

Reforming Education through the Lenses of Competence-based Education: A Marxist critique

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Abstract

Education policy ambitions or presumptions in most countries are being accused of turning schools into social factories to supply humanpower to produce commodities. This is apparent bureaucratic education policy imposition on school-actors which promotes class division and conflict in sharing resources. Using the Marxist-critical-lenses, this article aims to interrogate the potential outcomes of adopting-implementing the global policy of competence-based education (CBE). The overarching question is whether CBE empowers the grassroots and-or preserves the old-order? This interrogation is sustained through a longitudinal research protocol that mixes document and survey methods and diverse classes. Cameroon English-speaking general secondary school CBE policy is used as part of global flows. The sample has 19 policies, 361 questionnaires and 20 interviewees randomly drawn from 24 diverse schools. Findings suggest that, transnational actors and 'boss partners' often influence education bureaucrats to buy global policy, coerce or coax school-workers to drill students into conforming to work obligations. It is rather like bureaucrats rebrand old policy to retain the status-quo-order, dictate equal costs for

all grassroots school-actors with diverse abilities, and give few means whilst overtly claiming to empower them. School-actors embody policy but decry few means while assuming complex roles that lead to few improved academic and real-world outcomes. The article concludes that, education policy with class issues often places individual over collective interests that foretell inevitable mass revolutions in transition to Marxist socialism and communism. It is necessary to continually deconstruct class as 'an elephant in the room' whilst empowering grassroots-actors against education and real-world biases.

Keywords: *Marxist education policy; Policy adaptation; Competence based education; Bureaucratic policy resilience; School actor empowerment.*

Introduction

Education policy resiliently seeks to direct schools to develop competent labour to produce goods and services (Anderson-Levitt, 2017). This is the factory model of schooling that began in 17th century in Europe and in 20th century in USA under industrial capitalism. Huge asset gains from industrialisation created and enriched the upper and upper middle classes that occupy prestigious and powerful positions and influence reform movements. Capitalism defined success through hard work to amass wealth and be rich. Society admired the rich and demanded schools to be integrative, build skills and offer credentials to occupy jobs in a hierarchically tiered labour market with the working class destined for low-pay factory jobs. From a Marxist perspective, businesses, bureaucracies, banks, churches and media are accused of conspiring to subdue and exploit the generally weak grassroots working class. Historical trajectories show that, capitalists often take the surplus profit out of the value created by the labour of the workers and disregard communal interests in all areas including education policy and experiences (Colahan, 1960: 1-5).

The policy trend apparently turns schools into social factories to produce a working class and benefit a bureaucratic class. Bureaucracies seem to often serve the capitalists or any class in power. But, Weber (1968) explains that, charismatic bureaucrats often rationalise and traditionalise to attain and legitimatise domination over the weak through 'routinisation'. Bureaucracies often emerge as messiah, revolutionary or social movement icons that call for change and garner community loyalty. Some faithful disciples build a cohesive inner circle to uphold the vision that initially seems to ignore but later adopts rational or traditional capitalist routines in a bid to retain power, money and material benefits at the detriment of the grassroots class forever. To resiliently retain power, bureaucrats face or stage sudden martyr exits to allow the predecessor or inner circle to designate successors or rebrand the prior leader to have wider consolidation. Transition custodians can chant oracle consultation, hereditary and ritual dogmas to designate successors. They institutionalise the prior or martyr, or their legacy or inner circle and conduct new recruitments with economic class bias. Predecessors leave behind elusive visions unrealised to retain public support and successors claim to put the vision into conventional plans to attain results. Successors often seem to find excuses for not realising the elusive visions and also pass unto others in the hegemony (Swedberg, 1998). After a prior charismatic leader, bureaucracies form and use 'routinisation' to normalise grip on power, keep the weak class in perpetual subservience and illusion of better futures. Bureaucracies exploit the weak for selfish bureaucratic interest and also conspire with capitalist or any oppressors to jointly cheat the weak class. But most Marxist analyses interrogate if bureaucracies in current societies serve the power class order more or less than grassroots interests. Such apparent materialistic domination upheld by polity bureaucracy also fans the desire of education bureaucrats, providers and funders to amass means while school workers and students have little. The injustice causes rural schools to decline and shifts resources to grow urban schools in the USA in the past

(Tyack, 1974) and Africa including Cameroon today. Communities vs. professionals and policy-makers vs. workers compete in bureaucratized schools. Best systems often merge business, school and community to diminish structural, power and ideological crises. It takes accountability, communal control and compensatory education to fairly distribute wealth in society not just raising school enrolment, budget and curricula. Some bureaucratic posts fail to serve children; preach equality but deprive poor children and claim to separate school from politics but keep power patterns. Education cannot improve life without cohesive pluralism, communalism, and inevitable resistance to bureaucratic bias. Marxists posit that, class crises are inevitable in capitalism communities, but inclusive planning, execution and wage rate provision can reform education cum social class conflicts and raise outcomes for all (Taylor, 1998).

Furthermore, education bureaucrats use classical tools like granting audiences, nominations, budgetary allowances, regulations, succession mentorships and enforcement policing to impose policy with class divisions on school workers and learners that result in crises of interest. School class crises hurt workers, students and local community that need Marxist radical advocacy for socialism and communism. Marxist education discourse peaked in the classical age (1970-1982), declined in 1983-1993 and resurfaced in 1994 after the fall of the socialist Eastern Block and communist Soviet Union (Rikowski, 2007). School policy is also shifting from biased conformist dogma to reformist, leftist, social democratic and radical Marxist meritocracy posited by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1848. Scholars like Rikowski, Hill, Boswell and Kawkins et al. unplug, update and apply Marxism to empower grassroots to confront dogmas bureaucracy enacts in all fields including education policy and experiences.

For example, Hill (2022: 70-79) applies Marxism to question education policy aspects of curricula, assessment, pedagogy, organisation, culture, ownership and

control. In tandem to Rikowski (2004: 565-575), Boswell and Kawkins (1999) also utilise Marxist education perspectives to critique suppression of workers by bureaucrats, and opine how to free workers from bureaucrats and attain holistic education. School workers need freedom from bureaucrats who often import policy to get foreign aid and retain power but claiming to foster equity through poorly equipped and rewarded workers (see Magill and Rodriguez, 2022; Vigo-Arrazola, Blasco-Serrano and Dieste 2022). The policy may seem authentic but rather dictates old teaching-learning-to-test cultures that ignore collective needs (Arboledas-Lérida, 2022; Dawes, 2022). Have-not children seem to inherit disadvantage in a cycle of deprivation, but personal hard work rewards and laziness deprives. Everyone deserves equal opportunity and reward based on personal ability and merit not background bias due to bureaucracy (Gillies, 2005). As such, Marxists offer flexible guidelines to envision and implement unauthorised policies that adapt to building grassroots capacity. The call is more apt today when nations, global actors and expert surrogates impose huge competency-based education (CBE) policy roles on school workers to train more labour to produce services and goods to profit education and job sector bureaucrats.

We argue in this research that, class divisions in education cause conflicts of interest where bureaucrats dictate policies based on flawed old colonial cum neocolonial laws that neglect grassroots workers' interests, cause resistance and achieve low quality results. School workers are often rhetorical and decry few means that suppress overall academic and real-world outcomes. Bureaucratic policy denies red tapes, class issues, wastage, duplication and imperialism that are plausible hallmarks for its inevitable extinction. Bureaucratic policy roams like a zombie that moans exciting rhetoric, terrifies dissenting voices and issues dubious private-public partnerships that deepen class issues in education cum society as Ellison (2022: 135-139) observes. Bureaucracy also denies communal

reality and poor outcome wherein Marxists see a crucial need to build school workers' capacity to organise movements to confront exclusive top-down policy bias trends and improve grassroots performance outcomes.

This article utilises a Marxist lens that draws upon historical materialism linked to class divisions and persistent struggles which require socialist and communist education policy potentialities as problematised by Hill (2022). The aim is to examine the extent to which adapting a global policy like CBE empowers the grassroots and or if it disrupts or preserves the old-order. Hence, we question whether adapting a global policy with class divisions and resultant struggles in curricula content making, pedagogic training, teaching-learning and assessment processes helps to empower the grassroots? Or is it simply a disguised goal to continuously cage the weak class and preserve the old bureaucratic order?

A number of scholars affirm that, education policy dictated with class divisions often mutates in discourse without realistic outcomes. Society is divided into upper, middle and lower classes based on the economic, cultural and social means possessed and distinct rights, duties and privileges. Upper and middle class bias retains the bureaucratic status-quo that fans conflict of interest more than it empowers the grassroots. The article traces the resilience of bureaucratic status-quo in secondary school pedagogic policy from the colonial to neocolonial eras. Based on historical materialism and related class biases, Marxist analysis is that, societies pass from primitive communism, slavery, feudalism to capitalism that shall relay to socialism and global stateless communism (Rikowski, 2007). Hence, the bias in some global education policy underpinnings like CBE and ways that bureaucracies adopt it can trigger inevitable lower-class mass resistances. Thus policy and bureaucracy are bound to face inevitable demise to shift to backward traditions or to forward Marxist socialism and communism.

The context in this research intimates that Marxism can equip school workers such as pedagogic inspectors, teachers and students to confront bureaucratic bias as microcosm of labour and student to-be-labour class' rejection of social- and work-world injustices. Cameroon's education policy context is used without non-school actors and documents and school professionals are used because few grassroots actors involve in policy issues. Drawing from the above analysis, this article proceeds to discuss how the bureaucratic class imposes global policy that is prone to depriving the working class or underclass which requires a Marxist worldview to deconstruct biased bureaucratic status quos in order to improve.

Global Education Policy Adaptation: Resurgence

The meanings of global CBE or *l'approche par compétence* (competence-based approach, CBA) vary in different policy areas and desire to systematically develop learners to evidently master concrete tasks (Anderson-Levitt 2017: 47-67). CBE is proficiency-, performance-, mastery-, personalised- and agency-based instructional approach to integrate real-world issues (Brolin, 1997). CBE uses local means to build broad competences in literacy, numeracy, science, arts-culture, social science, humanities, technology and cross-subject themes relevant to real-world situations. CBE evolves or completely breaks away from objective-based (*la pédagogie par objectifs*) and outcome-based educations based on how we conceive objectives and apply outcome. But CBE discourses often ignore bureaucratic bias against workers. As bureaucrats oblige school workers to feed students with labour skills, the school workers need ability to fight bureaucratic bias and learners-to-be labour need means to face real-world barriers to freedom. Every class has its inherent cultures that the predecessors pass on to the successors through the process of social mobility. This is a cycle that should be disrupted by unveiling socio-economic bias in patterns to owning schools, means and power and media misrepresentation of underclass struggle to survive. School underclass cannot rely on handouts but concretely

deconstruct and detach from bureaucratic bias (O'Neill, 2022). To diminish bureaucratic bottlenecks: school workers, students and their parents and needy grassroots communities can unveil, name and shame bias; own and control schooling through elected entities. Use of informed nonviolent strategies is preferable if a bureaucracy adheres to virtuous democracy and force is an option if a bureaucracy adheres to vicious autocracy in education policy and experiences.

The United States of America began CBE reform in the 1960s to improve performance in teacher training, classroom instruction, graduate competence, factory jobs and international competition. Social movements advocated for alternative school reforms to radically redeem underperformances by optimising learner- and community-based democratic outcomes (McCowan, 1998: 17-19). States enact various CBE policies in schools like Michigan's instructional seat-time waivers; Ohio's credit-flexibility using distance, work-based, independent education modes; Idaho's pilot-program is a labour incubator; Colorado's innovation-zones aid autonomous instructional design; Rhode Island's proficiency-based diplomas use ongoing authentic assessment; Vermont's graduation pathways use job roles; South Carolina's graduate profile suits life roles; New Hampshire's statewide competencies use local minimum test norms. The policies are often under bureaucratic directive or scrutiny. From US success stories, transnational state and non-state actors also perceived as 'boss partners' launched CBE as a global policy and France enacted *Chart des programmes* (framework for curriculum reform principles) and *livrets de competences* (evaluation forms) in 1992. The 1992 French law aimed to complement Jospin's 1989 objective-based reform and *Socle commun de connaissances et de competences* (common knowledge and competencies foundation) law was issued in 2005 that made *livrets de competences* mandatory in 2007. It is less evident if the issues CBE reforms set out to solve like rich-poor gaps, apartheid,

racism and global rivalries are can be resolved but the issues seem to persist and take new class forms that require alternative paradigms (Anderson-Levitt, 2017).

CBE policy appeared in the European Commission, Botswana (1993); French Belgian, USA's 2000 goal standards (1994); OECD and French-speaking African ministers' conference (1995); UNESCO (1996); OECD's PISA (1997), South African basic outcome (1997-2010); Japan's zest for living (1998-2011); OECD's defining-selecting-competences (1999) with its first report published in 2003 and French Belgium, Qubec, Benin (2001). The *Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie* also offered CBE policy expertise in over twelve African nations by 2003. More CBE policies were issued in Mexico (2004); OECD (2005); EU (2006-2007); England's skills notion (2008); Australia's career role capabilities (2009); Mexico's revised education policy (2011); USA's common core practice (2012) (Anderson-Levitt, 2017: 49-51). Then, Cameroon hosted the French-Speaking African ministers' conference of 1995 that is like a neocolonial platform to ease the CBA policy flow in secondary education from 2012 to present.

CBE curricula and textbook policies were sold by consultants of USAID from Canada and USA in Benin, Africa in 1998 and *Centre d'études Pédagogique pour l'Expérimentation et le Conseil* from Lyon, France in Guinea Conakry. USAID experts were amazed at the French-Guinean style and borrowers often claim that CBE policy is popular in host systems. Modernity and institutional theorists urge weak systems to adopt CBE as globally-accepted best-practice that may be less applicable. Critical social and context theorists adapt global policy with power crisis to internal issues without revealing the source. These are like comparative theoretical, coercive and soft power ways to spread maybe elusive mutating or controversial 'global' policy over time and space with less critical appraisal. CBE advocates often hide external forces and cite internal

desire to face graduate job issues but critics see more power retention than true grassroots empowerment intent. The core issue here is whether the policy praxis really empowers workers [and against bureaucratic exploitation] as asserted by proponents of CBE (Roegiers, 2008).

The trickle-down CBE policy trajectory is bureaucratic as new policy relies on strict old policy terms used by the power class to exploit the weak. Policy seems like global rule-of-thumb to imbibe employers' needs in graduates. This often energises labour to work hard for low pay while employers enjoy the surplus gains. This is a lifelong CBE view that aligns with the fast-changing job and business community metrics (Elfert, 2015). But, over 50% of French-speaking Africa talks of CBE in bureaucrats' and workers' rhetorics that hide implementation failures and deceive the grassroots class to hope for better days ahead. Like USA, South Africa and Japan adapted CBE but bowed out without evident results; South Korea is rhetorical without real policy while China is vague and we doubt if it is still CBE. Perceived uncertainty in CBE notions and results mean that, policy zealots can claim of widespread in host areas whereas it is really controversial, failing and slow. And the businesses and bureaucracies seem to enact global policy with almost no quality outcome or accountability for the salient failures (Basung, 2002).

There is a huge shortfall despite ambitious rationale, meaning and spread of CBE in various education areas. The shortfalls imply a rejection of bureaucratic dogmas and indicate that, the masses cannot always allow bureaucrats to unduly enjoy money and power without adapting global best-practices to empower the grassroots. From the examples above, stakeholders doubt if and how host bureaucracies truly implement policy because trickle-down forms are inconsistent (Jonnaert, 2001). Crafty bureaucratic practices undermine outcome when school workers rebuff policy due to little means. This foretells eminent demise of [co-]constructivist and progressive policies and return to classical

education if radical options are not proposed. The global uncertainty resonates in the Cameroon's colonial old order to current neocolonial-type CBE policy contexts that require further insights below.

The Cameroon Education Policy Context

Cameroon is located within Central Africa, latitudes 1°-13°N and longitudes 8°-17°E that largely define grassroots means and needs. William (2017) re-echoes Dewey's view that, a good education policy reflects the need to empower the grassroots. Cameroon has two historical eras that most scholars view as turning points in education policy struggle namely, a 1910 German education ordinance after a 1907 education conference and a 1998 secondary education law after a 1995 national education forum (Dze-Ngwa, 2015; Ngwa and Mekolle, 2020). Each policy follows an analysis of social context but exchanges, texts and executions are often led by bureaucrats in polity and their 'boss partners' (powerful elite class) who undoubtedly disfavor the weak grassroots class if not in principle then in deed. 'Boss partner' describes the perceived double standards of state or non-state capitalists, bureaucracies and promoters who often publicly claim to be mutual partners with intent to empower the grassroots but in deeds behind the scenes, one dictates to another to impose on and exploit the grassroots class. The views of feudal, Islamic and Christian religious lords and German, British and French colonial masters led Cameroon's education policy in the past and persist to today's post- or neo-colonial CBE contexts (Basung, 2002).

Colonial masters held an Education Conference in 1907 and passed the 1910 German Education Ordinance. The colonial order led to the start of secondary schools in 1939 under religious and colonial masters aimed to transmit narrow reading, writing and arithmetic skills of evangelism and imperialism (Ngwa and Mekolle, 2020). It is like the church retained feudal ideas and colonialists held religious dogmas that bureaucrats mutate to exploit the indigenous peoples

today. A vivid old power order was created in precolonial and colonial eras and retained today by a bureaucratic cartel. Postcolonial theorists rightly hold that, rooted imperial legacies seem to take new forms in postcolonies to retain the status-quo (Elam, 2019). Power order transitions in systems with colonial histories are like typical capitalist dominated societies of the world. An analysis of [neo-]imperial and capitalist or any other power class mutations seems to reveal a high class global order with national and local tentacles that aim to resiliently dominate and exploit the grassroots class or resources through various media including education policy and experiences.

To end resilience of mutating biased old dogmas (oppressive colonial policies) and enable education policy meet local needs, Cameroon organised a national education forum in 1995 at Yaoundé. The forum had internal and foreign actors who made proposals that led the parliament to revise the Constitution in 1996 which president Biya promulgated into law n^o 98/004 on 14th- 04-1998. Unlike colonial French assimilation rule, British indirect rule willy-nilly left behind few institutional practices that may support grassroot progress. The indirect rule used traditional chiefs to lead communities to valorise local means, needs and participatory development. Chiefs were proxy transmitters of master's orders to the community, but the proxies and communities were exposed to self-reliant communal values and their rural areas seem to outperform those under assimilation rule (Lee and Schultz, 2011: 39). If Cameroonian bureaucracy emphasises grassroots means, needs and participation, the postcolonial 1998 education cum CBE policy struggles can empower the grassroots and narrow class gaps.

The 1998 law guides secondary schools to feed youths with intellectual, career and civic competences whereby, teachers steer many local persons and groups and foreign actors in the public and private sectors. The 3-decade old law relies on obsolete colonial ideas that cannot fully empower evolving grassroots. As

such, the CBA law n^o264/14/MINESEC/IGE issued by Bapes on 13/08/2014 (MINESEC, 2012; 2014) claims to integrate school and community but is like a neocolonial policy. To satisfy neoimperial power interests, the ‘boss partner’ seems to use the ‘education boss’ like a puppet to spew CBA laws as rigorous learner-based strategies to adapt context to build and apply knowledge, skills and values for all anytime anywhere. Assessment is said to be authentic and helps improvement towards inclusive quality outcomes.

Conversely, an education review in 2015 shows that, under 3 in 10 lessons are integrated and 5 in 10 users are satisfied with outcome that imply low outcome as (Wiysahnyuy, 2021) agrees. Bureaucratic policy often claims to offer free equal quality education; raise education budget and financial-didactic material aids to schools, teachers and students. Bureaucrats often report an increase in the number of schools created and students’ performance rates in standardised tests. But the promotion rates are swelled by meager cognitive test scores and official waivers which may not help students to face real-world challenges. Schools still collect rising equal sums of money for registration, exam, uniform, didactic materials, sanitary kits and first aid which poor children cannot afford. Some schools exist in policy or without key school means, culture and climate like in geographically or politically deprived areas. Church mission and private sectors own and run equipped dormitory or day but costly schools that seem more to be for the rich class (Ngwa and Mekolle, 2020 cite Ngwa, 2018).

The education policy is accused of being narrow and dictated by the private, church, neocolonial and capital ‘boss partner’ high class. It seems to mutate in bits and workers like pedagogic inspectors and teachers who can organise action-research, pedagogic seminars, pilot-studies and pedagogic materials are resistant. Education policy is rhetorical with less real outcome and guilty of using colonial masters’ ideas to retain the old order (Rugutt and Chemosit, 2005). Anderson-Levitt (2017) reports such doom with global CBE policy flows

that should be a subject of scrutiny through Marxist lenses. It is thus, important to discuss the key Marxist notions that offer useful lenses to interrogate the current Cameroonian CBA paradigm as a microcosm of a global phenomenon.

Marxist Education Policy Perspective

The Marxist perspective emerged in *The Communist Manifesto* of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1848, showing that societies/economies are based on class divisions and struggles (Rikowski, 2007: 2). As a future best-practice, Rikowski (2004; 2007) unplugs the Marxist education theory and Boswell & Kawkins (1999) update it to x-ray prevailing class crisis between education bureaucrats on one hand and school workers, students and grassroots communities on another hand. Marxists unveil bias where bureaucrats unduly own surplus benefits and leave less means to school workers who deserve more. Bureaucrats must share the means with school workers or school workers can fight to improve their education and real-world outcomes. The Marxist lifelong learning ideas enable school actors to know how capitalists seem to push the bureaucrats to force schools to drill learners in precise job roles. Anyon, 2011; McLaren, Scatamburlo-D'Annibale, 2005; Giroux, 1992 for example, apply Marxism to empower the subordinate class to not only critique class issues in policy but also compel ideal and concrete education and society transformation. They urge teachers to deploy critical pedagogy by Paulo Freire and Freirean educators to raise consciousness about class bias and lead mass movements to dismantle biased bureaucratic ideologies and attain a socialist and communal future.

Marxist education posits two models of ideology: the reflection model (Rosen, 2005:11- 23) and the interest Each model can promote bias but the biased ideology and real effects will be eventually visible. Bias persists if bureaucrats use hard or soft power to coerce or deceive whilst workers and students are obedient, passive or uncritical. School actors should know that, bureaucrats

make promises and rank workers to entice or elicit loyalty, spur hard work and split resistance. They claim to empower school actors but paradoxically offer few opportunities and means to envision and meet key grassroots needs.

Bureaucratic materialism shall re-awaken the school workers to adopt socialism or communism to fairly share in scarce means. School workers and learner to-be labour are also like objects to sell, buy and deploy to produce goods and or services, and to devalue and retrench during economic slump. The underclass is exploited in permanent poverty wage zones if bureaucrats and industrialists trigger disunity and violence, criminalise or label revolt as crime and end jobs that workers cannot bear. Incarceration may also weaken dissenting voices and the lives of vulnerable others. The working class is forced to accept low wages or promised but unpaid wages, extra work in poor conditions, extra credits with mandatory debits, and peripheral roles in decision making or ownership and control of resources. Businesses seem to use governing, religious, financial, media and academic systems as opium on workers as slave masters drug slaves to endure pain, false hopes and implement policy. If education bosses amass means while school workers have little, the poor and anti-class advocates have an existential duty to assist the grassroots class to resist corrupt dogmas and attain egalitarian status.

Moreover, Marxists unveil bureaucratic bias in public-private ownership of means in education and urge the state to offer funds, basic needs and some wage ranks to empower the workers. State sponsored research, rhetoric and policy positions sometimes often become misused or misinterpreted by capitalist compradors to justify their positions. For example, school types and exam statistics like increase in numbers and percentages without regard to how these address social justice become over played by state propaganda outlets. The types and quantities cause inequality between outperforming confessional vs. underperforming public schools and smart vs. slow students in privileged and

deprived areas. Costs paid to obtain education services affect life achievement and the poor actors have little (Zamir & Alkrenawy, 2022). Marxists address bureaucrats' patronising attitudes to get short-lived gains. School costs help the rich learners to get higher exam grades in equipped expensive schools while poor learners get lower exam results in unequipped cheap schools that enable real-world gaps. Democratic socialists and social democrats advocate for meritocracy in education by offering free ongoing in-person and online education to the deprived to narrow class gaps (Hill, 2019; 2022: 71-79). Marxists urge radical increase in funding to school workers and student-to-be labour and collective democracy not personalised bureaucracy.

Radical Marxist lenses further seek to transform school curricula, assessment, pedagogy and culture towards holistic ownership, control and practice (Hill, 2022). Curricula have critical and cross-disciplinary themes, class issues and problem-solving to help the grassroot to resist dubious power orders. Everyone participate in progressive and anarchic learner-centered modes that integrate job roles not submissive teaching-learning patterns. Assessment is authentic and ongoing to build a competence portfolio (Brolin, 1997). There are no high-low achievers, public-private, and poor-rich classes or streams in school. Marxists reject education dogmas, official appointments and classroom walk-ins. School actors protect rights and mutually share with bureaucrats. School control is under elected grassroot actors that diminish top-down policy crises. Marxists critique and act against inequalities, seek to allow grassroots to own and control means and to make workers and learners self-reliant and equal as microcosm of societal relations.

Furthermore, Marxists oppose the linear spread of worldviews that suppress local interests and nihilist extreme logic that ignore really flexible ideas that suit what exists, is good and possible to empower the dynamic grassroots (Boswell & Hawkins, 1999). School workers limit official control and low wages to attain

complex goals (Rikowski, 2004: 565-575). Individualistic dogmas of viewing school workers and learners as tabula rasa to drill into mechanical labour for economic gains are both boring and inhumane. Marxists build critical ideas to free the school workers from bureaucrats by showing how power hurts workers' output, rights, career change and job-life satisfaction. Marxists define job roles to equip school-workers and learner to-be-labour to end inhumane bureaucracy and employment terms. Pedagogy is under teachers, learners and their parents or communities without official persuasion, coercion or deception. Issues need diverse critical ideas but education bureaucrats often aim to form labour for job roles whereas Marxists need workers' unionism and activism to fairly re-share means and attain equality in education cum society.

Marxist lenses critique class gaps and conflicts due to the imbalance between few means and huge roles that bureaucrats impose on school workers, students and society (Rikowski, 2007). Discourse on class struggles in education shall awaken the working class against suppressive education bureaucracy and student to-be labour against world-of-work bias. Marxists do not prescribe dogmas but foretell social revolts against dubious colonial or imperial master dogmas that shamle-walk today as neo-colonial or -imperial policy orders (Basung, 2002; Ngwa and Mekolle, 2020). Teachers require critical pedagogic technics to fairly unveil and rupture colonial cum postcolonial biases imposed by masters on the grassroot class and embrace inclusive democratic practices in education and community (Giroux, 1992). Colonial global south is often like a neocolony as some transnational actors work with national or local bureaucrats in the economy, society and polity to impose education policy like the so-called CBE that seems biased against school actors and learner to-be labour in schools as microcosm of wider community class issues which the current paper aims to verify and shine a little light.

Research Method

Research Design

Marxists stress long-term class struggles and the current article is part of 2012-2021 research on, “Transformative education and CBA Reform” that suits a ten-year mixed-methods longitudinal protocol (Kumar, 2014). We mix document analysis and survey methods to see if adapting a global CBE policy empowers grassroots more or less than it preserves the old-order of colonial oppression. We hope to opine actions to free school pedagogic inspectors and teachers and students from bureaucratic dogmas. Motivation to adopt this research approach is to sustain an inclusive critique of diverse class views from policy input to performance outcome over time that a class or actor in a moment may not support. In any protracted class and policy struggles, one class or actor in a moment may hold unique views. So, an objective cross-sectional analysis may offer a more truly inclusive narrative. Analysis aims to show policy input in curricula content making; pedagogic inspector and teacher pedagogic training; student questionnaire, pedagogic inspector and teacher interviews on actual teaching-learning; and O/L GCE results as policy outcome. The four steps aim to show any class struggles between education bureaucracy and grassroots pedagogic inspectors, teachers, students and exam actors

Research Contexts

The study context is Cameroon English-speaking general secondary school CBA policy. The choice is due to much policy talk that CBA will transform Cameroon to a middle-income economy by 2035; the English-speaking area often records the best results in O/L GCE and most learners attend general education. Study population is 1st-cycle geography policies, teachers, pedagogic inspectors and students because 93% of O/L GCE candidates also do geography and fairly represent Cameroon secondary education. Target subjects are 19 policies issued by bureaucrats to school actors in Ministry of Secondary

Education (MINESEC), 126,439 students, 617 teachers in 7 divisions, 34 subdivisions and 354 schools purposively drawn using exposure to policy and physical proximity. Cluster random sampling gives an accessible population and then, 420 sample informants. The sample has 19 policies, 381 respondents and 20 interviewees randomly drawn from 24 secondary schools in 08 subdivisions and 03 divisions having diverse values (Krejcie & Morgan, 1970). Systematic multistep sampling is used in a bid to reduce bias and fairly represent a diverse population in a diverse sample that further requires diverse instrumentation.

Research Instrumentation and Ethics

Data collection tools are CBA policies, student questionnaire and pedagogic inspector and teacher interview guides. Student questionnaire has 4-option Likert scales; 4 Sections (19 items) including demography (6), adaptation (6), constraints (1) and competencies (6). Pedagogic inspector interview has 7 open-items and teacher guide is 1 structured question. Each tool is tested for validity and reliability. After pilot-study, CVI of 4-practitioners' view is 0.85 and Alpha Cronbach Coefficient of 20-students' questionnaire opinions reveals reliability at 0.95. Manual IRR analysis of views from 5 documents, 2 inspectors and 10 teachers show that, themes agree at 0.86, 0.92, 0.83 respectively (McAlister et al., 2017). The policies, questionnaire and interview guides are valid, reliable and need ethical attention. An approval is obtained from the University of Buea, Curriculum Studies and Teaching Department's ethics committee. Informants' names are hidden. Informants are told the purpose and task before participating at will and free to avoid and or contradict research views. Informants are split to shield the weaker from powerful counterpart's views. The study area faces war and education reprisal thus, we use ICTs. Ethical norms are on front pages of data collection tools and informants agree upon before data collection.

Data collection and Analysis

To collect data, the researchers participate in teacher training and teaching lessons which offer direct access to data on CBA policy contexts. Policies and exam results are obtained from the secondary education teacher resource centres and regional exam data services. Questionnaires are filled in groups, retrieved instantly to avoid mortality; interviews use appointments and settings that elicit reliable data. Variables are CBA adaptation as cause and competence as effect. If policy adapts, it builds grassroot competence but if it unadapts, it undermines grassroot competence. The finality is if the global policy empowers the school workers and students more or less than it preserves the old power class order. Analysis of quantitative data has coding, weighting, excel sheet entry, SPSS version 20, PPMCC and One-way ANOVA. Analysis of qualitative data uses narrative patterns of what exists, is good and possible to critique bias and to set school workers and students free from any curricula content making; pedagogic training; teaching-learning and assessment bureaucratic bias despite the following challenges.

Challenges and Generalisation

It is hard to keep the same informants over 10-years; some school workers have less direct policy training and unreliable views. Armed clashes also delay plans and documents are few on key study issues. Thus, the study uses only 1st-cycle geography actors with informed first-hand policy experience. Some schedules and exchanges are fixed on phone; we participate in reform tasks, get data instantly and use internet and officials to get few texts. Despite the challenges, a fairly diverse sample represents secondary education; unbiased literary review and research design suit global norms that can make the findings and discussion in the current article generalisable to similar global contexts.

Findings and Discussion

Drawing from Hill's (2022) problematisation of Marxist education policy perspective, this article aims to examine the extent to which adapting a global CBE policy empowers grassroots more or less than it preserves the old-order. To attain the objective, we trace 10-year CBA pedagogic policy experience in curricula content making, implementing and evaluation. Thus, the findings and discussion are organised under a critique of any class divisions and struggles in curricula content making, pedagogic training, teaching-learning and assessment processes.

Class Issues in Curricula Content Making

From 1992, transnational bureaucrats and perceived 'boss partners' have been sponsoring CBA and French-speaking Africa ministers' conference of Yaoundé in 1994 adopts it to inform decree n°2012/267 on 11-06-2012. The 2012 law requests secondary schools to build competence whereby, pedagogic inspectors dictate pedagogic contents and materials to teachers at in-service training (Cameroon, 2012; 2014). This policy uses unknown proactive action-research on local means and needs (Williams 2017). On 24-05-2012, bureaucrats promise teachers FCFA15.000 less than FCFA40.000 promised in 2004 but not paid as monthly research allowance. Amidst mainstream media publication that, "teachers to bag FCFA15000 as monthly research allowance", a spokesperson for a coalition of Teachers' trade unions declares that:

/.../ the money is a provocative pittance and proof of how bureaucrats often cheat school workers with few means that cannot meet complex pedagogic and social needs. Teachers demand a raise and an analysis of the current education situation to abolish poor policies /.../

School workers have few incentives and resist implementing policy because funding ignores pedagogic roles (Wiysahnyuy, 2021). Marx & Engels posit similar class struggles in 1848 and Rikowski (2007), Hill (2019; 2022) stress

that, education bureaucrats often dictate complex policy to school workers to implement with few means. Without situational analysis, the 2012 decree is premature and fits old narrow colonial orders that deserve a radical rejection and foretell an inevitable underperformance or doom. As such, the Cameroon's education system faces endemic teacher strikes with some grassroots support to demand better working means and bureaucrats convene dialogues on predefined terms and continue spewing laws without substantial outcome.

Despite teacher resentment, Bapes issues CBA law n°264/14/MINESEC/IGE of 13-08-2014 which dictates schools to, “integrate local and global context and develop quality abilities” (MINESEC, 2014). The law prescribes resources, roles and outcomes for pedagogic inspectors to specify CBA pedagogic aids for teachers without meeting changing community needs. Listing of pedagogic paradigms with less real cues directly recopies foreign policy to Cameroonian contexts with more repressive signs that disenfranchise grassroots (Ngwa & Mekolle 2020). In a bid to modify the CBA policy, ministers for education Bapes issues law n°224/15/MINESEC/CAB (21/08/2015) and Nalova revises it to order secondary schools to implement manual concrete agro-environmental and industrial projects under strict partnership terms. Recent laws by Nalova in the Ministry of secondary education proclaim that:

/.../ secondary schools adapt CBA policies of in-person, two-shifts and distance education modes. Two-shifts are two parts of a day for two sets of learners to conveniently study [with less day-time schooling and more off-campus remediation]. Distance education [unrealistic claim] offers inclusive online quality learning [but often uses mobile money services offered by corporate telecommunication and banking systems to channel school tuition fees directly to bureaucratic coffers that leave school workers with crumbs] /.../

This central bureaucratic accumulation of means seems to make school officials to deprive teachers of due benefits and teachers deprive students of due gains. It looks like a cheating cycle in a struggle to amass means and survive culminates

to momentary and long-term inter-class deprivation in line with (Gillies, 2005; O'Neill, 2022).

Moreover, the laws specify equal school costs for learners from poor and rich backgrounds that deprive the poor learners in deprived rural areas. Bureaucratic policy is rhetorically popular in urban areas more than grassroot action in rural areas which potentially sow new or widen existing divisions in relation to the allocation of resources. The policy trend ignores key needs and views of school workers, use old frames to profit the bureaucrats not laypeople, pedagogic inspectors and teachers. Marxism points out that, bureaucratic unilateral action dictates curricula content which is less related with grassroot reality. School workers, students and local community actors struggle to rehearse the vague content verses or out rightly reject it and retain old narrow cultures despite the pedagogic trainings that unfortunately seem laden with class issues.

Class Issues in Pedagogic Training

After enacting CBA policies, 4 in-service teacher trainings are held on 17-18/01/2013, 16-17/01/2014, 1-2/12/2014, 31/08/2015 in four towns. The pedagogic inspectors acting as teacher trainers say that:

./.../ teachers undergo training on notions and application of pedagogic excellence, education professionalisation, problem-themes, competence, ICTs and online tools to build quality job ability. Teachers learn learner-centred teaching technics to integrate social and theoretical issues in industrialisation, cartography and statistics and enable students to gain job competence //....

School teachers are trained in halls without pre-service teachers and community that, Wiysahnyuy (2021) presents as exclusion. Few principals send teachers to attend training with few finance, context data and strategy to transfer skills. Not many pedagogic inspectors and teachers skilfully lead the training as they memorise content from central authorities. School workers, communities, incentives and strategies are not enough to gain and apply the policy dogma to

fully empower grassroots. To apply policy at the grassroots, the Teachers' Association publishes one magazine in November, 2015 on CBA notion and resources. The fieldwork theme is removed because, it is a high skill but field observation and excursion remain. This sounds like a policy adaptation inconsistency or intent to foster less community-relevant capacity as Anderson-Levitt (2017) says it occurred because grassroots are ignored. The teachers' association Magazine reports that, teachers cannot adapt lessons due to:

.../ ignorance, resistance and fear (67&11) that exclude them from the policy...// After 7-year inactivity, teachers publish 2nd issue of Geography Journal in 2016 to promote research, public and career awareness about impact of ICTs, population and climate change on development goals (3-28)...[but it] retrenches due to few resources and official support /.../

Moreover, from 2016 to 2021, textbooks carry the same CBE notions like:

.../ geographical context account, regional, integrated, interactive and functional 21st century applied issues. Books are available for all to buy at the same cost [but integrate concepts not real issues and average price is high for most students, parents, part-time staff with little finance to afford and takes nearly 50% of teachers' research allowance] (1-5) /.../

Teachers publish low quality materials due to few funds and bureaucratic bottlenecks imposed by a National Council for Approval each year. The high-level ministerial body approves pedagogic materials based on price, typing, science, content, pedagogy, ideology, language and logistics that are abstract and narrow. It is not evident that, teachers are encouraged to research and publish. It is hard to revise, acquire and use the pamphlets that leave policy in official words without critical ability to empower the grassroots to self-reliance and diminish power bias. In line with Marxist positions, the bureaucrats ignore grounded-policy and -research exchanges amongst school workers and students during pedagogic training that in turn reduces the quality of teaching-learning materials and performances.

Class Issues in Classroom Teaching-learning

After few pedagogic inspectors drill few teachers, teachers have to drill students to occupy specific public and private jobs in future. Using questionnaire and interview, few students, teachers and pedagogic inspectors share views on how adapting policy affects capacity. From findings, actors implement individualised and theoretical lessons more than communal and practical projects but desire concrete communal exchanges (See Table 1). It implies that, individualism intrudes education experiences against inert humanistic desire for Marxist socialism cum communism potentialities as Hill (2022) opines. **Table 1:**

Students' views Relating to Lesson Adaptation and Competence

Adaptation	Higher	High	Low	Lower	N
There is off-campus partnership	116(30.4%)	117(30.7%)	85(22.3%)	63 (17%)	381(100)
We have transparent exchanges	107(28.1%)	175(45.9%)	66(17.3%)	33(08.7%)	381(100)
Do on-going authentic practices	95(24.9%)	173(45.4%)	68(17.8%)	45(11.8%)	381(100)
Develop in problem-themes	95(24.9%)	199(52.2%)	56(14.7%)	31(08.1%)	381(100)
Competences are life roles	181(47.5%)	151(39.6%)	38(10%)	11(02.9%)	381(100)
Lessons explore local resources	181(47.5%)	153(40.2%)	38(10%)	09(02.4%)	381(100)
MRS	775(33.9)	968(42.4)	351(15.4)	192(8.4)	2286(100)
Competences					
Sustain vital development goals	124(32.5%)	130(34.1%)	80(21%)	47(12.3%)	381(100)
End harmful environment practice	161(42.3%)	174(45.7%)	33(8.7%)	13(3.4%)	381(100)

Have integrated problem-solving	198(52.0%)	149(39.1%)	21(5.5%)	13(3.4%)	381(100)
Join school and community issues	171(44.9%)	180(47.2%)	19(5.0%)	11(2.9%)	381(100)
Ready for the job market	139(36.5%)	162(42.5%)	55(14.4%)	25(6.6%)	381(100)
Can effectively further studies	160(42.0%)	177(46.5%)	26(6.8%)	18(4.7%)	381(100)
MRS	953(41.7)	972(42.5)	234(10.2)	127(05.6)	2286(100)

Table 1 links students' views on lesson adaptation and competence. 76.3% growth in adaptation leads to 84.2% rise in competence. Pedagogic inspector agrees with bureaucrats' and students' questionnaire opinions that:

.../ learner-centred lessons adapt knowledge, skills and behaviour to situations. Students do community tasks and exam tests level of ability to apply knowledge in social issues. Knowledge is a means to amass a portfolio of resources for further study, job and life roles .../

The excitement in voices of school workers and learners agrees with global CBA policy success stories but weak action reduces outcome as Anderson-Levitt (2017) reports. The pedagogic inspector adds that, "CBA policy can help schools to train manpower to attain development goals but school workers, inspectors, teachers and students face constraints" as (Wiysahnyuy 2021; Basung, 2002) concur. Doubts emerge as the students, teachers and pedagogic inspectors unanimously declare that, they have few means and teachers tend to directly dictate bogus content to students to copy amidst insufficient community support, pedagogic inspection, learning conditions and partner relations. One pedagogic inspector declares that:

.../ attachment to old dogmas, few resources and community input are major lesson constraints that need alternative options. Constraints stem from few means given to play complex roles...[as Marxists urge] School workers rightly lose steam, use constraints to abandon roles and shift blame to...['know- have-it-all bureaucrats'] .../

Teacher capacity seems to improve students' competence and students' views on policy adaptation's role on competence are tested in-depth. (Table 2)

Table 2: Pearson Correlation of Students' Views on Adaptation and Competence

Model	R	R ²	Adjusted R ²	Sig	F Change	Std. Error		
1	0.644 ^a	0.415	0.410	0.000	50.975	0.380		
2		B	Std. Error	Beta	T	Sig.	M	SD
	Adaptation	2.157	0.149		14.392	0.000	3.20	0.405
	Competence	0.350	0.049	0.644	7.140	0.000	3.02	0.398

Table 2 reveals a positive relation between CBA adaptation and competences where $R=.644$ while $R^2=.415$. That is, adaptation explains 41.5% of variation in competence to offer a good fit regression equation as competence = $2.147+0.644$ of adaptation. Significant adaptation improves competence ($f(1,381)=50.975$, $p<0.05$). The high mean score of 3.20/4 on adaptation yields high mean score of 3.02/4 on competence. The hypothesis test refines the views of bureaucrats, students and pedagogic inspectors that, CBA policy adaptation fosters competence. Better CBA adaptation relates with more significant competence building. Thus, reactive education policy often mutates in rhetorical discourse to adapt and build competence but this may be less useful to the target beneficiary grassroots due to huge constraints that undermine engagement and quality of overall performance outcome. Marxism reveals that, this positive rhetoric favours the regard for cheap labour without means to realise learners with critical capacity to confront biased dogmas. Rhetoric is by a few school actors who may not indicate the overall assessment situation.

Class Issues in Assessment Outcome

The assessment of content making, pedagogic training and teaching-learning shows high enthusiasm aired by few school officials, workers and students with

1st hand CBA policy experiences amidst class crises of sharing means. In CBA policy era, Biya’s decree n^o2019/100 of 04/03/2019 recharges the GCE Board to research, develop and administer cognitive tests upon receiving money payment from O/L exam candidates after 5-year studies. Exam fees ignore candidate’s financial background and reduce poor learners’ chances to take the certificate exams and compete in good jobs (Hill, 2022). Few teachers set 3 test tools and stock for all students to write one in-person in a policing state in June with less regard for diverse abilities or authentic ongoing performance. (See Table 3)

Table 3: One-way ANOVA of 2012 to 2021 O/L GCE Geography Result Variations

Performance				Pass			Fail			
Year	Sat	Absent	Passed	Pass	A	B	C	D	E	U
1	53555	727	18584	34.70	01.18	8.74	24.88	23.00	19.39	22.81
2	73442	857	31311	42.63	02.26	15.18	25.29	22.01	14.80	20.45
3	79913	1037	24796	31.03	00.55	07.42	23.06	26.50	17.60	24.87
4	81348	1140	40923	50.31	02.81	19.66	27.88	20.32	12.75	16.60
5	89093	1215	39243	44.05	01.28	07.05	35.12	19.38	15.23	21.94
Mean	75472.	995.2	30971.	40.54	1.616	11.61	27.25	22.24	15.95	21.33
±SE	2±6.02	±.92	4 ±4.24	±.39*	±.04	±.03	±.21*	±.12*	±.15	±.14
6	88854	1099	30169	33.95	00.91	05.07	27.55	25.09	17.41	23.96
7	62305	1575	35239	56.56	01.43	10.19	45.01	15.43	12.87	15.06
8	55154	527	34348	62.28	03.80	14.45	44.07	13.57	11.00	13.10
9	70944	997	45907	64.71	02.34	12.52	43.98	14.79	12.12	14.25
10	76183	1559	45334	59.51	01.05	05.44	31.07	16.05	17.79	28.59
Mean	70688.	1151.4	38199.	55.40	01.91	9.53±	38.34	16.99	14.24	18.99
±SE	0±5.79	±1.95	4 ±3.15	±.55*	±.05	.87	±.37*	±.27*	±.15	±.38
p-val.	.583	.488	.208	.048	.677	.524	.032	.049	.373	.507

Table 3 shows ANOVA analysis of 10-year OL GCE geography results. The result rises to 64% in 2020. Average sat-in rate drops by 06% and absence rises by 16%. Pass grade quality is 04% (A), 23% (B), 73% (C) and fail is 36% (D), 28% (E), 37% (U). The sat-in, absent and grade spread rates signify low quality. One-way ANOVA shows differences between 2 random sets of 5-year results each. Pass rate ($p=.048$), grades C ($p=.032$) and D ($p=.049$) significantly grow and pass rate is raised by C grades. Grades A ($p=.677$) and B ($p=.524$) show insignificant changes implying that, policies favour average more than high grades. The exam is very cognitive, limits lifelong competence or gives unequal quality feedback to develop an authentic ability portfolio (Brolin, 1997). Non-public schools with rich students outperform public schools with students from humble backgrounds.

Apparently, the persistent constraints to adapt CBA limit overall capacity building for all. Exciting rhetoric of few school bureaucrats, workers and students with few 1st-hand policy experience cannot enable equal quality overall outcomes. Education policy divides students under grades, private-public schools and over relies on cognitive outcome of one-stop-shop over-the-wall one-size-fits-all exams. This is a common cognitive test that disregards the poor who desperately need quality education to overcome school or social barriers and most scholars concur that, Marxist perspectives could assist.

The findings show resilient policy effort to train manpower for public and private industrial job roles following global paradigms. Marxists unveil such linear cumulative spread of global bureaucratic worldviews that Cameroon is a victim and also breeds internal bureaucratic predators that prey on weak school actors and grassroots in line with (Callahan, 1964; Tyack, 1974; Lee and Schultz, 2011; McLaren, Scatamburlo-D'Annibale and McLaren, 2005; Giroux, 1992). Education bureaucrats often buy exciting policy from host systems to force schools to supply labour for producing commodities. Colonial or imperial

history leaves some systems with neocolonial or neoimperial master dogmas. Education policy is seems guilty of promoting covert aims to retain bureaucratic status-quo's while overtly claiming to empower the grassroots. This accusation seems right because, new policies are a rebrand of unproductive old ideas and actors. The dictated policies retain school bureaucratic materialism and actors that cause grassroot class suffering and inevitable mass resistance.

As such, pedagogic inspectors, teachers and students say that, policy is good but decry few means, and avoid complex tasks that leave policy without substantial outcome. Moreover, class differences in means deprive the poor and favour the rich in education that relate to broad socio-economic gaps. Hill (2022), Rikowski (2004), Boswell and Kawkins (1999) are shining some light on how education policy with class division and struggle tends to place bureaucratic over grassroot interests, which face an inevitable demise and foretell the transition to Marxist socialism cum communism where available means meet group needs. Marxism calls for deep critique of all forms of education cum socio-economic class struggles. Critiques could avoid nihilist extreme logic and opine flexible actions that help empower grassroot school workers against bureaucratic dogmas, students against rigid-teacher teaching and student to-be-labour against biased job sector rules and roles.

Implications and Recommendations

The Marxist lenses seem to present alternatives that can minimise bias against the working class in curricula content making, pedagogic training, teaching-learning and assessment experiences. We set out to examine how far adapting global education policy empowers the grassroots and or preserves the old-order. Does adapting global education policy like the CBA empower the grassroots more or less than it preserves the old-order? Reactive education policy often mutates in discourse with less real context that indeed retains bureaucratic status-quo's and does very little to empower the grassroots.

Findings show that, existing economic and political bureaucratic class often imposes policy on schools to produce surplus labour. Colonial or imperial dogmas mutate to neocolonial or neoimperial policy to retain bureaucrats' status-quo while claiming to empower the grassroots. Such bureaucracy seems to build class hegemonies to pass on tricky policy guides that only last if the workers and to-be labour [un]consciously allow it. For instance, current CBE policies resemble disguised colonial orders in neocolonial education policy dogmas that are anti-worker and pro-bureaucrats and result in education cum socio-economic class crises. Class struggles involve bureaucrats dictating policy while school workers praise it but decry few means, avoid complex roles and attain fewer results. Bureaucratic materialism shall fuel a transition to Marxist education and socio-economic policy potentialities as Boswell and Kawkins, (1999); Rikowski, (2004); Hill (2022) also note. Social and communal approach to education policy could target four experiences empowering school workers to confront bureaucratic dogmas, students to ease teacher-centered lesson practices and student to-be labour to diminish biased job sector norms.

Confronting Class Issues in Curricula Content Making

Indelible root of class struggles is laid during curricula content making where bureaucrats copy pieces of transnational and 'boss partner' 'globally-accepted best-practices' and dictate as curricula content and pedagogic roles to school workers and students to memorise and conform to job norms. Bureaucrats coerce and or coax school workers to perform complex roles with less say and means. Education policy is less familiar, detaches content from local reality; dictates costs for all that deprives the poor in equally engaging to gain capacity. The Marxist education theorists could mutually steer policy makers, educators, pedagogic inspectors, students, student parents and locals to critique existing bias and determine school curricula and pedagogic roles. Community actors would need equal access to available means to attain common education cum

society freedom. Educators could conduct action-research to design apt curricula, pedagogic and lesson plans based on Marxist ideas that empower the weak school actors to resist class bias. Curricula have radical critique of class bias in education experience, liberation theory, inequality, cross-subject themes, resistance and activism for grassroot collective good not bureaucracy (Hill, 2022). Knowledge, skills and behaviours tested need to be reliable indicators for grassroot class resilience to achieve success in the real-world.

Overcoming Class Issues in Pedagogic Training

Another level of class struggle is undeniably pedagogic training when teacher trainers often dictate lesson management notions to teachers to drill students into conforming to factory roles. Pedagogic trainings involve few pedagogic inspectors and teachers with simplistic settings and few incentives. The little pedagogic training is rehearsal of bureaucratic policy verses with less critical capacity building to enact lessons. Hence, Marxist education theorists, teacher educators and teachers need to steer inclusive pedagogic training using social exchanges to critique class bias in education; analyse context to adapt available means to attain goals that Dawes (2022) describes as unauthorised anarchic pedagogies. Education and community actors could be trained to conduct action-research on grassroot issues and develop quality affordable pedagogic materials. School workers can obtain means to publish current research findings in journals, magazines and teaching-learning manuals. Pedagogic materials can be approved by a collectivity of local, education, school and lesson actors. Critical pedagogic training should promote authentic curricula content making exchanges with long-term effects on school workers and student to-be labour to face biased education and socio-economic bureaucratic class dogmas.

Diminishing Class Issues in Classroom Teaching-Learning

Moreover, class struggles undoubtedly occur in teaching-learning setting where few pedagogic inspectors and teachers inject bureaucratic dogmas in students'

minds to fit public and private job roles. Few school workers and students often claim to adapt context to enable competences in individual and theoretical more than group and practical projects against inert desire for communal exchanges. Individualism in education seems to ignore an inert human drive or basic human right to socialism cum communism potentialities. Marxist education notions could foster common human rights that are worth preserving with all means. Workers often have few means that constrain real outcome because bureaucracy trickles old dogmas from pedagogic inspectors, and school officials to teachers, students and society. It is like a crisis chain due to artificial classes or selfish desire of superiors to own more means and leave underclass or poor grassroots with less means and teaching-learning results. Marxists replace teacher-based with grassroots participatory pedagogy to integrate student community input in non-hierarchical, research-based and whole exchanges (Dawes, 2022). Complex school experiences resemble social class relation where teachers aid students in progressive dialogues and activities, critique policy praxis and social issues to plan for job roles. Steering Marxist school leaders, teacher educators, teachers and students could research, critique class bias in education and adapt available means to build equal quality capacity for all in lesson exchanges.

Addressing Class Issues in Assessment Outcomes

Class struggles inarguably also occur during assessment. Exam outcomes rely on and affect the curricula content making, pedagogic training, and teaching-learning quality. Bureaucrats hardly assess policy aspects but often prescribe common cognitive tests, equally collect exam fees and unilaterally re-share part of the proceeds unequally. Class struggles are visible in test ranks of school types, exam grades and workers. Bureaucrats impose exam norms on school workers and students with disregard for different abilities. Exam grades are average more than excellent. Thus, few persons gain critical lifelong ability and there is more basic labour skills to conform to job roles. Few means given to

school workers and students seems to limit the quality of outcome as Rugutt and Chemosit (2005) say. A common view is that, non-public schools with rich learners outperform public schools with mostly poor learners. We need diverse ongoing evaluation of school experiences to meet learners' job role, autonomy, unionism and activism. Evaluation has to offer concrete communal exchanges and equal advantage in life after school. Test scores should not be used to market schools and students. Marxist education workers, learners and local actors could eject national and transnational exam boards and build ongoing ability portfolio as Brolin (1997) says. Assessment portfolios could critique class bias, ready means, and ability of school workers, students and community to apply skills. Action-research should be used to diagnose initial policy visions, ongoing performance and outcomes for lifelong ability of school workers, students and student-to-be labour to confront high class biases.

Marxist education lenses enable diverse actors to critique, opine alternatives and act in tandem with (Rikowski, 2004; Hill, 2022; Boswell and Kawkins 1999). The lenses analyse class divisions and crises in view to face forms of inequality, oppression and discrimination. Firstly, Marxists seek how to minimise existing class bias and struggle in curricula content making? We critique class issues in education policy and practice; analyse ready means to meet collective education or society needs and action-research to offer actionable curricula plans. After curricula content making, the next question is how to overcome class issues in pedagogic training? To critique class bias, and analyse means to meet lesson needs require training school and community actors to conduct unauthorised pedagogy, action-research and develop quality means. Pedagogic training precedes how to fight class woes in teaching-learning arenas? Marxists critique class bias in education policy, curricula content, pedagogic practice; conduct action-research on communal means to meet quality collective lesson needs for actors with diverse ability. Teaching-learning exchanges relate with how to

diminish class struggles in assessing education outcome? Community channels ongoing assessment data to a competence portfolio that critiques class bias in education policy, content making, pedagogic training, teaching-learning based on action-research and ready means: concrete democratic evaluation processes and outcomes that meet the needs for all to achieve success in the real-world.

Conclusion

The current article critiques how far adapting global policy empowers the grassroots and or preserves the old-order, that is, if it empowers the grassroots more or less than it preserves the old-order amidst common class divisions and struggles. Findings suggest that, ‘global best-education policies’ often mutate in discourse with unrealistic context, perpetrate class issues that indeed retain bureaucratic status-quo more than they empower the grassroots. The article put forth four proposals to re-awaken school grassroot workers and students and to-be labour to confront bureaucratic class bias in education, polity, society and economy. Marxists criticise class issues and promote comprehensive practices. Marxist lenses opined here are that, the education policy trend with class issues is resilient and delivers poor outcomes. Salient class issues in education relate with social structural discriminations, oppressions and inequalities. And radically nonviolent and or even violent Marxian activist praxis is vital based on what exists, is good, possible to critique and reduce class bias and promote equal quality education socialism and communism. But, one education policy context is used without non-school classes and most texts are got in town. The limitations and objective and fair representation of wider background review, method, findings and discussion could appeal to key actors to further debate on, adapt and apply to similar contexts the article’s reports.

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