILLION SEPT CENT SOIXANTE MILLE) FRANCS CFA-

LE PRESIDENT  
DU COMITE OLYMPIQUE CAMEROUNAIS,



Prof. René ESSOMBA

## Appendix 11: Memorandum of National Female Basketball Team about their condition

1/16/99 25

Ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports  
DIRECTION DES SPORTS  
COU: ...IVEE  
Arrivée le - 2 JUIN 1999  
Bour le n° 5454

**EQUIPE NATIONALE DE BASKET - BALL DAME DU CAMEROUN - S/C DIRECTION DES SPORTS**

Yaoundé, le 19 Mai 1999

Son Excellence Monsieur le Ministre de la Jeunesse et des Sports  
Yaoundé

*DS*  
*pdf Fe ca basket*  
*pour éléments d'appui à l'élaboration de l'effectif avec Fe ca basket*

Objet : Mémoire des basketteuses.

Excellence,

Nous avons l'honneur de porter à votre bienveillante attention les faits ci-après pour dénoncer la manière méprisante et révoltante par laquelle sont traitées les basketteuses.

Excellence, en date du 14 Avril dernier, les Equipes Nationales Dames et Messieurs ont été convoquées en stage en vue des éliminatoires Zone IV pour les Jeux Africains de Septembre prochain à Johannesburg.

En ce qui nous concerne, le stage débutait le 16 Avril à l'Institut National de la Jeunesse et des Sports (I.N.J.S.). Parmi les dix huit (18) joueuses retenues en présélection, treize (13) sont de Yaoundé, quatre (04) de Douala et une étudiante de l'Université de Dschang. Faut-il préciser ici que cet effectif compte un seul travailleur, la Capitaine de l'Equipe, les autres étant soit scolaires, soit universitaires pour la plupart.

Le stage avait débuté comme prévu le 16 Avril avec l'effectif de Yaoundé, les joueuses de Douala ayant rejoint le groupe deux jours plus tard. Initialement logées au CRADAT en lieu et place des handballeuses attendues à Yaoundé pour les mêmes éliminatoires, ces dernières se verront expulsées quelques jours plus tard au profit des congolaises. De façon incidente, alors que le Président de la Fédération venait rencontrer à l' I.N.J.S. le Directeur des Sports, ces filles poseront leur problème à leur Président. Ce dernier demandera à la Capitaine de s'occuper d'elles. Nous pensons que c'était pour rire. Toujours est-il que deux de ces filles, à savoir Nyango Moussinga et Ngo Nken Cécile à qui cette situation n'inspire pas du tout le rire, retourneront à Douala après quelques jours d'entraînements à Yaoundé. Cette décision de rentrer est prise au cours d'une concertation avec le Secrétaire Général de la Fédération qui avait appelé les filles de Yaoundé à une solidarité vis à vis de leurs camarades de Douala, la Fédération étant dépourvue de moyens. Appel reçu, puisque la Capitaine accueille chez elle Nadine Ngo Mboua, le temps pour elle de mettre la main sur une parente à la mini-cité Nankam, pratiquement le site d'entraînement. Les autres réussiront à se faire admettre par leurs connaissances sur place.

...



.../2

Inutile de mentionner qu'elles ne bénéficient d'aucune assistance pour leur subsistance. C'est dans ces conditions donc que le stage va se dérouler. Des deux séances initialement prévues par jour, nous serons réduites à une seule, les encadreurs techniques Yamdé (Bolan) et Georges Mekongo, nos compagnons de misère estimant qu'un organisme qui ne s'alimente pas convenablement ne peut supporter une charge intense de travail physique. Cahin-caha, nous arrivons au 30 Avril, jour présumé pour le voyage.

Le regroupement en vue du voyage par bus sur Douala d'où nous devions embarquer était prévu à 10h à l'I.N.J.S. Toutes les filles étaient au rendez-vous ; elles ont traîné dans la cour de cette école avec leurs coachs sans aucune information de 10h à 17h 30, heure à laquelle la première information du Secrétaire Général arrive enfin, nous faisant savoir que le Président arrive. Ceci ne sera effectif qu'à 20h, et il nous fera savoir que le voyage n'aurait lieu que quelques jours plus tard. Soit ! Ce n'est pas la faute du Président ; seulement, quand la Capitaine évoque la situation de ces filles qui n'ont rien pu manger depuis le matin, il répond que c'est un sujet dérisoire au regard de notre objectif qui est d'effectuer le déplacement sur Kinshasa ; or ce regroupement était bien le point de départ de ce voyage, aspect qui a échappé à notre cher Président qui avouera avoir déjà encaissé un peu d'argent qu'il ne pouvait pas encore décaisser - les joueuses étant un produit qui ne peut bénéficier des retombées de sa propre vente -. Choquées par la réflexion du Président, deux athlètes sont rentrées sur Douala cette même nuit après 20h. Evidemment, cela n'aurait pas été moins dérisoire si elles avaient trouvé la mort sur cet axe meurtrier.

Néanmoins, lorsque les coachs reprennent le contact avec elles pour rejoindre le stage qui a repris le 02 Mai dans la perspective d'un report de match convenu pour le 05 Mai avec les officiels déjà présents à Kinshasa, ces deux joueuses reviennent à Yaoundé le 03 Mai, et ce sera pour vivre le pire.

La dernière séance d'entraînement s'est tenue le Lundi 03 Mai de 16h à 18h. Le Président qui devait apporter les informations relatives au voyage n'est pas arrivé du tout. Toutes les athlètes, fatiguées d'attendre en vain sont rentrées chez elles jusqu'à ce jour. Si Ngono Ngah et Ngo Mboua Nadine ont pu repartir à Douala à leurs frais comme elles étaient venues les fois précédentes, cela ne sera pas le cas pour Annie Nyatcho.

Etudiante à l'Université de Dschang, cette fille n'a pu reprendre ses cours et a traîné à Yaoundé jusqu'au Dimanche 09 Mai quand enfin le Président de la Fédération consent à lui faire l'aumône de XAF 5000 (cinq mille francs) alors que les XAF 18.000.000 (dix huit millions) que le trésor public a débloqués ont déjà été touchés.

Nous présumons, ce jour 19 Mai, 16 jour après l'arrêt du travail sur le terrain, avec le paiement de la prime d'un montant de XAF 50.000 (cinquante mille francs) par joueuse, que le stage est clôturé. C'est aussi ici que nous crions : « Au secours » Monsieur le Ministre!

.../...

.../3

Comment ne pas trouver injuste que les garçons dont le stage a été plus court que le notre et qui ont été logés et nourris au CRADAT d'abord, à l'hôtel Meumi ensuite, se retrouvent avec des tennis et une prime de 60.000 (soixante mille francs) chacun, même si, nous reconnaissons par ailleurs que cela n'a été que de la poudre aux yeux.

Excellence, nous sommes camerounaises et avons le sens du sacrifice. Nous l'avons montré en d'autres occasions. Seulement, nous pensons que lorsque l'Etat camerounais parvient en ces temps difficiles à libérer de l'argent pour ses athlètes, ceux-ci devraient effectivement en bénéficier avant toute autre personne.

Si la Fédération de basket ne peut pas par ses propres moyens payer le taxi à ses athlètes en stage (assez souvent, les coachs cotisent pour aider les filles),

Si la Fécabasket ne peut assurer le suivi médical de ses athlètes : le 03 Mai, à la suite d'un choc au niveau de la bouche (voir dossier médical suivi par Dr. Annick Ngongang Wandji, Polyclinique Bastos) ; d'autres joueuses ont écopé des blessures à la suite des chutes sur l'aire de jeu (goudron),

Si la Fédération ne peut pas acheter un sandwich à ses athlètes qui voyagent,

Si la Fédération ne peut pas procurer du matériel de travail (chaussures, ballons) à ses athlètes,

La Fédération doit destiner aux athlètes l'argent que le trésor public débloque à leur intention.

Comment ne pas trouver révoltant qu'une étudiante qui s'est privée de ses cours pendant deux semaines pour suivre un stage avec l'équipe nationale, se retrouve en fin de stage sans la moindre prime sous le prétexte fallacieux qu'elle n'aurait pas été officiellement convoquée ? Cette fille non retenue dans la liste des quinze (15) joueuses affiliées à la FIBA a pris part à tous les entraînements. Par sa participation et celle des autres dans la même situation, l'équipe a pu avoir un bon effectif de travail. Elle a bénéficié d'une autorisation d'absence signée de Monsieur le Directeur des Sports comme toutes les autres. Ce n'est qu'au niveau du paiement des primes que le démarquage se fait, ce qui nous pousse à nous interroger :

Comment espère-t-on à la Fécabasket obtenir un taux de participation aux regroupements de nature à favoriser une véritable compétition pour l'accès à l'équipe nationale en causant de telles frustrations ? Dans le même temps, six paires de tennis achetées pendant les courses des garçons sont destinées aux membres de la Fédération. Peut-être faudrait-il songer, Excellence, à envoyer cette « équipe » d'un type particulier en compétition quelque part, ce d'autant plus qu'ils détiennent les maillots et les survêtements de l'équipe nationale.

Il est une expression dans le sport camerounais , « enterrer les équipements », pour dire que les athlètes conservent des équipements ayant déjà servi à une compétition. Au basket-ball, ce sont les dirigeants de la Fédération qui enterrent les équipements en lieu et place des joueurs certainement « empêchés ».

.../...

.../4

En Décembre 1997, après le déplacement de Nairobi où nous avons été confrontées à toutes nos difficultés habituelles en équipe nationale, sans le moindre sou, les joueuses avaient émis le désir de conserver les équipements utilisés pendant la compétition, mais sans succès. Le motif évoqué avait été qu'ils devaient être retournés au MINJES pour servir ultérieurement. L'obstination des filles avait fait échec à la négociation engagée par la Fédération. Cette dernière avait alors usé de des moyens de pression dont elle disposait et avait récupéré les équipements. Nous nous étions consolées à l'idée que l'argument évoqué par la Fédération était pertinent. De plus à défaut de servir aux compétitions ultérieures, ces équipements pouvaient nous revenir pour les entraînements lors des regroupements.

Les faits que nous relevons nous prouvent le contraire. Le Chef du Département Financier de la Fédération revêt ces équipements sur les différents stades de basket de la ville au vu et au su des joueuses à qui elle les a repris alors que dans le même temps, nous essayons d'harmoniser les couleurs pendant les séances techniques aux entraînements.

Excellence, faites-vous présenter soit par un coach ou alors par un joueur, les « tennis » et les chaussettes achetées aux basketteurs pendant les récents éliminatoires ; demandez à voir les factures à la Fédération, puis informez-vous des prix réels sur le marché. Vous comprendrez alors et partagerez notre indignation. Répétez l'expérience sous une autre rubrique de dépenses de cette compétition et vous serez gagné par le même sentiment d'indignation.

Au regard de tous ces développements, nous souhaiterions :

- Que le cas de la XVIème joueuse Marie Christiane Mindja soit revu dans le sens du paiement de sa prime !
- Que la Fédération nous restitue nos tennis usées par le stage et que l'achat des nouvelles chaussures soit effectué par nos entraîneurs !
- Qu'une prime supplémentaire soit versée à chaque joueuse pour :
- \* Compenser le déficit alimentaire subit pendant le stage (c'est l'auto-alimentation qui avait prévalu).
- \* Compenser les soins médicaux des joueuses par suite des blessures physiques survenues à l'occasion du stage.
- \* Rembourser le transport inter-urbain (Douala/Yaoundé et Dschang/Yaoundé) des cinq filles convoquées en stage et qui se trouvaient hors de Yaoundé.
- \* Réparer le préjudice moral résultant d'abord de ce que nous sommes frustrées d'une compétition à laquelle nous nous sommes préparées et avons des prétentions. A cet égard, nous espérons que la Fédération va se débrouiller, pourquoi pas avec l'appui de la tutelle, à nous rétablir dans la course. Ensuite, nous nous sommes senties méprisées par la façon condescendante avec laquelle les dirigeants de cette fédération nous ont traitées.

.../...

Nous souhaitons que pour les regroupements futurs un peu plus de considération nous soit accordée. Le manque d'information donne lieu à des spéculations de tous ordres dont un athlète en compétition pourrait très volontiers se passer. Nous souhaitons pouvoir savoir où nous allons, pourquoi nous y allons-nous et le lieu où nous nous situons par rapport à notre destination. Même les tout-petits enfants comprennent les choses qu'on leur explique; il suffit que l'on se situe à leur niveau de compréhension. Que l'on nous considère peut être comme des enfants, mais pas comme des tarés.

- Que des ballons soient achetés et mis à la disposition de l'équipe pour les échéances futures.
- Que les équipements de Nairobi soient remis aux filles qui ont pris part à cette compétition.

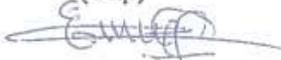
Excellence, nous savons avec quelle détermination vous défendez et protégez l'intérêt du sport Camerounais. Vous l'avez montré en Football. Nous comptons sur vous pour nous envoyer la bouée de sauvetage que nous espérons tant.

Recevez Excellence l'assurance de notre profond respect.

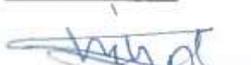
#### LES JOEUSES

EBELA MBARGA

(Cap)



NNINDJEM A.



NGO MANDENG G.



ABOMO NLOM



NGO MBOUA



MOABEL

(V-Cap)



OYENG C.

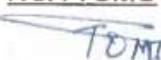
P.O. AGOTTO



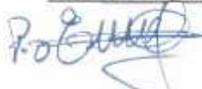
TCHOYI R.



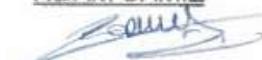
NGA TOMO



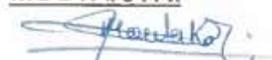
NYATCHO A.



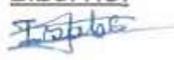
NDAM SAMIE



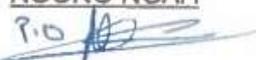
MOUTAKA R.



BILOA IS.

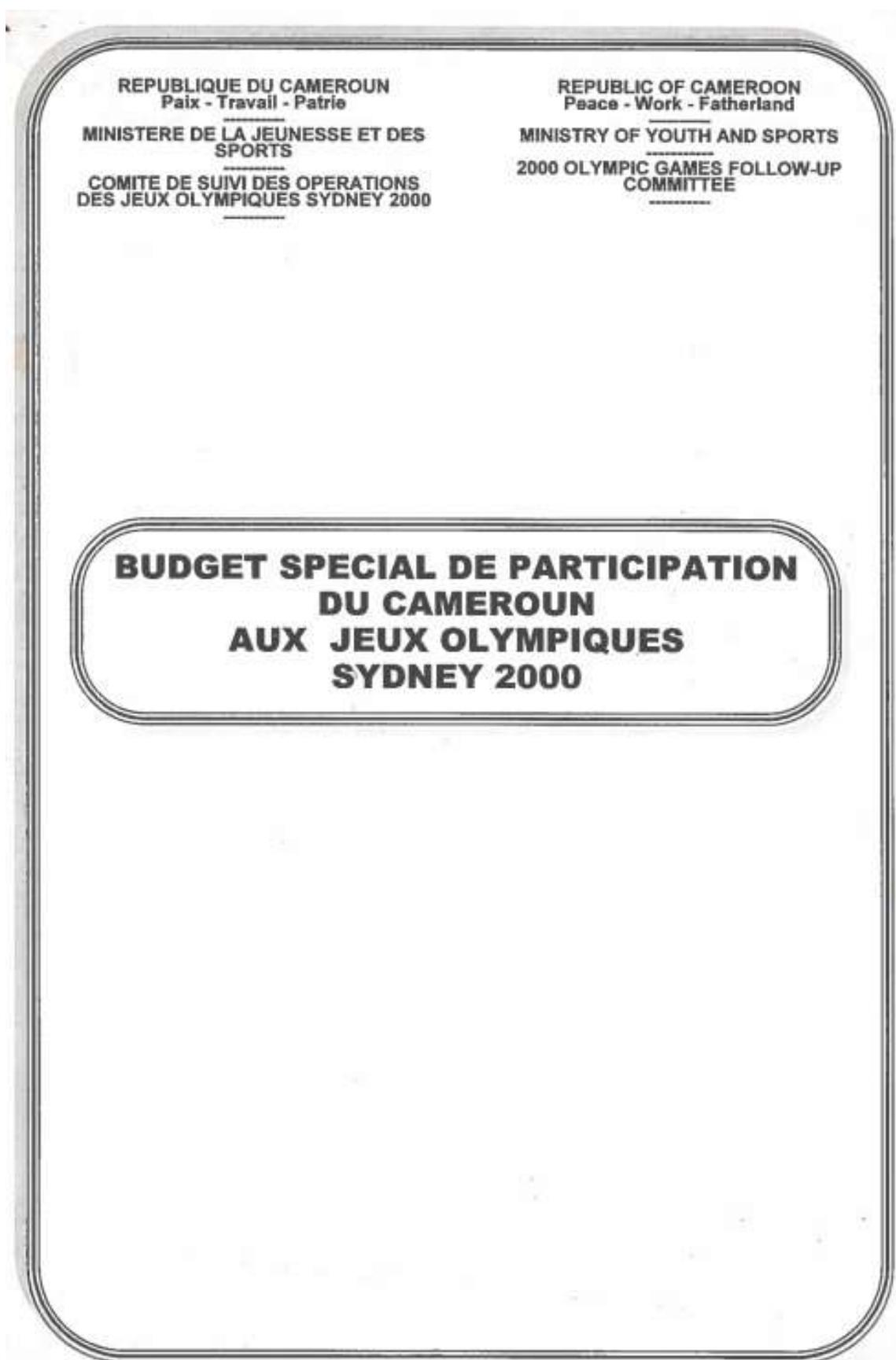


NGONO NGAH



MOFFO N.



**Appendix 12: Special budget for the Sydney Olympic Games**

**RECAPITUALTIF DES ELEMENTS DE BUDGET DE PREPARA-  
TION ET DE PARTICIPATION DES JEUX OLYMPIQUES DE  
SYDNEY 2000**

\*\*\*\*\*

<b>N°</b>	<b>Rubriques</b>	<b>Montant (frcs CFA)</b>
1	A. Budget établissement et ou prorogation des passeports de la délégation Camerounaise	7.657.000
2	B. Budget des stages de préparation par rubrique	278.570.640
3	C. Budget de participation aux Jeux Olympiques de Sydney 2000	1.703.590.208
4	D. Budget des équipements délégation MINJES	111.421.500
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2.101.239.348</b>

## C

**BUDGET DE PARTICIPATION AUX J.O.  
SYDNEY 2000**

N°	Rubriques	Montant (frcs CFA)
1	Délégation sportive en provenance d'Adélaïde et rejoignant le village Olympique	266.520.400
2	Officiels et Administratifs résidant hors du village Olympique entièrement pris en charge par le Budget MINJES	1.152.662.560
3	Officiels Administratif venant d'Adélaïde et résidant hors du village Olympique: Budget/MINJES	73.920.000
4	Budget de participation équipe de football, Hors de Sydney.	212.748.368
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1.705.851.328</b>

**C2- BUDGET PARTICIPATION OFFICIELS ET ADMINISTRATIFS  
RESIDANT HORS DU VILLAGE OLYMPIQUE ENTIERE-  
MENT PRIS EN CHARGE PAR LE BUDGET MINJES**

Effectif: Administratifs: 35  
          officiels: 30  
          **Total**           **65**

Durée: 28 jours (du 07 sept au 04 octobre 2000)

N°	Rubriques	Montant (frcs CFA)
1	<b>Transport international</b>	
1.1.	Titre de transport V.I.P.: 4.802.900x20 pers	96.058.000
1.2.	Classe économique : 2.700.000 x 45 pers	121.500.000
1.3.	Taxes aéroport: 15.000x3x65x2	5.850.000
2	Transport urbain (location voiture)	17.080.000
3	Vaccination: 7.000 x65	455.000
4	Hébergement et Restauration	
4.1.	VIP: 200.000 x 20 pers x 28 j	112.000.000
4.2.	Autres: 150.000 x 45 pers x 28 j	189.000.000
5	Frais de Mission:	
5.1.	VIP: 175000 x 20 pers x 28 jours	98.000.000
5.2.	Autres: 150.000 x 45 pers x 28 jours	189.000.000
6	Frais de représentation:	
6.1.	Président du Comité de suivi	1.500.000
6.2.	Coordonnateur du comité de suivi	1.000.000
6.3.	Rapporteur du comité de suivi	1.000.000
7	Interventions spéciales du MINJES	80.000.000
8	Frais liés à la communication (Téléphones - Fax - Télex, et secrétariat	15.000.000
9	Plaquette cellule communication MINJES	25.000.000
10	Frais de transit	76.720.000
11	Change, Transfert et Achat des devises (12%)	123.499.560
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1.152.662.560</b>

**Appendix 13: Ministral circular precisng the financial obligations of institutions for the FENASSCO Games**

MINISTRE DE L'EDUCATION NATIONALE  
SECRETARIAT GENERAL  
DIRECTION DE LA SANTE ET DES ACTIVITES  
POST ET PERISCOLAIRES

REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN  
Paix - Travail - Solidarité

*Trincaum Rotan*  
16.11.2001  
AR/5720

 CIRCULAIRE N° 32/P/11/MINEDUC/SG/DS/APS/SDAPPS/ISSS  
fixant les modalités de gestion du fonds d'appui à la santé scolaire et de la répartition de la quotité de la contribution exigible affectée aux activités sportives.

13 NOV. 2001

LE MINISTRE DE L'EDUCATION NATIONALE,

A MMES ET MM :

- LES DELEGUES PROVINCIAUX
- LES DELEGUES DEPARTEMENTAUX
- LES INSPECTEURS D'ARRONDISSEMENT
- LES PRESIDENTS DES CONSEILS D'ECOLIS ET D'ETABLISSEMENTS SCOLAIRES.

La présente circulaire complète les dispositions de la circulaire n°21/A/135/MINEDUC/CAB du 20 septembre 2001 portant modalités d'exécution du budget des établissements scolaires publics notamment en ce qui concerne la gestion du fonds d'appui à la santé scolaire et la répartition de la quotité de la contribution exigible affectée aux activités sportives.

30% de la rubrique intitulée "pharmacie" finance le fonds d'appui à la santé scolaire (FASS) selon le tableau I joint en annexe.

Sous l'autorité du Délégué Provincial de l'Education Nationale, le fonds d'appui à la santé scolaire est versé dans un compte ouvert dans une institution financière.

Ce compte est mouvementé par le chef de service de la santé scolaire et des activités post et périscolaires et l'Inspecteur Médecin-scolaire. Au 30 août, l'Inspecteur Médecin scolaire dresse un compte d'emploi du fonds d'appui à la santé scolaire dont une copie est expédiée au Délégué Provincial de l'Education Nationale et une autre copie soumise à l'appréciation du Ministre de l'Education Nationale (Direction de la Santé et des Activités Post et Périscolaires).

Le fonds d'appui à la santé scolaire doit permettre à l'Inspecteur Médico-scolaire de :

- Effectuer les missions d'inspection d'hygiène, de salubrité et de vaccinations (30% des recettes du FASS).
- Acheter les médicaments et les produits de laboratoires (30% des recettes du FASS)
- Organiser les séminaires de formation des membres de la communauté éducative (20% des recettes du FASS)
- Payer une prime au personnel de l'Inspection Médico-scolaire (10% des recettes du FASS)
- Faire face aux diverses dépenses et imprévus (10% des recettes du FASS).

- 1 -

I - TABLEAU DE CONTRIBUTION AU FONDS  
D'APPUI A LA SANTE SCOLAIRE (FASS)

ORDRE D'ENSEIGNEMENT		RUBRIQUE PHARMACIE	30% DE LA RUBRIQUE
Enseignement Maternel		100F	30F
Enseignement Primaire		250F	75F
Enseignement Post-primaire		250F	75F
Enseignement Secondaire	Général	250F	75F
	Technique	350F	105F

II - TABLEAU DE REPARTITION DES QUOTES-PARTS FENASSCO

COMITE	ENSEIGNEMENT			
	PRIMAIRE	POST- PRIMAIRE	SECONDAIRE : GENERAL/TECHNIQUE	
			1 <sup>er</sup> cycle	2 <sup>e</sup> cycle
FENASSCO ECOLE/ETABLISSEMENT	100F	140F	300	530
FENASSCO Inspection d'Arrondissement	50F	-	-	-
FENASSCO/DDEN C/DUSAPPS	50F	20F	45	50
FENASSCO/DPEN C/SAPPS	50F	20F	35	40
FENASSCO/MINEDUC	50F	20F	70	80
TOTAL	300F	200F	500	700

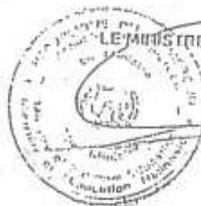


La contribution exigible affectée à la rubrique intitulée "Activités Sportives" comporte des quotes-parts FENASSCO telles que fixées au tableau n°II.

J'attache du prix à l'application stricte de la présente circulaire qui abroge toutes les dispositions contraires de la circulaire n°45/D/11404/MINEDUC /SG/DSAPPS du 13 septembre 1996.

**AMPLIATIONS**

- Gouverneurs/Préfets/Sous-préfets/chefs Districts
- Délégués du Gouvernement
- Maires et Administrateurs Municipaux
- Archives/chronos.



13 Mars 2001

Joseph DWONA

## Appendix 14: Team Cameroon for the Seoul Olympic Games

PROPOSITION DE LA COMPOSITION DE LA DELEGATION CAMEROUNAISE AUX JEUX OLYMPIQUES DE SEOUL 1988 EN ACCORD AVEC LE COMITE NATIONAL OLYMPIQUE :

2-3

1/ - Ministre de la Jeunesse et des Sports : 1 - Dr. Joseph POPE

2/ - Comité National Olympique Camerounais : 2 - Pr. René ESSOMBA  
3 - TIMBA Dieudonné

3/ - Directions des Sports : 4 - MBIMI NDJAMOU Emmanuel  
5 - MANGA LOBE Louis Claude

4/ - Médecins : 6 - Dr. MOTAZE Michel  
7 - Dr. BONE MANE Gabriel

5/ - Journalistes : 8 - ABEL MBENCUE  
9 -

6/ - ATTACHE OLYMPIQUE : 10 - KAYO David

7/ - CENER / 11 - ENONGENE Geoffrey

8/ - DISCIPLINES SPORTIVES

A/ - ATHLETISME

1) Athlètes : CAM. 1 - ACHUO BEI ASSUMPTA 400 m et 800 m  
USA 2 - EBONG SALLÉ Frédéric, Saut en Hauteur + St. Longueur  
FRANCE 3 - NGO MINYEMBECK Jeanne, Disque - Poids  
LONDRE 4 - NTCCHINDA Samuel, 100 m

Entraîneur : 12 - TONYE Jean Samuel

Fédération : 13 - MBOM Clément

\* ANOUCCI GERMAIN

B/ - BOXE

Athlètes : 1 - BONATOU Jean Paul 60 Kg  
2 - NDONGO EBANGA Martin 63 Kg  
3 - MAYO François 71 Kg  
4 - KAMELA Paul 75 Kg

Entraîneur : 14 - MATROSSOV Edouard

Fédération : 15 - Colonel MOUKORY MBAPPE

C/ - HALTEROPHILIE

Athlètes : 1 - NKWAYEB Théodore 90 Kg  
2 - TAKU Dieudonné 110 Kg

Entraîneur : 16 - WANDJI Pierre Aimé

Fédération : 17 - Colonel MAMBOU DEFFO Roland

D/ - LUTTE

Athlètes : 1 - YINGA François 62 Kg  
2 - MANGA Jean 74 Kg  
3 - NTO Barthélémy 82 Kg

- 2 -

4 - YOMBI Jean-Baptiste

90 Kg

Entraîneur :

18 - TONYE Isaie

Fédération :

19 - Dr. LOGMO Bienvenu

12/ - Congrès des Fédérations Internationales :

HAND-BALL

29 - Cdt. DJOMBI Ernest

LUTTE :

20 - NLONG Nicolas

TOTAL : - Sportifs = 14

- Entraîneurs = 4

- Officiels = 17

35

**Appendix 15: Private initiative for the construction of an Omnisport Stadium in Abongbang 1972**

*Annex 3 l'apt 3*

9 FEV. 1972

*N° 24/CF/MJS/DS/EPB*

**CONFIDENTIEL**

V/L n°35/CF/IGE du  
14.1.72

Monsieur le Ministre Délégué à l'Inspection  
Générale de l'Etat

- YAOUNDE -

En vous accusant réception de la lettre citée en référence concernant le rapport n°18/FR/IGE, faisant état de la réalisation d'un terrain omnisports à Abong-Mbang,

j'ai l'honneur de vous adresser un résumé des observations faites après analyse du dossier par mes services.

L'initiative prise par le Préfet d'Abong-Mbang de construire un stade omnisports a été très heureuse, mais elle a été mise en exécution sans constitution d'un dossier technique précis et sans collaboration avec mon département.

En effet la construction d'un stade présente des aspects techniques très complexes qui, s'ils ne sont pas systématiquement étudiés, peuvent entraîner des pertes d'argent énormes, voire même rendre les installations inutilisables. C'est pourquoi il est vivement recommandé que les services techniques compétents soient associés à de tels projets à savoir le Développement Urbain et la Jeunesse et Sports. Mon département étant utilisateur des installations sportives, a des normes qui lui sont prescrites par les diverses Fédérations Sportives Internationales, lesquelles ne sont souvent pas connues de tout le monde. Une installation sportive construite contrairement à ces prescriptions ne peut pas être homologuée, et par conséquent ne peut valablement servir.

Copie + la qu  
au DS-

Copie pour information à  
Mr. Le Ministre de l'Administration  
Territoriale YAOUNDE.

.... / ....

- 2 -

Il convient de mentionner l'aspect administratif du problème soulevé par le Préfet. En effet le Ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports avec le concours du Comité National des Sports gère toutes les installations sportives sur l'étendue de la République Fédérale. Non seulement ce département ministériel devrait participer à la réalisation de cet ouvrage, mais c'est à lui qu'il devrait être livré après la construction pour une prise en charge effective.

Pour ce qui est de l'évaluation du coût des travaux, d'après les déclarations propres de M. le Préfet, elle peut se faire très aisément parce que tous les éléments sont connus :

- la surface utilisée et la nature du terrain avant les travaux (préparation du terrain) ;
- la quantité des matériaux utilisés,
- le nombre d'ouvriers qualifiés et non qualifiés utilisés ;
- la valeur de chaque unité.

Les sources de financement sont actuellement bien connues. Le Préfet déclare qu'il connaît tous les donateurs et les quantités données.

Il suffit donc maintenant de faire une expertise pour constituer un dossier technique du terrain d'Abong-Mbang.

L'initiative prise par le Préfet du Haut-Ryong est digne d'éloges et mérite d'être imitée par d'autres chefs d'unités administratives. Toutefois, il lui faudrait, dans l'avenir, travailler en parfaite collaboration avec le Ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports.



Signé FX. NGOUBEYOUS

*Copie + la souche  
au DS-*

Envoyé pour information à  
M. le Ministre de l'Administration  
Territoriale YAKOUBO.

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Private archives of Ndongso Minsoko , " L'INJS a été créé lors d'un conseil ministériel, présidé par le Président de la République, **AHMADOU AHIDJO** et auquel ont pris part : **Charles ASSALE**, Premier Ministre, **EKWABI EWANE**, Ministre de l'Éducation Nationale, **ONANA AWANA Charles**, Ministre des Finances, **NJINE Michel**, Vice premier Ministre chargé de l'Intérieur, **TSALA MEKONGO Germain**, Ministre de l'Économie Nationale, **NDIBO MBARSOLA**, Secrétaire d'État à la Présidence de la République, Chargé de la Jeunesse, des Sports Et de l'Éducation Populaire.

Private archives of Ndongso Minsoko: L'Arrêté N°0044/ Y- 14.4 du 18 février 1993 du MINUH, avait rendu d'utilité publique, un terrain de 78 ha à NKOL AZALA, dans une

dépendance du domaine national. Mais le projet ne sera pas mené à son terme et en 1995, l'I.I.J.S redeviendra l'INJS

## 1.2. Oral Sources

<b>Names</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Status</b>	<b>Place and Date Of Interview</b>
Abdourahman	50	Former Handballer sporter, sport promoter and manager and businessman	Yaounde on 20-11-2019
Anonymous	60	Retired PES Teacher, former international handballer, former president of Centre regional handball league, team manager	Yaounde on 20-02-2020
Assiene Thomas	49	PES teacher, Director of the annex 1 stadium of Olembe sport complex, former head of service at the department of general affairs, technical official at FECA Athletic	Yaounde on 21-07-2019
Atouba Essama	37	Former international Footballer African Football Champion in 2000, licensed football manager and trainer and head coach of the Idriss Carlos Kameni Football Academy	Yaoundé on 17-7-2019
Beling Nkoumba Elemva G.P	50	Deputy director of the Department of Health University sports, sociocultural and leisure Activities at the MINESUP, Secretary General of FENASU	Yaounde on 22-06-2018
Boney Phippe	47	Sport journalist, and analyst Team Press officer for the Cameroon U23 male national Team, communicator for Cameroon handball federation,	Yaounde, on 05-10-2019
Dikoume Francois Claude	72	PES teacher, Former Deputy Director in charge of academic affairs, lecturer at the NIYS and lecturer at IRIC Yaounde, conciliator and consultant at the CNOSC and referee at with the TAS, resource person with many federations and sport organization	Yaounde on 12-05-2019
Dogmo Auriol	27	International athlete- shot put thrower, 2 times AAG GM and AAC, Cameroon's national record holder	Yaoundé on 16-02 – 2017
Eleme Asse Marie Giselle	22	Student NIYS, international sprint athlete, National, FENASSCO and UG in 100m and 200m	Yaoundé on 09-02-2017

Guebogo Serge Christian	38	PES teacher, former international handballer, certified handball trainer and winner of championship and cup of Cameroon as trainer, trainer of the Female National handball Team since 2018, silver medalist at the 2019 AAG in Morocco,	Yaounde on, 10-11-2019
Kinang Ngan Patrice S	40	PES teacher national trainer in charge of horizontal jumps since 2007, certified high performance athletic sport trainer from the University of Mainz Germany former international athlete	Yaounde on 21-6-2018
Kingue Dihang Alain Christian	46	President of FECAJUDO since 2012, former President of FECAJUDO Centre Regional League Black Belt 4 Dan, Conseiller juridique	Yaounde on 15-11-2017
Kouoh Kotte Charles	53	PES Teacher, Secretary General Cameroon Athletics Federation, Secretary of Zone 4 of the African Athletic Confederation, trainer and former international athlete	Yaounde on 12-7-2018
Mbango Etone Francoise	41	former athlete (triple jumper) two times Olympic Games gold medallist (2004-2008), Olympic record holder in the triple jump, two times gold medallist at African athletics champion (2002- 2008) and silver medallist at athletic world championship (1999-2003)	Yaounde on 03-04-2017
Mbarga Bike Josephine Sandrine	41	PES teacher, former international athlete and 2007 African long jump gold medalist, Coordinator For athletic FENASSCO A	Yaounde on 21-05-2019
Mbarga Essomba Quintin	51	PES teacher, administrative secretary and technical official FECA Athletics, chief of sport service University of Yaounde I	Yaounde on 11-03-2019
Mbumi Sandrine	29	PES Teacher, International long and triple Jump athletes, GM at 2014 AAC, Sport Monitor at Yaounde Parcours Vita,	Yaounde on 18-02-2017
Milla Albert Roger	67	Roving Ambassador, former international footballer, African player of the century by	Yaounde on 16-3-2015

		FIFA, 2 times African Best player of the year, team manager TKC Female handball	
Mossy Solle Jacqueline	35	PES teacher, international female handball player since the age of fourteen (14), gold medalist at the 2003 and silver medalist 2019 AAG, 2016 bronze at the African interclub	Yaounde on 12-01-2020
Motombi Mbome Emmanuel	48	Civil Administrator graduate from ENAM, President of Cameroon Athletic Federation since 2012, former national vice President and president of South West Regional League, sport promoter,	Yaounde on 14-07-2019
Nchang Fuh Emmanuel	40	Sport analysis and consultant, sport manager, former footballer	Yaounde on 20-9-2020
Ndole Alex	28	Cameroon's Division 1 Female League Referee, University Graduate in Economics	Yaoundé on 24-03-2017
Ndongo Minsoko	56	Certified Graduate of Youth and Animation, Retired Divisional Delegate at the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Civic Education, Associate lecturer NIYS	Yaoundé on 20-3-2017
Obama Guy Roger	54	Sport journalist and analyse	Yaoundé on 10-8-2019
Oloko Nikoyo Athanse	53	Retired PES Teacher, National trainer for throws, former international athlete (throwing), competition speaker with African Athletic Confederation	Yaoundé on 24-06-2018
Ongba Blaise	58	Retired PES Teacher, Former Director of DDSHN, Coordinator of sport fitness club	Yaounde on 20-03-2019
Otto Mbotto	40	Volleyball instructor and statistician national men volley ball team 2011-14, staff at the ministry of Finance	Yaoundé on 27 -01-2019
Saidou Victor	51	PES teacher, lecturer and Head of the Division of Academic Affairs, of Disciplines, of Internal Control and Monitoring of Lecturers at the NIYS, AAC instructor Conferencier and trainer in athletes	Yaounde on 20-08-2019

Sama Douala	52	Former President of the Cameroon Athletic Federation 2004-2008, former international athlete and businessman	Yaounde on 10-08-2019
Tche Ernest	57	PES teacher Retired PES Teacher Trainer in Athlete, former international athlete Long Triple Jump, International consultant, Senior Lecturer in North-Eastern, South Cadin Universities, Associate with Jackson state and expert with cross Rive State Nigeria,	Yaounde on 19-09-2019
Tchomo	48	PES teacher, Head of STAPS department ant lecturer at the NIYS Yaoundé, Form international traditional wrestler	Yaounde on 16-07-2016
Toukene Guebogo Claude	43	Former cameroonian international sprinter (100m-200m), trainer with the North Forks College in the united states of america, best coach and member of the Hall of Frame of USCA Sport and PhD candidate in Biomachanic of Sport performance	Yaounde on 11-06-2018
Wouassi Dieudonne	57	Retired PES teacher, former director and technical adviser at MINSEP, association lecturer at the NIYS Yaounde, member of the technical committee for the preparation of AFCON 2019	Yaounde on 21-10-2018
Yano Yano Jean Paul	52	PES teacher, lecturer at the NIYS Yaoundé, former international football (junior)	Yaounde on 16-07-2019
Zebaze Robert Carrier	41	Cameroon Centre Regional Football League Referee, Enterprise Manager	Yaoundé on 24-03-2017

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