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Subject-Specific Credit Pass Rates among Candidates with Visual Impairment in Cameroon GCE O-Level Examinations, 2015–2025

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Abstract

Examination results show whether inclusive education policies work in practice. This study analyzed subject-specific credit pass rates among candidates with visual impairment in the Cameroon General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level (GCE O-Level) from 2015 to 2025. It used a retrospective, descriptive design with secondary data. The data were anonymized records of 1,524 subject entries, supplied by the Cameroon General Certificate of Education Board. A credit pass was grade A, B, or C, and the rate was calculated for each subject in each year. Overall, 40.8% of entries earned a credit. Commerce (68.5%) and Logic (68.2%) had the highest rates among subjects with many entries. Mathematics had the lowest rate (12.9%), with no credit passes in any year from 2015 to 2021. French (28.7%) and Geography (26.4%) were also low. English Language, Literature in English, History, Economics, Citizenship Education, and Religious Studies were in the middle, with large yearly swings. Natural science subjects had one to six entries a year, so their rates were unstable. These patterns suggest that barriers to success differ by subject and may be greatest where content depends on graphs, symbols, or a second language. The main limitation is that the data held no information on impairment type, school type, or accommodations, so the causes cannot be tested. Subject-specific accessibility standards and teacher preparation are recommended.

Keywords: visual impairment, GCE O-Level, credit pass rate, subject performance, inclusive education, Cameroon, braille, examination accommodations

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Introduction

In sub-Saharan Africa, school-leaving examinations decide who can go on to college, vocational training, and formal jobs. In Cameroon, the General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level (GCE O-Level) is a basic requirement for moving on to Advanced Level studies, teacher training colleges, and public service posts. When any group of candidates does badly in this examination, it raises questions about fairness and about whether inclusive schooling works in practice.

Candidates with visual impairment are one such group. Their GCE O-Level results have caused growing concern among teachers, policymakers, and disability advocates. Candidates with visual impairment often meet textbooks, teaching methods, and tests that assume the candidate can see (Le Fanu et al., 2022). Such barriers do not come from the candidate's ability. They come from the way the education system is designed. Barriers may be greater in some subjects than in others, especially science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) and second languages, but no study has shown this with national examination data.

The policy setting in Cameroon matters here. Cameroon is a state party to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD), which recognizes the right of persons with disabilities to inclusive education (United Nations, 2006). At home, Law No. 2010/002 of 13 April 2010 requires the State to take special measures to guarantee access to education for persons with disabilities. It also says that children with disabilities shall have learning conditions suited to their needs, including adapted teaching materials and specialized teachers (Republic of Cameroon, 2010, Arts. 28–31). The law does not set out rules for examinations. Putting policy into practice has also been uneven. Cockburn et al. (2017) found few resources and no clear system to enforce the law, and they noted that in 2015 the law still lacked an implementing decree.

This study looks only at subject-level credit pass rates for candidates with visual impairment who sat the GCE O-Level between 2015 and 2025. An overall pass rate can hide a lot. A candidate may pass overall but fail Mathematics or English Language, which are important subjects. Looking at each subject shows educators and policymakers where help is needed most. An eleven-year view also helps to tell short-term ups and downs from steady patterns, which a single examination session cannot do.

The study has three objectives. The first is to describe the credit pass rates of candidates with visual impairment in each GCE O-Level subject over the eleven years. The second is to interpret these rates in light of what each subject demands and what support is available. The third is to offer

recommendations for improving results in future examinations. The study adds to existing work by using national examination data, by comparing subjects with one another, and by following results over more than a decade.

Literature Review

Theoretical Framework: Disability, Access, and Curriculum

This study rests on two ideas that fit well together: the social model of disability and Universal Design for Learning (UDL). The social model, set out by Oliver (1990), separates impairment from disability. Impairment is the condition of the body, such as limited or no sight. Disability is the set of social, physical, and attitudinal barriers that stop a person from taking part. Applied to the GCE O-Level, this model moves attention away from a candidate's eyesight and toward the examination system. The question becomes whether the system provides accessible formats, enough time, and suitable tactile materials. On this view, a low credit pass rate in a subject points to possible barriers in how the subject is taught and tested. It does not show a lack of ability.

UDL adds a practical rule for design. It asks curriculum designers to plan for differences among learners from the start (CAST, 2024). Barriers appear when a curriculum offers only one way to receive information, one way to show learning, or one way to stay engaged. A science paper that uses only printed diagrams and handwritten answers shuts out braille readers unless other formats are built in. Together, the two ideas suggest that better results need both the removal of existing barriers (the social model) and the design of lessons and tests that are accessible from the outset (UDL).

What Earlier Studies Show

Earlier studies can be grouped under four recurring themes: braille proficiency, accessible assessment, teacher preparation, and policy implementation. Most were done outside Cameroon, and none analyzed examination results by subject.

Braille proficiency. Studies from Kenya link braille skill to school results. Okumu et al. (2021) studied 55 head teachers, mathematics teachers, and learners in two special secondary schools. They found a very low level of mathematics braille skill and a significant positive link between that skill and mathematics performance, especially among touch readers. Wanja et al. (2021) tested the braille reading of 47 learners in Kenyan special schools. Braille literacy was low among primary school pupils

and higher among secondary school students, and schools taught braille in different ways. Because reading braille is usually slower than reading print, long texts and written answers may also put braille readers under more time pressure. This may matter in subjects that need a lot of reading, such as English Language and Literature in English.

Accessible assessment and materials. Mathematics and science content is often visual, so candidates depend on braille codes for numbers and symbols and on tactile graphics for diagrams and graphs. Rosenblum and Herzberg (2015) asked 12 students in grades 6 to 12 about tactile graphics and braille materials in mathematics and science classes. Nearly all received braille materials, but the students said they sometimes lacked materials at the same time as their classmates, and their accuracy in reading tactile graphics varied. Herzberg and Rosenblum (2014) examined how mathematics materials are prepared in braille and how accurate they are, which shows that converting print mathematics into braille is a skilled task. Research from Zambia shows that approved accommodations can still fall short. Ndume (2022) interviewed 22 people, including learners, school leavers, teachers, and examination officials. Candidates wrote in braille or enlarged print and received extra time, but the extra time was not enough, and their scripts were marked like everyone else's. The study recommended a special marking centre to deal with the problem of missing results.

Teacher preparation. Rule et al. (2011) found that when teachers used adaptive materials in secondary science and mathematics classes, students with visual impairments could be as successful and engaged as other students. This suggests that poor results are not unavoidable. They depend on the quality and steadiness of the support provided. In Cameroon, Shey (2018) studied students with disabilities in the Special Education Programme at the University of Buea. They reported gains from inclusive education but named the scarcity of human and material resources as a barrier, and they asked for workshops and seminars to prepare university teachers. Tani and Nformi (2016) studied secondary school students with physical disabilities in the South West Region and recommended in-service training on inclusive methods. Neither study focused on visual impairment, but their concerns about resources and teacher preparation are relevant here.

Policy implementation. Studies from the wider region show a gap between policy and practice. The Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) set the expectation that children with disabilities should learn in ordinary schools. In their review of sub-Saharan Africa, Le Fanu et al. (2022) concluded that children with visual impairment are often denied the inclusive education that the CRPD promises. In Cameroon, Cockburn et al. (2017) reviewed 22 documents and found growing attention to inclusive education but

also found that many children with disabilities could not yet claim their rights. Tchombe et al. (2012) pointed to the lack of a specific policy on inclusive education and to the shortage of resources. Some practical steps have been taken in examinations. The Cameroon Baptist Convention (CBC) Health Services has worked with the GCE Board since 2011, and in 2021 the two renewed an agreement to provide reasonable accommodation for all candidates with impairments in end-of-course examinations (CBC Health Services, 2021). CBC Health Services reports that it supplied braille machines and embossers and that the Board created special inclusive examination centres (CBC Health Services, 2023; Nde, 2024). These sources do not show how accommodations work in each subject. For example, they do not show whether graphs are given as tactile diagrams or whether candidates may use screen readers or talking calculators.

The four themes are linked. Braille skill depends on early and steady teaching, which depends on trained teachers, and trained teachers depend on policies that are funded and enforced. Accessible examination papers add little if candidates have not learned the braille codes used in them, and good teaching adds little if papers or marking are not accessible. Because these links run through the whole system, a low result in one subject can have several possible sources. This is why the present study treats subject-level rates as signs of where barriers may lie, and not as proof of their cause.

Research Gap

Taken together, the literature points to braille skill, accessible materials, trained teachers, and enforced policy as likely influences on results. I did not find any study that followed subject-level results in a high-stakes examination over many years. This study fills that gap by analyzing eleven years of GCE O-Level data. It asks which subjects have low credit pass rates and how these rates have changed over time.

Methodology

Research Design

This study used a retrospective longitudinal design with secondary quantitative data. A retrospective design suited the study because the examination results already existed. The longitudinal side of the design, covering 2015 to 2025, allows trends, turning points, and the steadiness or instability of subject results to be seen over time.

Data Source and Population

The data were anonymized GCE O-Level results for candidates with visual impairment, provided by the Cameroon General Certificate of Education Board. They covered eleven examination sessions, from 2015 to 2025. Each record gave the examination year (session), an anonymized candidate code, the subject code and name, the grade awarded, and the matching point value. The population was all subject entries by candidates listed in the Board's special needs register as having visual impairment. Because the study used the whole population and not a sample, no sampling was needed. All valid subject entries in the period were included.

Measures

The main variable was the credit pass rate for each subject in each year. A credit pass was any grade of A, B, or C. This is the usual grade range for a credit in the GCE O-Level and the range most often needed for further study. All other grades were counted as fails. These were D, E, U (ungraded), X (absent or cancelled), and the symbol # (irregular entry). This rule fits the aim of finding subjects in which candidates show strong mastery.

The other variables were examination year and subject name. I standardized subject names to fix differences in capital letters and spacing. For example, "Food And Nutrition" was recoded as "Food and Nutrition." Only one entry for Additional Mathematics appeared, in 2021. I kept it in the data but did not interpret it separately.

Data Analysis

I cleaned and analyzed the data using Python (Pandas library). For each subject and year, I calculated the total number of entries and the number of entries awarded A, B, or C. The credit pass rate was then worked out as follows:

Credit Pass Rate (%) = (Number of Credit Passes ÷ Total Number of Entries) × 100

I tabulated the rates and drew them as line graphs, with examination year on the horizontal axis and credit pass rate on the vertical axis. Because 18 lines in one graph were hard to read, I grouped subjects into three figures. I used descriptive statistics, including pooled rates, ranges, and year-to-year changes. I did not use tests of statistical significance, because the data covered all special-needs entries and not a sample, and the aim was to describe and interpret, not to predict or to show cause.

Ethical Considerations

The study used fully anonymized secondary data supplied by the examination board. I had no access to candidate names, school names, or any other personal details. The data were grouped by subject, and no individual could be identified, so the risk to confidentiality was very low. I told the data provider about the aims of the research, and I used the data only for the purposes set out in the research procedures.

Limitations

The study has several limits. First, the data did not say how severe the visual impairment was, what caused it, what type of school the candidate attended (special or mainstream), or what accommodations the candidate received in class and in the examination. This is the most important limit, because it means the study can describe differences between subjects but cannot test why they occur. Second, in some years a subject had very few entries, so one or two candidates could change the rate a great deal. Third, the data counted entries and not individual candidates. A candidate who sat several subjects produced several records, so the unit of analysis is the subject entry and not the candidate. Fourth, the data had no results for candidates without visual impairment, so no comparison with them is possible. Finally, I could not control for changes in curriculum content, examination difficulty, or grading standards during the eleven years.

Results

The analysis covered 1,524 subject entries across the eleven years. Of these, 622 (40.8%) earned a credit pass. Pooled over the whole period, Food and Nutrition had the highest rate (76.9%), but it had only 13 entries. Among subjects with many entries, Commerce (68.5% of 108 entries) and Logic (68.2% of 44 entries) were highest, followed by History (49.3%), Economics (49.1%), Literature in English (46.8%), English Language (46.2%), Citizenship Education (45.1%), and Religious Studies (41.8%). French (28.7%), Geography (26.4%), and Mathematics (12.9%) were lowest. Among the subjects with few entries, the pooled rates were 34.8% for Biology, 33.3% for Physics, 20.7% for Computer Science, 18.8% for Chemistry, and 14.3% for Human Biology. The single Additional Mathematics entry was not a credit pass. Figures 1 to 3 show the yearly rates for each group of subjects.

The number of entries and the overall rate both changed over the period. Entries fell from 106 in 2015 to 40 in 2017, then rose to 239 in 2023 and stood at 200 in 2025. The overall credit pass rate was lowest in 2016 (16.1%) and 2017 (12.5%) and highest in 2023 and 2024 (53.6% in each year), before falling to 38.0% in 2025. Across Mathematics and the three language subjects, the combined rate rose from 4.5% in 2016 to 47.0% in 2023 and was 29.6% in 2025.

Mathematics and Language Subjects

Figure 1 shows Mathematics and the three language subjects. Mathematics had a credit pass rate of 0% in every session from 2015 to 2021, so none of the 87 entries earned an A, B, or C. The rate rose to 42.1% in 2022 (8 of 19 entries) and then ranged from 19.2% to 23.5%. English Language was low in 2015 and 2016 (10.5% and 15.4%) and 0% in 2017 (four entries). It then ranged from 30.4% to 69.0%, with its lowest recent value in 2025. Literature in English ranged from 40.0% to 63.2% from 2020 to 2025. French never passed 50.0%, had no credit passes in 2016 and 2017, and ranged from 19.0% to 47.1% from 2020 to 2025.

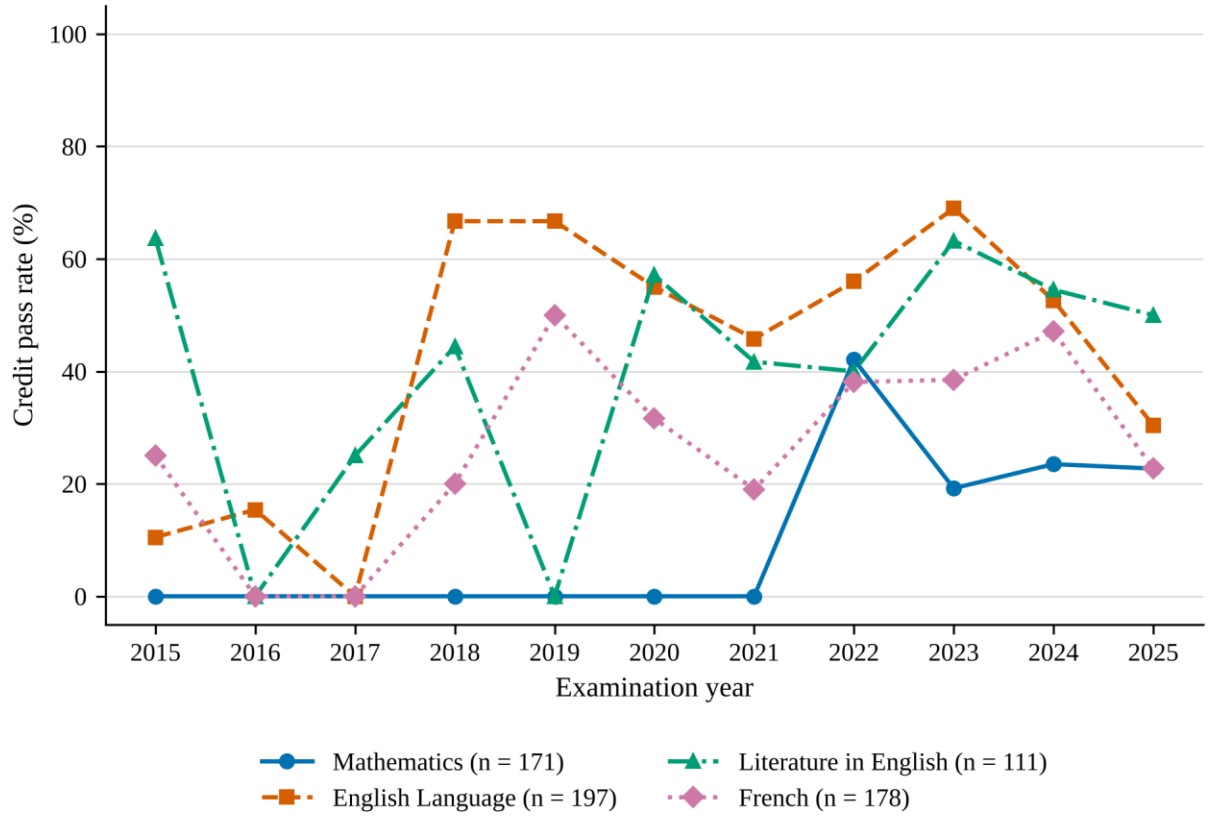


Figure 1. Credit Pass Rates (Grades A–C) in Mathematics and Language Subjects, 2015–2025. *Note.* n = total entries, 2015–2025. A credit pass is grade A, B, or C. Data are from anonymized GCE O-Level results of candidates with visual impairment.

Humanities, Social Sciences, and Commerce

Figure 2 shows the yearly rates for the humanities and social sciences (panel a) and for Commerce, Economics, and Logic (panel b). In panel (a), all four subjects had a very low or zero rate in 2016 and 2017, except History in 2017 (50.0%). From 2022 to 2025, History ranged from 25.0% to 75.0%, Citizenship Education from 47.6% to 66.7%, and Religious Studies from 30.0% to 60.0%. Geography ranged from 0% to 63.6% and was at or below 33.3% in most years. In panel (b), Commerce had a rate of 60% or more in eight of the eleven years, with a low of 25.0% in 2019. Economics ranged from 12.5% (2019) to 58.3% (2015) and stayed between 38.9% and 57.1% from 2020 to 2025. Logic was not offered in 2015 and 2019 and had two to eight entries a year; its rate was 50.0% or higher in every year except 2017.

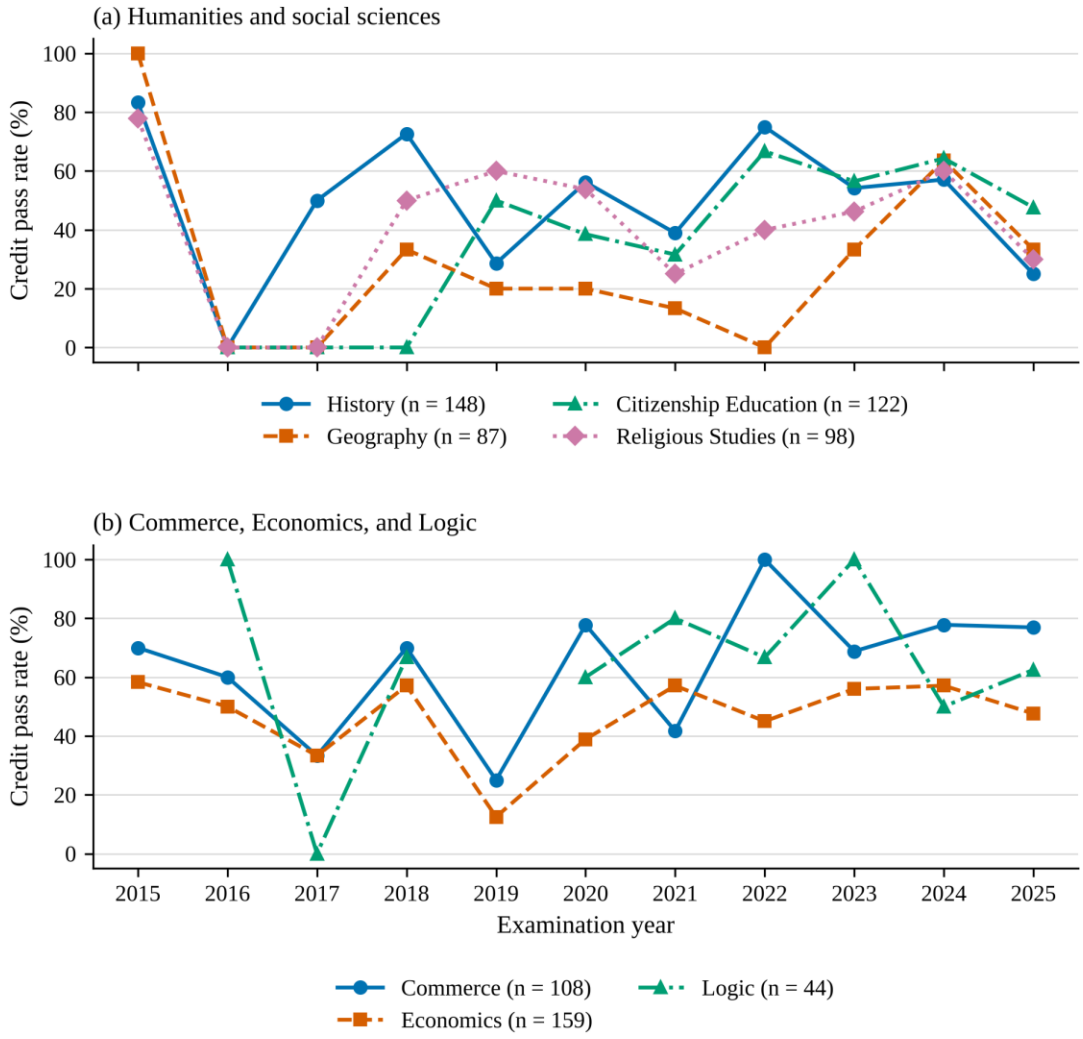


Figure 2. Credit Pass Rates (Grades A–C) in Humanities, Social Science, and Commerce Subjects, 2015–2025. *Note.* n = total entries, 2015–2025. Logic had no entries in 2015 and 2019, and Citizenship Education had none in 2015.

Natural Sciences and Other Subjects with Few Entries

Figure 3 shows subjects with one to six entries in most years. Biology had no credit passes from 2016 to 2021, then 25.0% in 2022 and 66.7% in 2023. It reached 100% in 2024 (three entries) and fell to 0% in 2025 (one entry). Chemistry and Physics first appeared in 2020, and each had one to five entries a year, so their rates moved between 0% and 100%. Human Biology had a credit pass in only one of its five sessions, in 2024. Computer Science had no credit passes through 2022 and then 60.0% in 2023 and 33.3% in both 2024 and 2025. Food and Nutrition had one or two entries a year from 2019, with rates of 100%, 50%, or 0%.

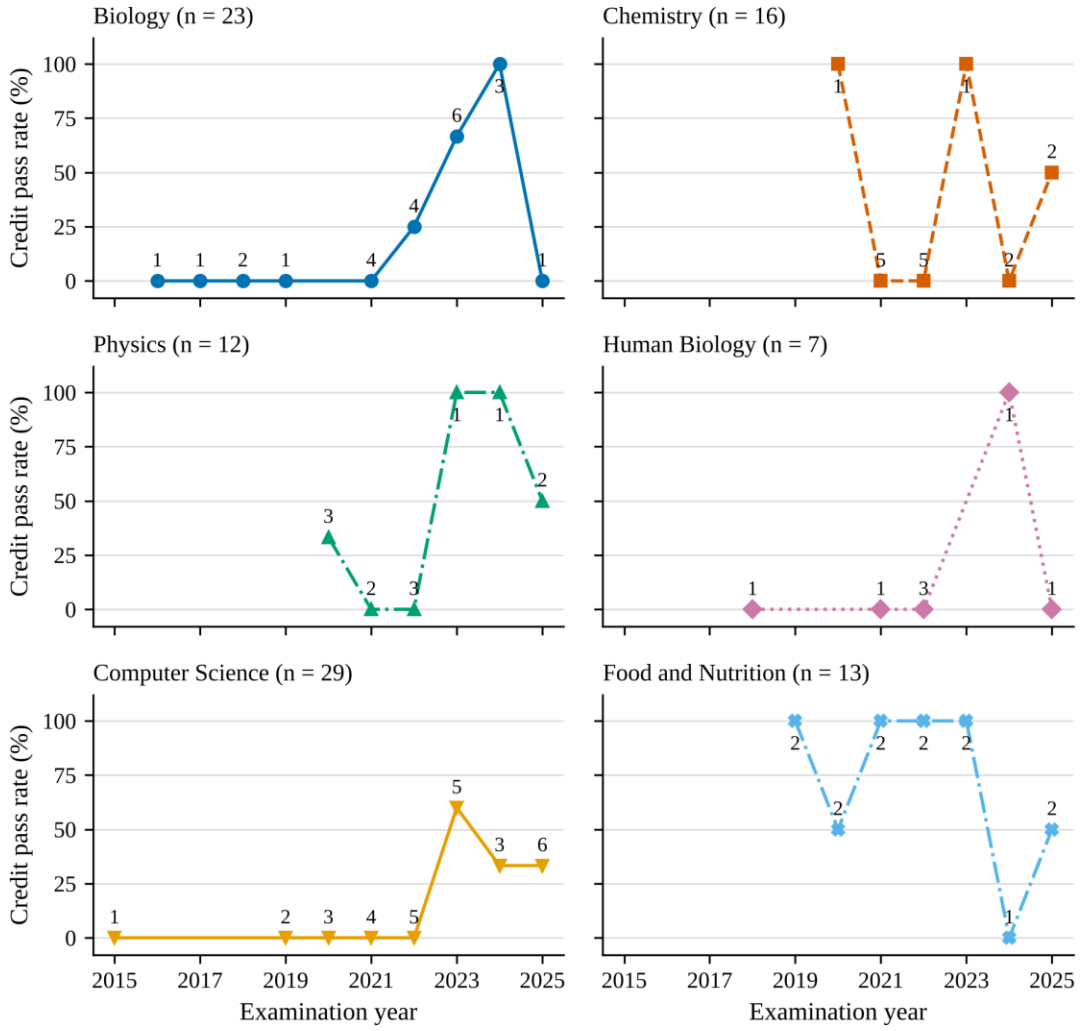


Figure 3. Credit Pass Rates (Grades A–C) in Natural Science and Other Subjects with Few Entries, 2015–2025.

Note. Numbers beside points show the number of entries that year. Years with no entries are blank. Additional Mathematics (one entry in 2021, no credit pass) is not shown.

Discussion

The performance of candidates with visual impairment in the Cameroon GCE O-Level depends strongly on the subject. There is no single pattern of success or failure. Some subjects had relatively high credit pass rates, and others had persistently low ones. The explanations below are interpretations. The dataset has no information on teaching, braille skill, or accommodations, so none of them could be tested.

Two features of the time trend need comment. First, results in 2016 and 2017 were very poor in almost every subject, but these sessions also had the fewest entries, so a handful of candidates may explain them. Second, the overall rate was higher from 2022 to 2024 than in earlier years. This coincides with the larger numbers of entries and with the CBC Health Services partnership with the GCE Board, which was renewed in 2021 (CBC Health Services, 2021). The data cannot show that the partnership caused the rise, and the fall in 2025 shows that gains were not secure. A study that links results to the accommodations each candidate received would be needed to test this.

Mathematics and the Natural Sciences

The most striking result is the absence of any credit pass in Mathematics for seven consecutive sessions. This is consistent with the Kenyan finding that mathematics results are linked to mathematics braille skill (Okumu et al., 2021). Mathematics braille has its own codes for numbers, operators, fractions, and geometric figures. If candidates meet these codes late, or if teachers have not been trained to teach them, mathematical thinking becomes tangled up with the work of decoding. The Kenyan studies and the Cameroon results point in the same direction, but the Kenyan samples were small and drawn from special schools, so the comparison is only suggestive. The rise after 2021 is encouraging, although the rate is still low. The data cannot show whether it reflects better support, a different group of candidates, or chance.

The natural sciences are harder to judge because each rate rests on one to six entries. The peaks of 100% should not be read as improvements. They may reflect one or two well-supported candidates in years when good resources happened to be available. Rule et al. (2011) found that students with visual impairments can do as well as others in science and mathematics when adaptive materials are used. The unstable Cameroon results are consistent with materials that are available sometimes but not guaranteed, although other explanations, such as differences between the few candidates each year, are equally possible.

From a UDL point of view, STEM subjects may create barriers because they rely on visual and spatial representations, including graphs, molecular diagrams, geometric proofs, and circuit drawings. If these are not routinely turned into tactile or audio forms, candidates cannot show what they know (Rosenblum & Herzberg, 2015). The social model would place the problem not in the candidate's eyes but in the way the system is arranged, including the supply of tactile graphics, the training of science teachers in non-visual teaching, and the extra time given for complex symbols.

The pattern across subjects also bears on the two frameworks. If disability arises from barriers in the system, as the social model holds, then candidates facing the same system should do worse in the subjects where the system builds more barriers. The wide gap between text-based subjects and symbol-based subjects fits this expectation. Under UDL, the remedy is to offer more than one way to present questions and to answer them, for example by giving tactile or audio versions of diagrams and allowing spoken or typed answers. The data do not show which of these options would help most, which makes them a useful target for trials.

Language and Literacy: English, Literature, and French

English Language and Literature in English did much better than Mathematics and French, but their results still moved a great deal from year to year. This may depend on factors that change from session to session, such as the quality of braille teaching in the lower secondary years, the availability of past papers in braille, or whether a reader or scribe is available in the examination. Literature in English may have held up better because close reading, discussion of themes, and essay writing rely less on graphics, although long reading is slower in braille (Wanja et al., 2021).

French may be a particular concern. Braille materials in French may be harder to find than those in English, and second-language learning may be poorly supported. French is an official language in Cameroon, and candidates in the English-speaking subsystem may not be systematically taught the French braille code. If so, they must learn a second language and an unfamiliar braille code at once. This is a hypothesis for future research, since no source I found documents French braille provision in Cameroon.

Humanities and Social Sciences

History, Citizenship Education, and Religious Studies are mostly text-based, and their pooled rates fell in the middle of the range. Their yearly swings were still large, which may again reflect small and changing cohorts. Geography was lower than the other humanities subjects. A possible reason is that Geography relies on maps, diagrams, and spatial data, which need tactile maps and careful description to be accessible. This reasoning is similar to that for STEM subjects, and it fits the low rate, but no source I found reports on tactile map provision in Cameroonian examinations. Citizenship Education showed the steadiest rise after its first sessions. Whether this reflects better teaching, more candidates, or a change in the subject cannot be told from the data.

Commerce, Economics, and Logic

The fairly strong results in Commerce and Logic deserve a closer look. Both subjects are heavy on text and ideas and need little work with diagrams, graphs, or laboratory equipment. Commerce can be taught and tested through braille text and number tables, which are simpler than algebra or geometry notation. Logic stresses argument and critical thinking and is almost entirely language based. These subjects may therefore suit the strengths of braille and listening. Economics is similar in content, yet its results were lower, which shows that a text-based subject does not guarantee high rates.

This does not mean that candidates with visual impairment should be steered away from STEM and toward Commerce. The results suggest a different lesson. When the content of a subject works well through touch and hearing, and when materials are available in accessible formats, candidates with visual impairment can do well.

Alternative Explanations and Cautions

Several other explanations could account for the differences between subjects. Candidates may choose or be advised to enter subjects in which they feel prepared, so entry numbers may reflect selection. Subjects such as Commerce may be taught in schools with more resources. Cohorts differ in size and in the severity of impairment, and the data had no information on either. Differences in how hard each subject paper is for all candidates could also play a part. Without results for candidates who can see, I cannot say whether these gaps are larger than those found in the whole candidate population. Years in which only a few candidates sat a subject, such as 2016 and 2017, produced extreme rates that should not be read as trends.

Assessment Accommodations and Marking

The differences between subjects may also reflect how unevenly accommodations are applied. Cameroon has made progress through the partnership between the GCE Board and CBC Health Services (CBC Health Services, 2021, 2023). What the public record does not show is whether a Mathematics candidate can always count on a working braille writer, or whether a Biology candidate has a reader, scribe, or screen reader for questions based on diagrams. Extra time is one example. Ndume (2022) found that extra time was given in Zambia but was not enough, and Tani and Nformi (2016) reported that students with physical disabilities in Cameroon also had too little time in practicals and examinations. Extra time may matter most in subjects with long texts or complex symbols, so one

general time allowance may not suit every subject. Marking is another under-studied issue. When braille answers in mathematics or science are changed into print for marking, mistakes can occur if the transcriber does not know the braille notation. Herzberg and Rosenblum (2014) studied accuracy in the opposite direction, from print to braille, but their work shows why accurate transcription matters. Ndume (2022) found no special marking steps in Zambia and suggested a marking centre. Cameroon could consider a similar arrangement.

Policy Implications and the Way Forward

The findings suggest four lessons for inclusive education in Cameroon. First, the Ministry of Secondary Education and the GCE Board should move beyond general accommodations, such as extra time and separate rooms, toward subject-specific accessibility standards. For Mathematics and the sciences, this means examination papers in an agreed braille code, tactile geometry kits, and talking calculators. For French, it means investing in French braille textbooks.

Second, teacher training should be strengthened, because the subjects with the lowest rates are those in which a teacher's skill in non-visual teaching is most needed. Rule et al. (2011) tie success in science and mathematics to teachers' use of adaptive materials, and Shey (2018) and Tani and Nformi (2016) called for workshops and in-service training. Third, data systems should be improved. If the Board recorded impairment type, school type, and accommodations in anonymous form, later studies could find which kinds of support lead to the best subject-level results. Finally, existing laws should be enforced and funded. Law No. 2010/002 promises adapted learning conditions but contains no examination rules, so the GCE Board could issue its own written standards for accommodation by subject. Cockburn et al. (2017) found no clear system to enforce Law No. 2010/002, and Tchombe et al. (2012) pointed to gaps in policy and resources.

Conclusion

This study analyzed GCE O-Level credit pass rates for candidates with visual impairment in Cameroon over eleven years, subject by subject. The results do not show one uniform level of performance. Commerce and Logic had relatively high rates, while Mathematics, French, and Geography had low ones. The natural sciences had too few entries to be judged firmly. Mathematics had no credit passes in any year from 2015 to 2021, and only about one entry in five earned a credit even after its recovery.

Results like these fall short of the aim of inclusive and equitable quality education set out in the CRPD and in Sustainable Development Goal 4 (United Nations, 2015).

My reading is that low rates in a subject may be linked to a mismatch between what the subject asks of the candidate and the ways in which candidates with visual impairment can reach knowledge. Where content is based on text and ideas, as in Commerce and Logic, braille readers can do well. Where it depends on graphs, symbols, or a second language, as in Mathematics and French, gaps in materials, teacher training, and examination support may be barriers. The data are consistent with this reading but cannot confirm it.

To address these patterns, Cameroon needs a subject-specific approach to inclusive education. The following steps are recommended: (a) set accessibility standards for examination materials, giving priority to tactile graphics for STEM subjects and to French braille resources; (b) expand the teaching of mathematics braille and train science teachers in non-visual methods; (c) arrange for markers and transcribers who know braille notation to handle braille scripts; (d) collect anonymous data on impairment and accommodations; and (e) enforce and fund national laws on inclusive education. Future research should examine the teaching that comes before the examination, using case studies of schools that do well and tests of specific accommodations. Studies that follow the same candidates across subjects, and that include candidates without visual impairment as a comparison group, would show whether the gaps found here are larger than those in the wider candidate population. Only through targeted action of this kind can the GCE O-Level become a bridge to further education and work for candidates with visual impairment.

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