To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Yvette Prinsloo Franklin entitled "*Escuela Nueva*: New Possibilities for Primary Schooling in Rural Uganda." I have examined the final paper copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Instructional Technology and Cultural Studies.

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(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

ESCUELA NUEVA: NEW POSSIBILITIES FOR PRIMARY SCHOOLING IN RURAL UGANDA

A Thesis
Presented for the
Masters of Science Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Yvette Prinsloo Franklin
August 2008

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DEDICATION

To my husband, friend, and personal philanthropist:

David Lea Franklin.

“I am my lover’s, and my lover is mine.”

Song of Solomon 6:3

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank all those who helped me complete my Master of Science degree in Cultural Studies of Education. I would like to thank Dr. Barbara Thayer-Bacon for being an exemplary teacher and supportive advisor. Thanks too to Dr. Diana Moyer and Dr. Allison Anders for giving of their valuable time. I am deeply grateful to Dr. Erin Krampetz, Global Program Director of *Escuela Nueva* International for giving of her time and expertise.

Lastly, I would like to thank David and Annelise Pierce, missionaries to the people of Bundibugyo, Uganda. Their dedication to the educational, economic, physical, and spiritual support of this community and its children is a testament to the gospel of love, hope, and peace of Jesus Christ.

ABSTRACT

This text explored the educational possibilities of the implementation of *Escuela Nueva*, a contemporary progressive educational school model developed in Latin America. The proposed primary school in rural Uganda creates a situation to evaluate the need for theoretical change, from traditional to progressive pedagogy; to assess power issues, such as role of the teacher; to assess the issues of social justice and promotion of social justice, such as access to quality education; and finally critical reflection on identity. This evaluation has attempted to express the need for a primary school that empowers its students with knowledge, develops a community of learners, and embraces democratic and progressive pedagogy. I have argued using a cultural studies focus applied to philosophical methods that despite the many complexities in issues of pedagogy, power, social justice, and identity, the ideal is a worthy one for the community.

PREFACE

In 2003 my husband and I met David and Annelise Pierce while both families were living in Annapolis, Maryland. We attended the same church; both had young children, and found a common affinity for the education of children. My husband, two young children, and I moved to Tennessee in the Spring of 2005 and I began the Cultural Studies of Education Masters Program at the University of Tennessee. David and Annelise and their two children during the same period joined World Harvest Mission and moved to Bundibugyo, Uganda, to transition into the leadership position at a secondary (high school equivalent) school. My position as a white African, an educator, and a Christian has led to a synthesizing of my interests in post-colonial education, especially that of Euro- western Missions sending agencies, and progressive education techniques in developing countries.

David, Annelise, and I have been in a dialogue via telephone, email, instant messaging, and a visit they in our home while in the States in September 2007 about starting a primary school. Being from Africa, although I have not yet visited Uganda, and as a teacher and cultural studies student, I hoped to assist them using the sensibilities of cultural studies and pedagogical innovations to extend the educational services offered by World Harvest Mission to the people of Bundibugyo. It is my fervent hope that this work will help David and Annelise and the World Harvest Mission team with their preparation for the new school. They are the audience to whom I write.

As this project has evolved I became aware of *Escuela Nueva* and was able to hear its founder, Vicki Colbert, speak at the University of Tennessee in 2007. At that point I felt that the *Escuela Nueva* model seemed to offer the sustainability and transformation that we had been hoping would form the core of the new primary school. Thus this thesis attempts to make the case for the utilization of *Escuela Nueva* and the need for *Escuela Nueva* International to modify their model so that it can be implemented on a small scale by organizations such as World Harvest Mission.

Many of the sources are the result of an on-going correspondence with David and Annelise Pierce in the field. Additionally many of the sources are websites such as the information about World Harvest and Christ School as no publications are available at present. Websites have also been heavily utilized due to the need for the most current information from organizations such as the Ugandan government, UNICEF, and news providers. I attempted to include primary source records from people in Bundibugyo and include the voices of African scholars, such as Albert Memmi, Franz Fanon, and Kwame Nkrumah.

I write this thesis very aware of my situatedness as white, privileged, and a colonizer. I have committed many of the performance errors I counsel against, such as assuming, generalizing, patronizing, and drawing on familiar Euro-western voices. But despite these failures I am driven by the idea that this uncomfortable, difficult, and flawed examination is necessary because schools will be built in Africa by non-Africans; Christians will want to share Christ and His message of hope and love. And schools and Christians alike will fall short of ex-

pectations. It is like the salvation I hold dear: there is a time of acknowledging I need Christ and want to serve Him. But no magic transformation occurs, except a desire is born to bring glory to Him. The fallibility remains, blunders are made, sins repeated, but there is a sense of being in a process of outworking of one's destiny and turning away from the things that keep us from being of the most use to Him. These ideas of redemption, forgiveness, and bringing glorify to God despite my weakness have motivated me to try to unpack some of the issues from my personal, professional, and philosophical perspective because starting the difficult conversation is better than not saying anything at all .

The presence of Euro-westerners requires attention because it is a foregone conclusion. But by starting this conversation I am trusting that by saying something, the outcome can be different than a perpetuation of Euro-western colorizations of African countries. An awareness of theoretical bodies of knowledge, albeit many developed in non-African contexts, such as multiculturalism, post colonialism, philosophy of education, etc. can help make Euro-western presence in Africa a cooperation not occupation through practical application of these theoretical bodies of knowledge. This use of theory for practical purposes offers a way to develop dialogue that is thoughtful, seeks authenticity, and embraces a desire to be conscious of those participating in the conversation; that the words of a popular contemporary Christian song will ring true: "Open the eyes of my heart Lord." It is my hope that, as Franz Fanon says, "(a)t the conclusion of this study, I want the world to recognize, with me, the open door of every consciousness."

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CHAPTER ONE

This thesis attempts to use the vehicle of cultural studies to navigate the creation of a transformative and sustainable new primary school in Bundibugyo, Uganda using an education model known as *Escuela Nueva* (EN).[1] This is a deeply personal project connecting me to the continent of my youth, Africa; to a social justice issue I feel passionate about, access to quality schooling; and to dear friends in a working partnership. There is in African cultural studies an emphasis on praxis and although I am a white African doing cultural studies in the United States, I feel drawn to this utilitarian and performative tendency.[2] Thus my work is going to be an intellectual *and* pragmatic endeavor.[3]

It is my hope this work will add to the voices of cultural studies scholars interested in pedagogy and the field of education, by looking at theoretical issues, issues of power, social justice issues, critical reflection on identity, and the concept of praxis in the context of attempting to implement the EN school model in Bundibugyo, Uganda. Philosophy offers a means to go beyond a case study of

[1] Bundibugyo is one of the poorest regions of Uganda with a population of 174,800 people. 32,831 of the population are under the age of five. The district is on the border of the volatile Democratic Republic of Congo and is cut off from the rest of Uganda due to it geographical location in the Western Rift Valley. "The district covers a total area of 2338 Square km. Of this area, open waters, swamps and Rivers cover 570 km2, while 1243 square km is covered by mountains, forests, national Parks (Semuliki and Mt. Ruwenzori) and Forest reserves. 145 square km is covered by game reserves and 380 square km is used for Agriculture. Bundibugyo has experienced instability due to rebel warfare but is currently stable. This rebel warfare and geographical isolation has retarded the development of the area (CIA, "The World Factbook: Uganda," http:www.cia.gov/library/ publications/the-world-factbook/print/ug.html, Accessed January 22, 2008.)

[2] Handel K. Wright, "Cultural Studies as Praxis: (Making) an Autobiographical Case," *Cultural Studies,* Vol. 17, 6 (2003), 805-822.

[3] Rosemary Mincey, "Characteristics of Cultural Studies" (lecture, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN, Spring 2007).

the current schooling context of Bundibugyo and of EN to make a normative argument for the way things *should* be for this community. The children of this rural community in a developing nation should have greater access to progressive educational approaches with a balance between government top-down reforms and organic adaptation of curriculum, materials, and pedagogy. This offers the hope of a schooling system that fosters the development of primary children who believe in their abilities, are ready to be engaged in civic behavior for the sake of community uplift, and are academically able to continue their schooling.

Theoretically I will be evaluating the pedagogical styles employed currently by the Ugandan public schools and comparing them to the pedagogy that EN reflects. I will be paying special attention to the work of Paulo Freire and Barbara Thayer-Bacon and their offerings to the concepts of collaborative learning and constructivist thinking that will shape the paradigm shift that will have to occur if EN is employed in the new primary school in Bundibugyo.[4]

In keeping with the spirit of cultural studies I will be looking at issues of power that the implementation of EN may bring to a fore, namely the role of the teacher in the traditional Ugandan school context as opposed to the coaching role of EN. Michel Foucault and Antonio Gramsci can offer some light on these power systems.[5] Barbara Arnstein and Thayer-Bacon address potential alter-

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[4] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, (New York: Continuum Books, 1993), 71-183.
---, *Pedagogy of Freedom*, (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1998), 2-6, 29-43, 49-62.
Barbara Thayer-Bacon, *Transforming Critical Thinking – Thinking Constructively*, (New York: Teachers College, 2000), 5, 160-172.

[5] Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punishment, The Birth of Prison (1977, reprint, New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 121-122; Foucault, Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other writings, 1972-1977 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 131. Quoted by Ronnie Casella, "What are we Doing When we are "Doing" Cultural Studies in Education – and Why?" *Educational Theory*,

nate teaching modalities to create the shift in power from authoritarian educator to collaborator and carer that would be needed if utilizing the EN model. Finally, Guy Senese troubles some of the power issues in the idea of community partnership in the school, with the idea of self-determination and the illusion of control.[6]

Access to schooling for girls and the poorest members of the community will form the focus of my reflection on the social justice issues presented by the creation of the new school. Additionally, critical reflection of identity will be discussed in terms of the idea of white privilege, the role of colonizer, and knowing oneself (drawing on the ideas of Jean-Paul Sartre, Ivan Illich, and Myles Horton) for those who desire to begin the new school and fund it.[7] This will be juxtaposed with the frank assessment of the decolonized through the work of Albert Memmi.[8] Finally, these theoretical topics will lead to a discussion of praxis and the pragmatic issues of the implementation of EN in Bundibugyo.

This work is the necessary reflection that my cultural studies background compels. It is the means to assess and critique the ideal of a school that transforms its students by giving them the tools to access and create knowledge, op-

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Vol.49, (Winter, 1999)113; Emory English Department, "Gramsci," http://www.english.emory.edu/Bahri/hegemony.html, Accessed March 5, 2008.

[6] Guy Senese, "Self-Determination and American Indian Education: An Illusion of Control," *Educational Theory*, Vol. 36, 2 (Spring 1986), 153-163.

[7] Jean-Paul Sartre, *Colonialism and Neocolonialism,* Translated by Azzedine Haddor, Steve Brewer and Terry McWilliams. (New York: Routledge, 2006); Ivan Illich, "To Hell with Good Intentions," An address by Monsignor Ivan Illich to the Conference on InterAmerican Student Projects (CIASP) in Cuernavaca, Mexico, on April 20, 1968; Myles Horton, *The Long Haul – An Autobiography*, (New York: Teachers College, 1998), 169-174, 193-197.

[8] Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, Translated by Howard Greenfield (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991); Memmi, *Decolonization and the Decolonized*, Translated by Robert Bononno, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).

portunities to experience a "community of learners", and the experience of what a democratic community can be like.[9] This analysis may bring to the fore troubling issues, but out of that I hope that I can still make the case that EN offers a hope of a sustainable schooling model that offers the community of Bundibugyo a collaboration that will be a relationship of mutuality not dominance, and not entrench the identities of the colonizer and the colonized.

THE NEED FOR THEORETICAL CHANGE

The Ugandan public schools are not meeting the needs of the people of Bundibugyo. Uganda is bordered by Tanzania, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, and Kenya, has survived its recent civil wars and has raised the standard of living in its central and western regions. With more than 24 million inhabitants, thirty-five percent of the population lives below the poverty line, the average life expectancy is low at 49 years, and infant mortality rates high at 138 deaths per 1000 children under five.[10] Rebels in the north of the country have caused 20 years of conflict that has left in its wake child soldiers, displacement, and human rights abuses. Unfortunately in remote areas such as Bun-

[9] Democracy in this sense refers not only to the political "but part of the fabric of society as a whole. When I use the word "democracy," it is not limited to political decision making, to voting. It is a philosophical concept meaning that people are really free and empowered to make collectively the decisions that affect their lives." Myles Horton, *The Long Haul – an Autobiography*, (New York: Teachers College Press, 1998), 169.

[10] Uganda Ministry of Education and Sports, "Executive Summary," http:// www .education.go.ug/, Accessed February 5, 2008. "Population census in Uganda is once every ten (10) years. Since 1911 when Uganda started taking population census, population growth has been on the increase with the highest growth rate (3.4%) experienced over the last 10 years (1991-2002). Population figures (in millions) during 1948, 1959, 1969, 1980, 1991, and 2002 were 5m, 6.5m, 9.5m, 12.6m, 16.7m, and 24.7m respectively."; World Health Organization, "Mortality Country Fact Sheet 2006," http:// www.who.int/whosis/ mort/profiles/mort_afro_uga_uganda.pdf, Accessed February 12, 2008.

dibugyo “remoteness, conflict, unfavourable agro-climatic conditions, the displacement of about a million people, and a lack of investment remain significantly poorer than the rest of the country.”[11] The country seeks to repel the effects of its poverty through education by the improvement of adult literacy and free primary and secondary schooling. Primary schooling and more recently the first two years of secondary schooling have been mandated to be provided universally. Due to this universalization many primary school children face class sizes of over 100 and teachers with limited training and resources.[12]

A 1989 commission appointed by the Ugandan government to evaluate the country’s schooling system recommended the afore mentioned free primary schooling, thus the policy of Universal Primary Education (UPE) was instituted.[13] Each family is entitled to “receive free education in government and government-aided primary schools” for up to four children.[14] School enrollment increased 70 percent in a single year with the introduction of UPE, overwhelming the public school system.[15] Added to which there are currently claims of corruption occurring in the state-run primary schools and government primary schools are closing as a result of questionable business dealings. A local journalist reports:

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[11] AllAfrica, “One in Three Below the Poverty Line,” http://www.uneca.org/era2003/ mediakit/one_iirin.htm, Accessed April 22, 2008.

[12] Education Action, “Uganda,” http://www.education-action.org/default.asp?pageRef=25, Accessed January 15, 2008.

[13] Fred Kirungi, “Uganda Tackling School Bottlenecks,” *Africa Recovery*, 14 no. 2 (July 2000), 20.

[14] Ibid., 20. This allotment of four must be viewed in the context that the average rural Ugandan woman has 7 children. The Alan Guttmacher Institute, “Reducing Unintended Pregnancy and Unsafe Abortion in Uganda,” http://www.guttmacher.org/pubs/rib/2005/03/08/rib1-05.pdf, Accessed April 8, 2008.

[15] Ibid., 20.

> The current mortality rate of government-owned primary schools in Kampala [capital of Uganda] will soon leave us paying only lip service to Universal Primary Education (UPE) in Kampala. Even before the storm kicked up by the offer of Shimoni Demonstration School land to Saudi investors, another, Nabagereka Primary school is on the line, this time sold by dubious "former registered proprietors". A private developer, who has allegedly bought school land, has given the school, one of the last UPE schools with over 350 pupils, notice to vacate the land by January 14 [2008]. Only Buganda Road Primary School, Nakivubo Blue and Nakasero Primary schools remain. But Nakasero is reportedly up for sale to an investor. This will leave the remaining two struggling with the overwhelming numbers of pupils, who are scampering for the few remaining schools, after their contemporaries in terms of traditional curricular are gone to ghost investors who never make use of the land.[16]

However, the Ugandan Ministry of Education disclosed in its 2006-2007 report that it had made a number of attempts to improve primary schooling. They introduced a thematic curriculum to the entire country and trained 13,926 head teachers and 28,333 primary teachers to teach it. The double shift teaching system was reemployed in 36 primary schools and the government was able to pay

[16] AllAfrica, “Uganda: Who Will Save UPE Schools in Kampala?,” http://allafrica.com/stories/200801100072.html, Accessed January 15, 2008.

all teachers their salaries (estimated by outside sources to be about $100 a month).[17]

The Ugandan school system has had relatively the same composition since the end of colonization in the 1960s.[18] It is based on the schooling model of British schools inherited during colonization.[19] Children begin school when they are about six and have to pass a Primary Leaving Examination to move on to the next stage of their schooling.[20] Seven years of primary school are followed by four years of lower secondary school and two years of upper secondary school. After which there are three to five years of tertiary education. Alternately after completing the seven year primary cycle students can take a three-year craft course in a technical school. However, there are fewer secondary schools than students so only approximately 40 percent of the primary school students go on to secondary school. If students do complete the lower secondary cycle they can either go on to upper secondary school, go to technical schools, or attend teacher and government training colleges. Those who complete the upper sec-

[17] All Africa, "Uganda – Why the Double Shift System Can't Work Here," http://allafrica .com/stories/200801311083.html, Accessed February 5, 2008. This is the controversial practice of splitting a single class into two groups of students taught by a single teacher. It offers a reduction of institutional expenses as it maximizes facility use, but there are many draw backs: reduction in instruction hours, reduced interaction with teachers, increase in female assaults during unsupervised shift changes, and the marginalizing of certain subject areas and negative impact on extra-curricular activities. Ministry of Education, "Sector Review 2006-2007 Executive Summary," http://www .education .go .ug/Review_TOR1.htm, Accessed January 15, 2008; Education Action, "Uganda," http://www.education-action.org/default.asp?pageRef=25**,** Accessed January 15, 2008**.**

[18] My Uganda, "Uganda – Education," http://www.myuganda.co.ug/edu/, Accessed January 15, 2008.

[19] Christ School Bundibugyo, "East African Education," http://www.christschoolbundibugyo .org/East%20African%20Education.html, Accessed January 11, 2008.

[20] Ibid.

ondary level can go to university or college.[21] Rural students are traditionally underserved.[22] For example in Bundibugyo District just the effect of the bad road leading into the remote area means that:

- Qualified teachers are not attracted to the district due to the bad roads thus a high number of unqualified teachers in schools.
- School inspection is difficult due to the bad roads. Therefore inspection programmes are not fulfilled as required.
- UNEB Exams are not delivered to the District. They are picked up from Kabarole. Therefore starting time is always late.
- Crops cannot be marketed outside the District and this affects parents in paying school fees for their children.[23]

School fees are paid despite Universal Primary Education in Uganda. Parents are expected to pay official fees and "unexpected costs" such as teachers' funerals or classroom construction. Studies show that in Uganda 48% of parents cited these expenses are the reason why primary school students drop out. Schooling, after food, is the largest household expense in Uganda. With the huge surge in the student quantities in schools during universalization of primary schooling the quality of education suffers and the troubling issue remains that

[21] See Appendix 0-1.
[22] My Uganda, "Uganda – Education," http://www.myuganda.co.ug/edu/, Accessed January 15, 2008.
[23] Bundibugyo District, "Education," http://www.bundibugyo.go.ug/overview/index.htm, Accessed February 4, 2008.

money is needed to expand enrollment *and* maintain quality. Additionally many of the better schools are private and charge fees.[24] The World Bank reports that

> After the introduction of UPE, household expenditure on primary education was expected to decline drastically as a result of parents or guardians not having to pay school fees and for instructional materials, or indeed for teachers' salaries. However, the Uganda DHS Household survey of 2001 found that more than half of all pupils in Government schools continue to pay for books and supplies (97 percent), school uniforms (79 percent) and for the school development fund (54 percent). In addition, richer parents are supporting about 10 percent of Uganda's primary-school-going population in private schools and there is evidence that these numbers are increasing. Preliminary results from analyzing the 2000 Household Survey Data suggests that having one additional household member enrolled in primary school is still associated with increased annual expenditure (on education) of USh 13,186, equivalent to US$8.2. Therefore, though the private expenditure as a proportion of total primary expenditure declined from 60% to about 25%, the absolute level of private expenditure still remains at about US$8 per primary child."[25]

[24] UNICEF, "Education: The price of school fees," http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.php-URL_ID=32571&URL_DO=DO_PRINTPAGE&URL_SECTION=201.html, Accessed February 25, 2008.
[25] World Bank, "Achieving EFA in Uganda: the Big Bang Approach," http://www1.worldbank.org/education/pdf/efa.case_uganda.pdf, Accessed February 27, 2008.

These expenses come out of an average annual family income of $100-$300 for rural families (although the average income per capital for Uganda is $1100[26]). In Bundibugyo the poor primary schooling of the community's children results in children being unqualified for good secondary schools and few students from the district perform well enough on examinations to qualify for university admission, which precludes them from most white-collar employment.[27]

Dr. Jennifer Myhre, a doctor who has lived with her physician husband and children in Bundibugyo for ten years, writes a daily blog entry reflecting on their lives in Uganda. Here is an excerpt from her blog. It reveals the frustration of the current school system in Uganda.

> Then on the way home I got a call with Luke's O Level results. He and five of his classmates received Division 1 scores, which is good news, and means CSB earned 6 of the district's 9 Division 1 passes even though they had only 10% of the district's students. And NO FAILURES, even though 11% of students in Bundibugyo failed. Reasonably good news for CSB. Since Luke is a few years younger than the average student and did not take all the classes others did, we should be very proud that he scored in the top 2% . . . But the good news was marginal when he heard his actual grades. Most were significantly worse than he had scored on practice tests, and certainly much worse than he expected. In one class he was particularly committed to and confident of (he had never made less than a

[26] CIA Factbook, "Uganda," https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ug.html, Accessed April 22, 2008.
[27] Christ School Bundibugyo, "East African Education," http://www.christschoolbundibugyo.org/East%20African%20Education.html, Accessed January 11, 2008.

> 1 in that subject) he earned a 5, even though post-exam he had gone over all his answers with others and was quite sure of his performance. So it was another example of frustration, of his perception of disconnect between work and outcome, of the inscrutability of the system. Another experience of being told "you're not nearly as good at this as you could be". Another reason to question the value of his education.[28]

Jennifer is expressing the disjoint between learning and achievement. The one-size-fits all curriculum lacks relevance and assessment is perceived as arbitrary.

Annelise Pierce, who has lived in Bundibugyo for over a year and who is (with her husband David Pierce) the initiator of the vision to create a new local primary school, comments on the current primary school situation in Bundibugyo:

> There are many many primary schools not only in Bundibugyo but in our local area of Nyahuka. I have heard statistics recently (from a Ugandan friend, informally) that there are 11 private primary schools operating in our "town" alone. There are two government run primary schools in our local area plus many more in outlying areas. The total for the district is quite high. The problem is less a lack of schools (though I think we are definitely still underserved in terms of capacity) but the quality of the schools.[29]

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[28] Jennifer Myhre, "The World Goes Not Well," www.paradoxuganda.blogspot.com, Accessed on February 4, 2008. "The O-level (Ordinary Level) is a subject-based qualification conferred as part of the General Certificate of Education (GCE). It was introduced as part of British educational reform in the 1950s alongside the more in-depth and academically rigorous A-level (Advanced Level). An O-Level is a qualification of its own right, but more often taken in preparation for an A-level syllabus." Wikipedia, "O-level," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/O-level, Accessed February 6, 2008.

[29] Annelise Pierce, personal email to Yvette P. Franklin, January 28, 2008.

The need for change in what is being done in Bundibugyo brought about my interest in the utilization of *Escuela Nueva* (EN).[30] The mission of the *Escuela Nueva* Foundation (ENF) is to "contribute to improving the quality, efficiency and sustainability of rural and urban basic education primarily in developing countries through dissemination of its model and private-public partnerships."[31] ENF was founded in 1987 by the creators of the EN model as a "non profit, nongovernmental organization."[32] EN was designed in Colombia in the latter part of the 1970s to provide primary schooling and improve "the quality and effectiveness of schools, especially those that follow a multi-grade system."[33] EN integrates curriculum, community, administration, and teacher training to provide "active, participatory and cooperative learning, a strong relationship between the school and the community, and a flexible promotion mechanism adapted to the lifestyle of the child."[34] By the end of the 1980s more than 18,000 rural public schools in Colombia had implemented EN, more or less successfully.[35] It has become one of the longest running schooling innovations of the now so-called developing world, formerly classified as "third world" that began as a grassroots movement. It has also been successfully used in urban contexts, amongst dis-

[30] See Appendix 0-2 for an explanation of name variations.
[31] *Escuela Nueva* brochure, 2007.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] *Escuela Nueva* brochure, 2007. Flexible promotion allows the child to advance from one grade to the next, while working at their own pace to complete academic units. This helps reduce high retention and dropout rates common to rural schools in developing countries.
[35] Some schools did not fare as well due to "a lack of communication and coordination at the national levels, teacher training days being cut, and learning guides not being delivered to schools that already had training." (Rachel Kline, "A Model for Improving Rural Schools: Escuela Nueva in Colombia and Guatemala," *Current Issues in Comparative Education",* Teachers College, Columbia University, 2 no. 2 (April, 2002), 170-181.)

placed populations, and is being implemented in fourteen countries in Latin America.[36]

THE NEED FOR ASSESSMENT OF POWER ISSUES

The second area in need of assessment is that of issues of power. This power needs to be evaluated for its productive and exploitative qualities. Teachers bear the burden of being in the position of authority in the current Ugandan schooling system, responsible for the teaching of hundreds of students while conversely, teacher authority has been used negatively to harm students, such as in the case of teacher rape of students. Dr. Jennifer Myher reports in her blog:

> My third task of the day was to take scathing letters to the headmaster of our local primary school, the District Education Officer (DEO), and the Chairman LC5, about the teacher who sexually abused my young neighbor N. She is improving, but a shell of herself. And I heard today that as schools started the man was not in jail but instead reporting back to teach!! I rarely am able to push this kind of advocacy this far, and even today I faltered, as convinced as I am that this situation is evil and must be fought. If I was intimidated, then I can see more clearly why so few of these cases get reported. The local school seemed to be in favor of "look the other way" and "what can we do." The District Education Officer was absent. But the Chairman LC5 at least said the right things, called it unac-

[36] *Escuela Nueva* brochure, 2007.

ceptable, asked others in his office “what if it was your daughter”, agreed that the man should lose his job at the very least, and called in an assistant DEO to affirm that. Then he sent me with this assistant DEO to the police station, where we moved from office to office trying to locate the proper file and number and person in charge. In the process we learned that another teacher, who is also a neighbor and friend, was briefly incarcerated in conjunction with aiding and abetting the abuser in the case, but had been released on bond that morning. At the end of the day I went to report all I’d done to the family, including her bed-ridden father and his elderly brother, and to make sure that her younger sister switches to a hopefully safer school.[37]

This power also is manifest in the form of being the authority in the classroom and this becomes a key concern in the education of teachers as their role in the classroom is different in the EN model, being that of facilitator. It is my understanding that adults have strong authoritarian roles in the Ugandan culture and importing of this model may or may not resonate with teachers and the community. It is thus vital that these issues are addressed to gain the support of teachers in their new role of power-sharing with students, if indeed the community is desirous of employing a different view of authority. This will need careful consideration as power-sharing is a key portion of the EN model and may not translate well into the Ugandan context.

[37] Jennifer Myhre, “The World Goes Not Well,” www.paradoxuganda.blogspot.com, Accessed on February 4, 2008.

If the model was to be employed, care theorists (Arnstine and Thayer-Bacon[38]) provide some insights into teacher preparation that supports the view of teachers as collaborators which I will elaborate on in Chapter Two. Additionally, power-sharing between the funding agency, World Harvest Mission, and the local community must be evaluated as to whether they will have an authentic role to play in the leadership of the school and will not truly be engaged in self-determination (Senese[39]). This positive power role for the Ugandan local teachers is necessary for the school to be sustainable in the long term. Power issues will be elaborated on in Chapter Three.

THE NEED FOR ASSESSMENT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE ISSUES

Social justice issues are problematic when viewing the Ugandan patriarchal culture from a Euro-western worldview. I would contend that even the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is based on norms not valued by all cultures and it is exceedingly difficult to assume a common grasp of what are presumed by some to be the rule for all. However, there are some issues that are worth troubling despite appreciation for cultural differences, such as safe access to quality schooling for girls. In primary school classrooms that often contain 100 – 150 students, older and/or taller girls are expected to act as babysitters. Girls often leave school around their P6 year when menses usually begins, the reasons for which are two-fold. Firstly, menstruating girls often do not have access

[38] Barbara Arnstine, "Rational and Caring Teachers: How Dispositional Aims Shape Teacher Preparation," *Philosophy of Education*, Vol. 92, 2, (Winter 1990), 6; Barbara Thayer-Bacon, "Caring and its Relationship to Critical Thinking," Educational Theory, Vol.43, 3 (Summer 1993), 333.
[39] Senese, *Self-Determination and Education*, 153-163.

to sanitary pads and are ridiculed if they soil their clothes. Secondarily, young girls that have begun menses are considered marriageable and parents often broker marriages to make money. Impoverished parents are often driven to the defilement of their daughters for monetary gain or they are raped by fellow students or teachers. Notwithstanding the huge risks of HIV/AIDS and/or pregnancy, this often leads to the young girls leaving school. Given the hierarchical nature of the schooling structure, girls seldom make it back into the school system.[40] When asked for her personal opinion why this abuse occurs, Annelise Pierce stated:

> Short answer: because they're allowed to be. Culturally it's "acceptable" because men rule women. Men are allowed to beat their wives and children. No one really views it as a good thing but yet no one would interfere. It's similar with defilement. Families are angry when it happens (by someone outside the family, often its incestuous) but they will usually accept a bribe from the perpetrator to not press charges. Even if charges are pressed public sympathy usually is on the side of the man who can generally bail himself out with a bribe to the police. Basically men are powerful and women are powerless. Interestingly, both men and women are promiscuous here, and tend to sleep around and cheat on marriages. Sex is a power item, a form of currency. Many girls (unfortunately, very likely including our own students) gain school fees by sleeping with an older man on breaks. You can tell these "wives" by their behavior; they become

[40] UNICEF, *Uganda Part 2*, www.youtube.com/watch?v=-0go_yjqtl0, Accessed January 22, 2008.

somewhat arrogant because even though they are trying to get ahead via education, culturally marriage and childbearing are still highest values for women, no matter how young. With teachers it is usually a case of bribery, coercion, fear, and intimidation. Most often girls are defiled by those older, such as freshman students being forced by our senior students (sometimes the age gap is large as some of our oldest students are 23, 24 while our youngest are 11, 12). It's unusual for a girl to be intimidated by a boy her own age.[41]

Access to schooling is not just an issue for girls; impoverished boys also struggle to get quality schooling.[42] What follows was written by Aguma Nicholas, a student who attended Christ School Bundibugyo (CSB), the local missionary secondary school, run by World Harvest Mission (WHM).[43] He had just completed his O-level exams after four years at CSB. This story was published in the school paper in November of 2006. Here is his story:

I was born in a poor Christian family of 12 people. During my studies in primary school, I was cracking stones and whenever I would fill a trip, I could expect some coins. I never had a dream of ever joining secondary school. My mother works only for something to fed us. When I was promoted to primary 7, I came to the market to buy a short trouser. I succeeded and bought the trouser for one thousand shillings (60 cents). After

[41] Annelise Pierce, personal email February 6, 2008.
[42] Quality education in this context means education that is student-focused and supports student learning through relevant curriculum, authentic assessment, and supportive school organization (flexible promotion, multi-grade classes, schedules that take into account agricultural and cultural community calendars to avoid absenteeism, etc.).
[43] See Appendix 0-3 for History and Function of World Harvest Mission in Bundibugyo, Uganda.

buying it, I heard rumours that there was a football (soccer) match going on at Kevin's school. I never knew its name... Christ School-Bundibugyo, neither did I know its location. "Hey, I am going at the match! Aren't you also going to watch?" A boy asked his friends as I was also listening to them from a distance. "Yes, let's go, I have my two hundred shillings (12 cents) here." The other one agreed. I was following them at a distance. I kept my eyes fixed. I could not have lost these boys for how could I find myself to the match? They slowly led me to a big gate that I had never seen before. I slowly moved towards the gate. I got two hundred shillings from my pocket. I entered the school and really I was green about everything I was seeing. "Hey, Yes! Today we are going to beat Bubandi by 10 goals!" Christ School students were bubbling English like nothing. If you never lived around this school, you could not tell that these girls were Babwesi (the local people). My mouth was wide open because of the way these girls talked. "Hey, you boy, why do you look so cowardly like that?" One of the girls asked me. What and how could I have responded to this girl? I never knew how to construct a sentence in English. I pretended not to have heard what she said, but the girl glued on me to an extent that I said, "Me is of the watching ball." Some of the people who were standing near started pointing their fingers at me, so I changed position. I went near the headmaster's house where these other different whites were watching the match. I looked at the headmaster's house and saw some of the wire

lines on top of it and I was thinking why are those wires there? Oh Lord, why can't I join this school also? This was my prayer.

This excerpt reveals the aspirations of many such local youth to attend CBS. However many of the children that make it to CBS, for example, are not the poorest of the poor. They are those that have parents and family members that can pay for their schooling, at its subsidized rate, are children of teachers, are from the emergent middle class, or are orphans that are awarded scholarships based on academic merit. This presumes that they have received an adequate primary schooling enough to pass the Primary Leaving Examination. Thus, schools like CSB are unable to meet the needs of those whose need is the direst. Schools have to work within the meritocracy created by the government sanctioned education policies.[44] Success is measured by test scores, but test scores do not reflect only academic ability, they reflect the teacher and students response to high stakes testing, the socio-economic and geographical standing of the student, and are influenced by the physical and mental health of the student. These social justice issues will be further addressed in Chapter Four using the work of Nel Noddings.[45] Additionally Chapter Four will address the need for critical reflection on identity.

Illich writes "to hell with good intentions [of people from developed countries coming to so-called developing nations]," Sartre describes well-meaning co-

[44] Meritocracy as described here is a system that continues to give opportunities and, accordingly, advantages to people based on their abilities which by definition should not be contingent on their wealth and/or status. But their abilities have been determined by access to quality schooling, which in turn is determined by wealth and/or status.
[45] Nel Noddings, "Excellence as a Guide to Educational Conversation," *Teachers College Record,* 94, no. 4 (1993), 730-743.

lonists, and Memmi charges many decolonized with dolorism.[46] It is essential that in the post-colonial context of a developing nation and the presence of a Euro-western, predominantly white organization, such as WHM (as the organizers of the potential primary school), that the process of beginning a new school start with careful self-analysis of identity. I wish to elaborate on identity in the sense the Kwame Nkrumah does in his work "Consciencism."[47] He claims that in every society "there can be found two strata which correspond to that of the oppressor and the oppressed, the exploiter and the exploited." To avoid the perpetuation of sycophantic partnerships that breed unhealthy dependence based on false perceptions of self and others it is imperative to look at one's individual perceived identity and the perceptions of others of your identity, in the strata Nkrumah describes. Peggy McIntosh, Albert Memmi, and Franz Fanon provide insight into understanding the privileges and/or difficulties associated with one's identity which will be further explored in Chapter Four.[48]

THE NEED FOR PRAXIS

I strongly believe in the case for conceptualizing cultural studies as social justice praxis and wish to avoid "academic valorization of theory...as privilege, prestigious and an end in itself, and hence understandably insular (divorced from

[46] Illich, lecture; Sartre, *Colonialism and Neocolonialism*, Memmi, *Colonizer and Colonized*, and Memmi, *Decolonization and Decolonized*.
[47] Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970).
[48] Peggy McIntosh, "White Privilage: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack," Excerpt from McIntosh 1988 Working Paper #189, published in *Peace and Freedom*, July/August 1989; reprinted in *Independent School*, Winter 1990.

practice and politics) and self-referential."[49] Praxis is challenging in the context of the creation of a primary school funded by Christian missionaries not driven by socio-political ideology, since social justice situated in cultural studies is usually associated with political action. Similarly, this school creation venture is not under the auspices of social activism. It is rather moral and humanitarian social justice praxis: for me, the uniting of theory, moral imperatives driven by spirituality, and a practical call to action. Consequently the motivation of the assisting agency, WHM, will be evaluated in Chapter Four. Finally, I will conclude my argument and make my recommendations in the spirit of praxis.

[49] Handel Wright and Karl Maton, "Cultural Studies and Education: From Birmingham Origin to Glacal Presence," *The Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies,* Vol. 26 (2004), 73-89.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL EXAMINATION OF PEDAGOGY IN RELATION TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ESCUELA NUEVA IN BUNDIBUGYO, UGANDA

I am seeking a school model that will help students learn *and* deal with the devastation of poverty, political violence, and disease. Traditional schooling practices with their focus on academics cannot alone deal with the extraordinary circumstances of these children. It is imperative that the school be more than a place of academics, it must also meet the cultural, emotional, spiritual, and physical needs of the students. Progressive education creates a forum to proactively address these circumstances while meeting academic goals.[50] However, my intent is not to set up a binary between the Ugandan school system as the employer of so-called traditional teaching methods and *Escuela Nueva* (EN) as the model of progressive schooling, distinct from other models. Analysis of both systems of schooling shows an and/both rather than an either/or in the current

[50] I mean progressive in this sense as a reform measure, not the historical or political movements of the same name.

climates of Ugandan public schools and EN when it comes to what is effective and what is not. The issues is more nuanced than simply extrapolating that the Ugandan public school system is "bad" and the EN model is the "good." There are instead pedagogical ideals *and* realities, generalizations *and* exceptions for both Ugandan schools and the EN schools.[51] The community of Bundibugyo will need a school that uniquely meets their needs and the EN may only form a part of a tool box of educational implements to meet their requirements. EN has many drawbacks and does not represent the silver bullet of educational reform for all rural areas, but can offer a theoretical starting point for the development of a tailor-made school.

Nonetheless, there are many commonalities between the problems that EN attempts to address and the problems faced by the Bundibugyo community, making EN a potential model for utilization by the new primary school in Uganda. However, this model needs to meet the unique needs and hopes of this community. The *ideals* of both systems are both arguably noble and will be elaborated on, however, the question remains: how to create a balance between top-down large scale reform and organic adaptation of schooling to meet the needs of the students and community of Bundibugyo?

Bundibugyo has many of the characteristics that initiated the development of EN in Colombia. Firstly, it too is a rural area, isolated by the Ruwenzori Mountains and a difficult single road passage into the district on a thoroughfare in dis-

[51] For my purposes I am refereeing to pedagogy as "the art or science of teaching; education; instructional methods." pedagogy. Dictionary.com. *Dictionary.com Unabridged (v 1.1)*. Random House, Inc. http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/pedagogy. Accessed February 26, 2008.

repair. “Bwamba Road is the only overland link between Bundibugyo, Uganda and the rest of the world. Ruts and rocks make the 75 miles a rugged 3-hour ride!”[52] Geographical isolation has resulted in marginalization. This is similar, in the North American context, to the isolation and consequent marginalization of the people of the Appalachian Mountains. People of these remote regions experiences are often similar to the exploitation, marginalization, and essentialization of post-colonial nations. These regions are accessed for natural resources, but are not developed by those that use their labor and land. Thus communities continue to have underdeveloped schooling and medical infrastructures. And when the land is no longer able to provide a substance living for these communities or war or economic downturns disrupt their lives, their suffering is immense due to lack of recourses. Unable to generate educational and economic uplift themselves due to the lack of infrastructure, displacement, or disease these communities distress is amplified and repeated generation after generation. Those who observe these marginalized groups tend to essentialize their predicament, citing clannishness, ignorance, laziness, or bad genes as the cause of their distress. A ‘tourist’ approach is often taken; lifestyles are perceived as quaint and cultural in the form of dialects, music, or crafts are consumed as oddities, not symptoms of the marginalization imposed by the dominant groups.[53] The cycle of poverty is more like a web, and as a student of cultural studies it is a

[52] World Harvest Mission Postcard.
[53] Rodger Cunningham, “Southern Appalachia Considered from a Postcolonial Perspective,” http://www.postcolonialweb.org/poldiscourse/cunningham1.html , Accessed April 22, 2008.

very troubling series of connections, some of which need to be broken and some of which need to be preserved. The geographical isolation has perhaps preserved elements of valuable cultural collateral from domination of other national and international blocs. However, it has allowed poverty, war, and disease to fester without the positive intervention of the prevailing groups – such as urban-based Ugandan government or substantial international aid.

Teachers are hard to recruit for rural Bundibugyo and often have had sub-par training, despite attempts by the Ugandan government to develop distance learning for teachers to improve teacher quality. United States Agency for International Development (USAID) does have a program in place in some Bundibugyo schools

> USAID, through UPHOLD, supported training between August 2004 and January 2005 for 60 primary schools in Bundibugyo District in Cooperative Learning methods for teachers and Education Management for Head Teachers and Deputy Head Teachers. Cooperative Learning methods help teachers manage large classrooms and facilitate participatory teaching and learning. The Education Management Strengthening Initiative (EMSI) is designed to improve leadership and managerial skills. District education officials and teachers welcomed the new approaches and skills and are making earnest efforts to improve children's quality of learning. To date, Coordinating Centre Tutors (CCTs) and the district education team

have provided regular follow-up of 50% of the schools and documented marked improvement in 30% of schools."[54]

However this is a reform that adds to the existing schooling structure rather than a complete reworking of the school system. It has been my personal experience as a public school teacher that the constant addition of reform in the form of pedagogical or curricular modifications is more overwhelming than helpful. It simply adds to the teacher's responsibilities without removing other practices. These reforms often follow trends that are implemented and then loose favor and are discontinued and replaced by the next series of reform alternatives. What is a more hopeful solution is not a layering of new reforms, but a complete restructuring of curriculum and pedagogical practices that cohesively work together towards schooling success.

This restructuring can be found in the ideology of the EN model that tries to reduce demands on teachers' time with amalgamated curriculum, materials, and pedagogical practices. However, this presumes a static model of education, that one single innovation can meet all needs and not morph during its application. This contradicts the natural evolution that was integral to the EN model in its inception. A balance needs to be struck between band-aid reforms and the organic adaptation of curriculum, materials, and pedagogy. The core educational approach needs to be sound and it is my opinion that this core should be a more

[54] International Education Solutions, "Education Development Center," http://ies.edc.org/ news/ fieldnotes.php?id=48, Accessed February 3, 2008. United States Agency for International Development is "an independent federal government agency that receives overall foreign policy guidance from the Secretary of State. It supports long-term and equitable economic growth and advances U.S. foreign policy objectives by supporting: economic growth, agriculture and trade; global health; and, democracy, conflict prevention and humanitarian assistance." www.usaid.gov, Accessed March 5, 2008.

progressive rather than educationally traditional in approach if the goal of education is to create children who believe in their abilities, are ready to be engaged in civic behavior for the sake of community uplift, and are academically able to advance themselves. It is through their schooling that students can learn how to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS, how to negotiate for the needs of their community without resorting to violence, and gain the training to be the teachers, doctors, and community leaders their area so desperately needs.

The issue of not overwhelming teachers with multiple reform measures while still developing quality schools is vital for teacher recruitment and retention. Teachers who come to Bundibugyo are either passing up better situations in less isolated communities or are perhaps not quality teachers who could not find employment elsewhere. Either case requires special attention to teacher training and support.

To translate these same issues to a developing country dealing with rampant diseases, such as HIV/AIDS and malaria; war; and extreme poverty, it makes the quest for quality teachers seem insurmountable. Teacher salaries are so small in Uganda that often teachers have to have other forms of employment. Teachers consequently, either from circumstances or lack of professionalism, are tardy or frequently absent. This creates a system of teachers constantly driven by the need for a living wage, lost to disease, and affected by the same issues associated with war, poverty, and illness as the members of their community. For the new school to succeed serious consideration will have to be made regarding the salaries, the on-going professional support, and the health needs of

teachers. Teacher educational theorist Linda Darling-Hammond asserts the best way to improve schools in the United States is to devote our energies to teacher education and the way teachers are recruited, supported, and compensated; this logic holds true for an African context.[55] The school will need to consider the cost of training and competitive salaries and accountability to give the EN model a chance to impact the community positively.

The students of Bundibugyo have similar issues with dropping out and repeating as was found in Colombia prior to EN. The Universal Public Education (UPE) program has a major challenge in that despite government intervention, the dropout numbers continue to increase (297,529 in 2000 to 343,204 in 2003). Additionally the Ugandan repetition rate was at an annual rate of 13 percent in Uganda in 2004.[56] This is a result of children needing to work; girls becoming mothers at young ages; disruptions due to wars, strikes, and diseases; and fees. UPE is only for the first four children in each family and the family cannot often afford to lose these providers and cannot afford the fees and uniforms. Children often do not meet the requirements to pass and are consequently retained. This is very troubling when at the secondary level a preteen girl might be in school with men ten years her senior. It also depletes school resources when students have to be provided with additional years of enrollment to complete their schooling.

[55] Patricia Kubow and Paul Fossum, *Comparitive Education*, (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, 2007), 222, 230.
[56] Uganda Ministry of Education and Sports, "Executive Summary," http://www.education.go.ug/, Accessed February 5, 2008.

The pedagogy found in the schools on Bundibugyo reflects a "traditional" approach, with the teacher passing on information to passive students sitting in rows.[57] This methodology may be driven by the large class sizes and lack of resources, such as desks; cultural preference; or it may be reflective of the former British schooling system. Juxtaposed to the education innovations that came out of the sixties in North American and Europe, with new focus' on application of skills and problem solving, these methods appear outdated and unacceptable. The Euro-western palate has become accustomed to viewing the learner as a protagonist in the process of acquiring knowledge and assuming a dialogical relationship between teacher and student. The teacher's role becomes one of stimulating interest and as a collaborator.

These approaches resonate with a Euro-westerner, and with the addition of South American scholars, such as Freire, have formed the basis of EN and its success in Latin America. What is disconcerting is the assumption that I as a philosopher have made that these "progressive advancements" should be universal. Are psychology, educational philosophy, and student-teacher relationships able to transcend cultural borders and should they? It can still be questioned in the United States if progressive education has improved the quality of public schools or not. The movement to return to a classical (read traditional) schooling is prevalent in many private schools in the United States and there are schools in Britain that continue to educate in the traditional style as they have

[57] Information based on primary source photographs of local Ugandan classrooms, antidotal reports from Annelise Pierce, and UNICEF video footage of schools with teacher interviews. MyUganda, "About Ugandan Education," http://www.myuganda.co.ug/edu/, Accessed April 22, 2008.

done for centuries. The hope remains that it will not be an either/or regarding model, but rather what is the best for the students of Bundibugyo.

Additionally, schools lack adequate materials, a similar dilemma faced by the Colombian schools, and the government reports that the number of children in the primary levels are often supersedes the amount of seating available and students have to thus sit on the floor.[58] The troubling question becomes whether low quality, quantity schooling is better than potentially higher quality, exclusionary schooling. How does one determine who has access when there are millions of students seeking schooling? The Ugandan government and other developing countries in similar situations are opting for some schooling is better than no schooling. It is the chicken and egg dilemma: one needs schooling to improve economically, one needs economic improvement to educate effectively.

The EN model was designed to not interrupt the students' cultural identity and to incorporate into the curriculum the particular context of the learners, as many of the rural students in Colombia were from distinct cultural groups.[59] Similarly the cultural identity of the people of Bundibugyo can be validated by their contributions to the curriculum, like what EN attempts to do in its Latin American contexts. However, this too is not as simple as it might seem. Validation of culture becomes a question of whose culture, what is good culture, and what aspects of culture retard development. Tribalism is the cause of much of

[58] Ministry of Education and Sports, "Fact Booklet," http://www.education.go.ug/ Fact _Booklet .htm#_Toc39914591, Accessed February 2, 2008.
[59] Vicky Colbert, Director of Escuela Nueva Foundation (ENF) in Bogotá, Lecture: *Educating Global Citizens: A Dialogue on Literacy and Social Entrepreneurship*, University of Tennessee Knoxville, November 2007.

the unrest on the African continent. The school leadership will have to carefully assess how to be inclusive, which will result in dealing with the difficulties of pluralism and multicultural education. The difficulties of affirming cultures, preserving cultural identities, while creating unity will be a challenge for the community and the school. Patriarchy, religion, tribalism are just some of the issues that will have to be addressed when it comes to incorporating culture into the school. Once again, the Euro-westerners such as myself, David and Annelise Pierce, and the assisting agency, WHM, will have to be very careful not to be patronizing of the culture and to negotiate a balance between African and Euro-western cultural ideals. We will need to be guided by the call to justice, mercy, and humility found within our faith and by international human rights standards.

EN methodology does attempt to simultaneously address the challenges of multiage classrooms, grade repetition and high drop-out rates, low-morale for teachers, and isolation from community life. EN has been proven to increase student levels of self-esteem, civic behavior, and academic accomplishment through the use of many of contemporary pedagogical advancements.[60] Despite the disconcerting issues that will have to be worked through, these outcomes are sources of great hope.

THE PEDAGOGY OF ESCUELA NUEVA

This school model was designed to provide a complete cycle of primary education with a focus on, “learning by doing, linking theory and practice, individ-

[60] The Schwab Foundation for Social Entrepreneurship, “Schwab Entrepreneurs, ”http://www .schwabfound.org/schwabentrepreneurs.htm?schwabid=660, Accessed January 4, 2008.

ual and group work, study and play, guidance and self-instruction".[61] The model was driven by a commitment to change customary teaching and learning practices. EN wished to make schooling relevant to students and their communities. These pedagogical aims remain, but implementation remains challenging.[62] EN offers the following services:

> *Community Involvement to Support Their Children's Learning*: Teachers are given a manual and taught practical suggestions of how to have the school and community reciprocally act as a learning resource for one another. Teachers organize activities to provide this two-way communication e.g. teachers visits children's homes and collect information about how to prepare monographs about the community which serve as the basis for resources and instruction – health services, employment profiles, business cultural practices; information is recorded about parents schedules to assist in preparing agricultural calendars; students interview community members to collect recipes and songs and craft practices; parents can help in building learning centers within classrooms.[63]

Additional issues of community involvement present themselves for evaluation. The positive aspects of community involvement are plentiful: children will feel

[61] Rosa M. Torres, "Alternatives in formal education: Colombia's Escuela Nueva Programme," *Prospects*, Vol. 22, No.4, (1992) 512- 520.
[62] This unpublished essay, which was written by Ian Leggett (a student at the Institute of Education in 2000-2001), http://www.ioe.ac.uk/multigrade/fulltext/fulltextLeggett.pdf, Accessed February 26, 2008.
[63] World Bank, "Case Studies: Escuela Nueva," http://www1. worldbank .org/ education/ est/ resouces/case%20studies/Columbia%20-%20Escuela%20%Nueva.doc, Accessed January 4, 2008 (primary reference: Rugh, A. and Bossert, H. (1998). "Escuela Nueva in Colombia" in *Involving Communities: Participation in the Delivery of Education Programs*. Washington DC: Creative Associates/USAID).

connected to their families instead of feeling that schooling is drawing them away from their family and cultural life; the health of the community can be gauged and supported with the data gathered; calendars can be arranged to maximize student attendance and provide families with labor during the seasons they need it most; and adult literacy can be fostered. The new school will have to address who in the Ugandan context will do the data collection (a mission intern, the white missionaries, or teachers) and how to engage the community so that the data will be forth coming. These initial interactions will also set the tone for community involvement and the person(s) doing the data retrieval will have to be an ambassador for the school. Safety for the data collector(s) and privacy issues for the community will have to be addressed. The language of retrieval will need to be determined and a way to maintain the data base will have to be decided. Translators and record keepers may be needed. Whether the school will be seen to be predominantly run by nationals or missionaries will have to be explored as these initial contacts will create an impression of where the power lies.

School Program: Escuela Nueva schools generally consist of one to three classrooms with one or two teachers who teach multigraded classes for the entire five year cycle. Often one of these rooms is used for a library (usually holding about 70-100 books including dictionaries, textbooks, encyclopedias, maps and posters), which serves as an additional learning material and reference center for students and, after hours, for the com-

> munity. Furnishings are simple but functional, and rooms typically decorated with a community map and lesson materials.[64]

Provision of the money for the school structure and materials will additionally symbolize a power-dynamic that will need to be addressed. There is a great responsibility for those that have the means, such as developed nations and their inhabitants, to provide for those that are in need. However, with provision of money come accountability, control, and voices to include in the project. This can be a great blessing, with wealth being shared and others being engaged in the uplift of a needy community. However, it will create a position of power for the mission organization that will assume responsibility for the school. Additionally, the schooling must be deemed to be of value to the community. It will have to be decided if that value should be reflected in monetary contributions. This is a controversial issue as dependence of donors can be a hindrance to self-sustaining practices. The issue of access becomes two-fold, donors provide access for the poorest of the poor, but consequently donors may want to have say in determining school practices.

> *Curriculum:* Materials used in the curriculum are designed to promote active learning – to teach children how to think, analyze, investigate, create and apply knowledge. Many of the materials are self-paced and the teacher is a facilitator/manager of the resources to enable learning. The teacher tends to spend most of her/his time teaching basic skills with the younger children, and older children work alone or in small groups using the self-instructional material in language, mathematics, natural sciences,

[64] Ibid.

> and social sciences. Student's schedules are flexible, but they must demonstrate mastery of the objectives before being promoted. Promotion to a higher grade may take less or more than a year. Teachers have their own guides which have been produced by the teachers themselves during training. Teaching materials are produced at the national level for cost reasons. [65]

The issue again is who will determine the curriculum. How much input should the missionaries have and how much should the community contribute? Will religion form some of the curriculum?[66] How much of the Ugandan public school curriculum should be included? Students will have to pass the primary school exit examination and so being ready for this examination will play a part in the curriculum. As troubling as these issues are, the positive aspects remain: student-centered education, self-paced instruction, and potential curricular relevance. The concept of community, student, and teacher involvement in curriculum could act as a counterweight to the problems of hidden curriculum and one-sizes-fits-all pedagogy. The lives of the students form the basis of the relevant curriculum that is created to take into account their daily lives and culture with flexible schedules and systems of promotion and evaluation. This enables children to avoid perpetual retention and makes EN a "value-added" model, as learning outcomes are improved, drop-out rates can be lowered, and more successful students emerge.[67]

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[65] Ibid.
[66] See Chapter Six for elaboration of this topic.
[67] *Escuela Nueva* brochure, 2007.

Teacher Training:

EN describes itself as offering technical assistance to the implementation of their model through development of the child-centered educational materials with the interactive, collaborative, and personalized teaching methods EN is renowned for. Teachers are more expensive to train but this training may offset staff attrition. EN offers to train teachers and community members in the model and evaluate the results of the models application. An essay reviewing the literature on EN reports that researcher Psacharopoulos described EN by its distinguishing features, "these include the form of the teaching provided, flexible promotion and the use of specially-designed instructional materials for both students and teachers, as well as the benefit of additional facilities such as study corners and a small library."[68] EN promotes the closer integration of the students, the school and the community by the use of a variety of devices (such as a student council) intended to promote civic skills and behaviors.[69] However the essay troubles the assumption that these characteristics are consistently found in all EN schools.[70] Some EN teachers continued to teach using methods associated with traditional pedagogies. The teacher's guides had been created to help teachers to assume their role as facilitators and oversee a multi-grade class, however, researched indicated that teachers we not uniformly using the guides.[71]

[68] This unpublished essay, which was written by Ian Leggett (a student at the Institute of Education in 2000-2001), http://www.ioe.ac.uk/multigrade/fulltext/ fulltextLeggett.pdf, Accessed February 26, 2008.
[69] Psacharopoulos, G., Rojas, C. and Velez, E. "Achievement Evaluation of Colombia's Escuela Nueva: Is Multigrade the answer?" *Comparative Education Review*, 37, No.3, (1993), 263 – 276.
[70] Leggett
[71] Ibid.

These inconsistencies reflect the problem of expanding EN. When the Colombian government decentralized education in the late 1990's, EN lost some of its efficacy. One of the original founders of EN, Vicki Colbert returned to head of EN "Back to the People" and is attempting to remedy the weaknesses of the model.

Escuela Nueva began as an organic, teacher-driven model, open to revision and improvement. As it was extended to include hundreds of schools EN has struggled to maintain the community-based component and teacher collaboration as it has transitioned from a grassroots, ground-up movement to a government, top-down, model. The key factor for the implementation of EN in Bundibugyo remains whether or not ENI has the resources to develop an EN model for small scale implementation.

These negatives notwithstanding, quantifiable results are: academic achievement, increased self-esteem, egalitarian behaviors, and "peaceful coexistence."[72] The model also adapts and incorporates issues such as health, nutrition, citizenship, gender equity, children's rights, etc. added to which it fosters a strong relationship between the school and its community. Kubow and Fossum draw on Darling-Hammond's work where she found that comparative education research indicates that "unlike the examination systems in other nations, state control over the design, administration, and evaluation of externally driven tests…occurs without the involvement of teachers (cited in Norman, 2000). This has led Darling-Hammond to conclude that school-community partnerships, as emphasized in higher-achieving countries, would help create a better account-

[72] *Escuela Nueva* brochure, 2007.

ability and assessment process…one built on "common understandings about what constitutes good work and how to achieve it' (Darling-Hammond cited in Norman, 2000, p.2)."[73] EN reflects in theory this opinion through its inclusion of parents into the functioning of the school (parents create classroom displays, community questionnaires are conducted by students, agricultural calendars are considered when planning school schedules, etc.).

[73] Patricia Kubow and Paul Fossum, *Comparative Education*, (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, 2007), 222, 230.

PEDAGOGICAL STYLES EMPLOYED IN UGANDAN SCHOOLS

Ugandan schools do often seem to show the features of the British nineteenth century schooling imposed during the colonial period. It can be said that prior to the 1960s, education was enveloped in a classical approach embracing individualism and intellectualism. Teaching was traditional and focused on academics. The main objective was to accumulate and replicate information. The emphasis was on content and exposure to content was in the hands of the teacher. Facts were emphasized and pedagogical positivism was embraced, emphasizing the observable through scientific research. The teacher was the communicator of knowledge and was to be respected as an authority in their field. The student was to be a receptor, receiving and assimilating information, relying on memory to prove successful retention of information.[74] This traditional approach can be seen in the Ugandan school system of the present day classroom interactions evidencing the teacher-student transmission role and the focus on the learning of a set body of knowledge or facts with examinations to test the accumulation of said information.

However, there are schools that have inherited this legacy but have managed to add to the traditional and rigid Ugandan schooling system some pedagogical advancement such as the hands-on learning and a holistic view of the students found at Christ School Bundibugyo, the secondary boarding school run by World Harvest Mission. Christ School was founded in Bundibugyo by Kevin

[74] Monografías, “Enfoque tradicional vs enfoque contemporáneo de la didáctica,” http://www.monografias.com/trabajos14/enfoq-didactica/enfoq-didactica.shtml, Accessed January 4, 2008.

Martovich, a graduate of Johns Hopkins University with a doctorate in Education from Duke University. A founding member of the faculty of the North Carolina School of Science and Mathematics (NCSSM) and the Talent Identification Program at Duke University, he co-authored three high school mathematics textbooks, and after seventeen years with NCSSM, moved to Uganda to start Christ School in 1997.[75] Bundibuygo was targeted by World Harvest Mission because of the low percentage of children that finish primary school, for the even lower percentage of students who pass the Primary Leaving Examination that makes them eligible for secondary school, and the low percentage of students that were receiving secondary schooling. Additionally, the district has very low literacy rates amongst its adult members and especially few women are literate.[76]

In 2007 David Pierce PhD, formerly an Assistant Professor of Electrical Engineering at the United States Naval Academy, joined the leadership staff of Christ School and transitioned into the headmaster position in 2008. With the baton being past from Martovich to Pierce, one of the goals Pierce brings is the desire to start a primary school in the district.

Christ School Bundibugyo, a boarding secondary school has undertaken to encourage their secondary students to become leaders "equipped to foster the transformation of their nation."[77] Pierce states, "For the first time, Bundibugyo is now sending students to university and those students are coming back to the

[75] World Harvest Missions, "Projects," www.whm.org, Accessed January 16, 2008.
[76] Christ School Bundibugyo, "East African Education," http://www.christschoolbundibugyo.org/East%20African%20Education.html, Accessed January 11, 2008.
[77] Christ School Bundibugyo, "Raising up Servant Leaders for Uganda's Future," http://www.christschoolbundibugyo.org/CSB%20home.html, Accessed January 12, 2008.

district to serve the poorest of the poor in Uganda." It has as its goal sustainability, but the majority of families whose children enroll in Christ School cannot afford school fees[78] that will cover the schools operating expenses, despite their being lower than other boarding schools in Uganda. Thus the school is subsidized by the support of interested partners, mostly donors from the United States of America.

Christ School believes that its students should have access to books, lab equipment, and other concrete tools for hands-on experiential learning. Additionally, the school has a holistic approach to their student's academic, physical, emotional, and spiritual development. Academically the school follows the Ugandan national curriculum which is driven by the need to prepare the students for their demanding O- and A-level national examinations which occur at the end of S4 and S6.[79] Classes run for approximately eight hours each day coupled with three hours of mandatory study each evening. Unfortunately, due to the shortage of textbooks much of class time is taken up with the transcribing of lecture notes by the students for study purposes outside of the classroom setting.

Christ School Bundibugyo hopes to give all of their student's opportunities to engage in physical activities such as football (soccer), volleyball, and cross country. Overcoming simple problems, such as sports bras for the girls so that they could comfortably compete and tackle ambitious projects, such as creating

[78] See discussion of fees in Chapter One.
[79] "The O-level (Ordinary Level) is a subject-based qualification conferred as part of the General Certificate of Education (GCE). It was introduced as part of British educational reform in the 1950s alongside the more in-depth and academically rigorous A-level (Advanced Level). An O-Level is a qualification of its own right, but more often taken in preparation for an A-level syllabus." Wikipedia, "O-level," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/O-level, Accessed February 6, 2008. See Appendix 0-1.

the running track, CSB has provided new opportunities for their students to excel individually and as a school. The school feels that through sports involvement the female students are able to develop healthy self-esteem about their bodies and have a stronger view of their value that leads to their being less likely to engage in sex for approval or out of submission.[80]

To meet the emotional needs of the students the school has clubs every Friday evening as a way to make a break from their rigorous studies and to expand their experiences. Due to their being in the contained environment of the boarding school their exposure to new things though the clubs is essential. The clubs are: Math, Scouting (they have an Ugandan teacher who is an eagle scout), Agriculture, Science, Storytelling, Prayer and Praise, "Straight Talk," Music and Dance, Strategy Games, Lovers of Literature, Newspaper/Journalism, Office Practice, Technology, and Arts and Crafts. It is the schools hope that these clubs will provide the students with a sense of community and connection with their fellow students and that through shared interests and learning relationship, validation, and connection are fostered. Studies show that involvement in extra-curricular activities do correlate with "higher levels of self-esteem, improved race relations, involvement in political/social activity in young adulthood, academic ability and grades, educational aspirations and attainments, feelings of

[80] Christ School Bundibugyo, "East African Education," http://www.christschoolbundibugyo.org/East%20African%20Education.html, Accessed January 11, 2008.

control over one's life, and lower delinquency rates."[81] Additionally this participation can predict "multiple positive outcomes such as attending college, voting in national and regional elections, and volunteering for community and religious organizations."[82]

To meet the spiritual needs of the students the school has weekly chapel meetings and small group meetings for the discussion of the chapel subject matter. These groups are times where teachers and some missionaries engage in discussions and dialog with the students. The groups are divided into male and female to ensure maximum involvement of each individual voice. The leaders of their groups probe for personal thoughts and insights and encourage students to share their opinions. Their goal is to aid students in the processing of what they hear spiritually and allow them to "move forward in their personal decisions about faith. We also hope to help our students think in a logical and faith-based way about the problems of their communities, districts and nation."[83]

However, on the whole the World Bank reports that

> Uganda's record with respect to improvements in teaching methods is somewhat less impressive. UPE was introduced almost overnight and, though it was obvious that the necessary quantitative inputs could not provide for adequate teaching improvements, GOU [Government of Uganda]

[81] Alyce Holland and Thomas Andre, **"**Participation in Extracurricular Activities in Secondary School: What Is Known, What Needs to Be Known?" *Review of Educational Research*, 57, No. 4 (Winter, 1987), 437-466.
[82] Jonathan F. Zaff, Kristin A. Moore, Angela Romano Papillo, and Stephanie Williams "Implications of Extracurricular Activity Participation During Adolescence on Positive Outcomes," *Journal of Adolescent Research*, No. 18, (Nov 2003), 599 - 630.
[83] Christ School Bundibugyo, "Raising up Servant Leaders for Uganda's Future," http://www.christschoolbundibugyo.org/CSB%20home.html, Accessed January 12, 2008.

> made no effort to provide for alternative teaching arrangements. Multi-grade teaching has been piloted for the past three years in two districts and evaluation of this work is the basis for a rollout in other districts. Moreover, there continues to be evidence of textbook underutilization by teachers in the classroom, in spite of the advantages that overworked teachers could derive from making better use of textbooks and reading materials.[84]

This report shows the need for multi-grade teaching, highlights the plight of overworked teachers, and the need to use teaching aids more effectively. These are some of the same issues EN tries to address in its approach. However the reality may lie somewhere between EN and the Ugandan schools described by the World Bank. Christ School Bundibugyo is perhaps an example of a transitional school model. It utilizes the Ugandan curriculum and assessments, but augments them with a holistic approach to their students development; attempts to hold higher standards for teacher professionalism and conduct towards students (especially girls); and through the use of hands on materials where possible. However what remains as concerns are whether role of colonizer/colonized are being enabled, whether Euro-western education and culture is being esteemed above indigenous education and culture, whether the meritocracy established during the British colonial period in the education system is being perpetu-

[84] World Bank, "Achieving EFA in Uganda: the Big Bang Approach," http://www1.worldbank. org/education/pdf/efa.case_uganda.pdf, Accessed February 26, 2008.

ated.[85] Again, the tension between band-aid reforms and a complete educative paradigm shift emerges.

PEDAGOGY OF COLLABORATION, CHILD-CENTEREDNESS, AND CONSTRUCTIVE THINKING

The works of educational theorists reveal the ideal of what the pedagogy in the new primary school in Bundibugyo might look like using the EN model. My experience of being educated in the former British colony of South Africa leads me to believe that the form of educative collaboration and the idea of constructive thinking found in EN will be the greatest adjustments that educators, community members, and students will have to make. I will be using the work of Freire to express the collaborative nature of the ideal pedagogy and the ideas of Thayer-Bacon's quilting bee metaphor will help bring into focus the ideal of a community thinking constructively.

Freire's landmark work, "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" described schooling in a radical new way. Freire challenged what he called the banking or transmission concept of schooling:

> This solution is not (nor can it be) found in the banking concept [teachers depositing information in their students]. On the contrary, banking education maintains and even stimulates the contradiction through the following attitudes and practices, which mirror oppressive society as a whole:

[85] See Chapter Five for extrapolation of post-colonial identity issues.

a. the teacher teaches and the students are taught;
b. the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing;
c. the teacher thinks and the students are thought about;
d. the teacher talks and the students listen -- meekly;
e. the teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined;
f. the teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply;
g. the teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher;
h. the teacher chooses the program content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it;
i. the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his or her own professional authority, which she and he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students;
j. the teacher is the Subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects.[86]

This rejection of the teacher as subject and students as objects is at the core of EN. The teacher in EN has a new role to play as a catalyst of learning - not a lecturer - who is part of a team of teachers who collaborate with each other, the communities they serve, and their students to bring relevance and develop egalitarian practices.[87] Collaboration is part of the fabric of EN as the curriculum is modified to incorporate the specific contexts of each community.

[86] Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* 71-183.
[87] *Escuela Nueva* brochure, 2007.

The model is based on an active and direct involvement of parents and community members to "share their cultural practices and knowledge."[88] Support networks are encouraged and EN attempts to help the community "appreciate and understand the daily routines of the school."[89] Administrators are to be collaborative not controlling or inflexible as they guide and develop positive attitudes amongst teachers. Additionally EN expects them to reach out into the community. Students engage in cooperative learning and are a participant in the democratic functioning's of the school. I believe Freire would applaud these efforts.

Freire's educational philosophy embraced the idea that education is what occurred between two learners in an ongoing dialogue, even though they might have different roles. He believed that both participants in the educational dialogue brought knowledge to the learning collaboration and that they should seek what the other brings and evaluates how they are affected by it.[90] It is with great hope that one imagines with Freire "a way of thinking that is dialogical and not polemical."[91] Could this be a kind of thinking seen in the cooperative learning and participation in democratic processes in the realization of EN in Bundibugyo?

As a white Euro-western female it seems that EN and the Freirian pedagogy offer the most positive educative environment. But what about the risk these educative models, both born of the struggles of Latin America, bring to the

[88] Ibid.
[89] *Escuela Nueva* brochure, 2007.
[90] Stanley Aronowitz, introduction to *Pedagogy of Freedom*, by Freire, Paulo (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1998), 8.
[91] Freire, *Pedagogy of Freedom*, 43.

erosion of the culture and practices of the culture of Bundibugyo in Africa? How does one protect the rights of girls, or even assume the rights of girls, in this context? What effect will the egalitarian nature of the adult-child relationships have on the structure of the family? Does *collaboration* look different in Africa?

Alternatively, the vision is that EN, *if* implemented true to what it desires to promote, could be a reflection of Freire's encouragement to educators to respect what students know, especially knowledge "socially constructed in communitarian praxis."[92] This could be restorative to culture; reclamation of what is unique to the community without the "dissemination of the 'Great Traditions' of what they call Western Civilization."[93] This leads to the work of Thayer-Bacon in another aspect of epistemology, critical thinking or in her visioning: constructive thinking.[94]

Thayer-Bacon's troubling of the mind-body dualism, which separates knowers from what is known, fuels the case for EN's incorporation of the contexts of the students and communities the school is created for.[95] She makes the case that binaries need to be cast aside for a new image of "knowers as embodied and embedded beings who are not unitary subjects…."[96] This adds another facet to Freire's dialogue – a dialogical discourse between the knower and what

[92] Ibid., 36.
[93] Ibid., 6.
[94] Thayer-Bacon, *Transforming Critical Thinking,* 160-172. Paul's definition of critical thinking (cited by Thayer-Bacon in *Transforming Critical Thinking*, 61) states: "Critical thinking is disciplined, self-directed thinking which exemplifies the perfections of thinking appropriate to a particular mode or domain of thinking."
[95] Ibid., 160.
[96] Ibid., 171.

is known.[97] This modality is particularly helpful when considering the context of the new primary school: a community marginalized by geography, poverty, and ethnicity. Thayer-Bacon's sensitivity to issues of power and cultural sway infuses the construction of knowledge with a means of being "wide-awake" about how knowledge is created and influenced by society.[98] Constructive thinking moves one beyond Euro-western critical thinking to the realization that there are other ways of acquiring knowledge. This is imperative if students are to be moved out of their rows and into small groups interacting with each other. Learning is not going to look like a correct answer on an exam any longer. Thus constructive thinking is compared to a quilt, as opposed to Rodin's "Thinker." This is an exciting prospect for a collective society. No longer does learning have to look like the colonizer's idea of education: the lone individual reading a book or listening to a lecture. Now EN's vision of cooperative learning becomes a model of the theory. As quilters working together on a quilt, learners are brought together into a community that learns together and from each other and from a variety of sources: reason, emotions, intuition and imagination.[99] The latter of these sources are usually associated with Africans in a disparaging way and placed below the more highly valued tool of learning for Euro-westerners: reason.[100]

The troubling issue is that as a white Euro-westerner, I am presuming that the African's of Bundibugyo want to throw off the individualistic, competitive, ra-

[97] Ibid., 171.
[98] William Pinar, *The Passionate Mind of Maxine Greene*, (New York: Routledge, 1998).
[99] Thayer-Bacon, *Transforming Critical Thinking*, 172.
[100] Ibid., 5.

tional model of what it is to be educated. Perhaps it is patronizing to assume that there is some romanticized by-gone era of collective tribal living that valued emotions, intuition, and imagination as tools to gain knowledge. These are questions I cannot answer. These are questions it is my hope can be answered by the community and WHM. These theories and their pedagogical implications are an ideal which may serve the community well through the modality of EN, but there are clearly many questions that will need to be addressed, some of which have been brought to light through these theories. Another of which is the issue of power, which will be discussed further in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER THREE

In making the case for the use of a model such as *Escuela Nueva* (EN) in the rural community of Bundibugyo on the edges of a developing nation, the logical argument goes as such: traditional education is being practiced; students are not being educated sufficiently (or at all in many cases); thus traditional education needs to be augmented to meet the needs. Students continue to face problems of an over-taxed school system and perpetual poverty, war, and disease. If the resources (teachers, small class sizes, materials) were available progressive education offers a means to provide the tools for knowledge, a community of learners to be a microcosm of the nation hoped for, and an experience of the democratic process in the school community. This democratic classroom based on community, teacher, and student input might have:

- Active participation
- Avoidance of textbook-dominated instruction
- Reflective thinking
- Discussion
- Student decision making and problem solving
- Individual responsibility
- Recognition of human dignity
- Relevance[101]

[101] Kubow, *Comparative Education*, 230.

These democratic characteristics offer students the means to be proactive in solving problems their community faces. However, the nature of these characteristics will fundamentally change the structure of the classroom, pedagogy, curriculum, and the role of the teacher.

The role of the teacher in a traditional Ugandan public school reveals a power dynamic present in Ugandan culture: authoritarianism. hooks states, "Authoritarian practices…undermine democratic education in the classroom."[102] With the proposed educational paradigm shift will come a need to develop an awareness of teachers perspectives of themselves and their role and the perspectives others have of their role. This will require a new way to educate teachers using care theory and critical thinking. Additionally the roles of those who will fund the school and their relationship with members of the community need to be evaluated. The roles of governmental and humanitarian institutions and the community in reform efforts need to be addressed too. Scholars such as Foucault and Gramsci[103] offer a theoretical means through which to evaluate these roles through their work on power and hegemony.

[102] hooks, *Pedagogy of Hope*, 43.
[103] Michel Foucault, "Two lectures," in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*, (New York: Pantheon, 1980), Antonio Gramsci, *An Antonio Gramsci Reader*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1988).

THEORETICAL EXAMINATION OF POWER IN RELATION TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ESCUELA NUEVA IN BUNDIBUGYO, UGANDA

Democratically sensitive reforms (such as those that focus on oppression and marginalization) are driven by the desire to empower students, teachers, and communities.[104] Implicit in empowerment is the coming to awareness of our being subject to forces of power influencing our consciousness and the practical realities of our daily existence. Foucault's notion of genealogy has been used by critical multiculturalists to reveal the shaping of our subjectivities.[105] Through being brought to an enlightenment of what is shaping us we can emancipate or empower ourselves.

Drawing on the work of critical multiculturalists such as Kincheloe and Steinberg state that power "is a fundamental constituent of human existence that works to shape the oppressive and the productive nature of the human condition."[106] Kincheloe and Steinberg assert that "power is embedded in the social framework of race, class, gender, occupations and everyday interaction and communication."[107] Echoed in Foucault, is inseparable from the social domain.[108] Fiske asserts that power, "is a systematic set of operations upon people that works to ensure the maintenance of the social order…and ensure smooth running."[109] This creates dominant and subordinate groups or individuals

[104] Joe L. Kincheloe and Shirley R. Steinberg, *Changing Multiculturalism*, (Buckingham, PA: Open University Press, 2002), 74-99.
[105] Michel Foucault, "Two lectures," in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*, (New York: Pantheon, 1980).
[106] Kincheloe and Steinberg, *Changing Multiculturalism*, 76.
[107] Ibid., 76.
[108] Foucault in Kincheloe and Steinberg, *Changing Multiculturalism*, 76.
[109] John Fiske, "Power Plays, Power Works," (New York: Verso, 1993), 11.

and establishes that we are all at one time or another in the role of empowered or disempowered.

It must be clear that all power is not oppressive; power can be productive.[110] Power framed in this way offers an interesting insight into the power relations that have socially been in place prior to colonization, although the obvious power dynamic for scrutiny is that of "colonizers" and the "colonized." Oppression needs to be unpacked beyond the scope of just colonization to include other forces at work, such as globalization, tribalism, and sexism. Oversimplified categorizing into dominant and subordinate groups creates a self-perpetuating, self-fulfilling prophecy. As a white, colonizer, I can am relegated to a role of oppressor, shamed into inaction because of fear of offending or perpetuating the former oppression. I cannot speak to the perception of a local Ugandan, but the role of victim can be as demeaning as it is an acknowledgement of injustices. My power is nuance and qualified by circumstances and shifting privileges. It is my contention that acknowledgement and troubling of oppressive power is needed but should not relegate one to a definite and inescapable role, but rather should lead to a harnessing of productive power within ones unique context. Despite the difficulties a position of power creates, I hope that I and other Euro-westerners committed to Africa will remain steadfast in the work being done in the community, relying on the forgiveness and grace of our faith in our shortcomings. It is my hope that our power and privilege will not prevent us from being of use to ease the overstrained education system in Uganda.

[110] Kincheloe and Steinberg, *Changing Multiculturalism*, 79.

Schools can be a place of developing the power within students to be change agents in their lives and communities.[111] The idea that schools can facilitate the development of power in students holds true for the students in Bundibugyo, as they lay hold of the educative forces that can empower them, while resisting the forces that are oppressive. The new school needs to go beyond reform that uses rationality to increase academic achievement. This will not help students be ready to “take charge of their own worlds, as they seek to build communities of active citizens dedicated to universal education and social justice.”[112] The students need to be a part of an education that helps them see the forces at work in their lives and feel like they can change the status quo.

This status quo is maintained by dominant power through physical force at times, but also through hegemony. Drawing on the work of Williams, hegemony is described thus:

1. Hegemony constitutes lived experience, "a sense of reality for most people in the society, a sense of absolute because experienced reality beyond which it is very difficult for most members of the society to move, in most areas of their lives."
2. Hegemony exceeds ideology "in its refusal to equate consciousness with the articulate formal system which can be and ordinarily abstracted as 'ideology.'"
3. Lived hegemony is a process, not a system or structure (though it can be schematized as such for the purposes of analysis).

[111] Ibid., 79.
[112] Ibid., 79.

4. Hegemony is dynamic - "It does not just passively exist as a form of dominance. It has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended, and modified. It is also continually resisted, limited, altered, challenged by pressures not all its own."
5. Hegemony attempts to neutralize opposition - "the decisive hegemonic function is to control or transform or even incorporate [alternatives and opposition]."
6. One can argue persuasively that "the dominant culture, so to say, at once produces and limits its own forms of counter-culture."
7. Hegemony is not necessarily total – "It is misleading, as a general method, to reduce all political and cultural initiatives and contributions to the terms of the hegemony."
8. "Authentic breaks within and beyond it . . . have often in fact occurred."[113]

It is indeed empowering to realize the forces that there are at work in communities that is almost subliminal. It gives one a means to try to grasp why the status quo is perpetuated, especially when it results in the seeming complicity of those being oppressed. I think this helps people understand behaviors that are contrary to their own in more generous terms when one realizes certain actions are unintentional. Conversely, as Williams says, hegemony is not total; we are still agents of change, able to change by becoming conscious of the forces at work

[113] Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature,* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1977), 109, 110, 113. Quoted by Dominic Mastroianni, “Hegemony,” www.english.emory.edu/Bahri/hegemony.html, Accessed March 11, 2008.

and to adjust actions thoughtfully. This gives me hope as a white colonist, that inculcated prejudices and assumptions can be revealed and reviewed.

Gramsci's exploration of hegemony revealed the complex processes whereby the dominant group gains complicity by infusing their agenda into social structures such as the media, education, politics, etc.[114] This is clearly what might happen with the assisting agency and the local community engaged in the school start-up. There are multiple international agencies in the area and no doubt there is an infusion of their values into the local culture. Is this altogether a bad thing, though? Alternately, what if the dominant group is the local Ugandan culture? I think that it may not always be the case that there is an intentional plan to direct the paths of others to one's own. I think may certainly happen, but I do not see it as a conspiracy to undermine a culture, in the case of WHM and the primary school in Bundibugyo. Gramsci's work on hegemony suggests that hegemony is not a simple process of overt coercion, but often a practice that occurs at the subconscious level for both the dominant and subordinate groups.[115] At some point there must be some good in each culture to share or else the dominant/subordinate binary will not empower a give and take flow of influence but simply perpetuate separation.

Students at the Bundibugyo primary school will need to gain experience in detecting the influences of the dominant group on themselves and their community. This is necessary because the influence of power now transcends even the

[114] Kincheloe and Steinberg, *Changing Multiculturalism*, 90. Antonio Gramsci, *An Antonio Gramsci Reader*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1988).
[115] Ibid.

natural boundaries of the Ruwenzori Mountains, not to mention national boundaries. Euro-western power has been transmitted to Bundibugyo through British colonization and now through the humanitarian efforts of organizations such as World Harvest Missions (WHM), UNICEF, and the World Health Organization. Hegemonic power is demonstrated in the national mode of educating that mirrors British colonial schooling; the valuing of science and mathematics through the influence of the headmasters at Christ School Bundibugyo; the transmission of particular ideals of family, parenting, nutrition, and religion through the programs and examples of the World Harvest missionaries; and the traditional patriarchal structure of their community. These influences are shaping the way children see themselves and their world.[116]

Foucault emphasized through his work on discourse analysis that, from people's daily lives to the shaping of school policies, we are influenced by a "regime of truth."[117] The better the students of this community understand the forces at work, the better they will be able to understand white dominance and patriarchy, for instance, and the influences they have on their lives.[118] Conversely, the Euro-westerners in the community will be able to better understand the struggle for empowerment of the marginalized and exploited people they wish to serve and can better resist engaging in cultural imperialism.[119]

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[116] I would assert that one be reminded that all power is not bad and all influences are not necessarily destructive.
[117] Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, 131.
[118] Henry Giroux, *Pedagogy and the Politics of Hope: Theory, Culture, and Schooling*, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997).
[119] Kincheloe and Steinberg, *Changing Multiculturalism*, 101.

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER IN RELATION TO ISSUES OF POWER

hooks describes how "[d]ominator culture promotes a calculated objectivism that is dehumanizing."[120] She proposes a mutual partnership model that "invites an engagement of the self that humanizes, that makes love possible." Love, according to hooks, is "a combination of care, commitment, knowledge, responsibility, respect and trust…. With this love as the basis for teacher-student interaction the mutual pursuit of knowledge creates the conditions for optimal learning."[121] Consequently the Freirian teacher-as-learner, learner-as-teacher dynamic that has influenced hooks' work becomes possible.

However, if evaluated in terms of power, the locus of control becomes hazy for a Ugandan educator. There are doubts about the degree to which Ugandan educators actually can impact educational outcomes when dealing with variables such as over-crowding, lack of resources, and physical issues such as disease or hunger. They may not feel like they have power in the first hand to influence the issues their students face. To become a teacher, who loves, instead of being an authoritarian educator, opens teachers up to risk: risk of being overwhelmed by the circumstances of their students, risk of being unable to manage their class, risk of not getting the support they need. Teachers may well not see their role as significant in the educational process if they lack adequate training, are underpaid and are not perceived as professionals. Teachers may not feel empowered to influence society themselves and will thus feel unable to nurture empowerment in their students.

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[120] hooks, *Pedagogy of Hope*, 131.
[121] Ibid., 131.

There is great peril for teachers to be the openers of the proverbial Pandora's Box as they direct their students in the analysis and challenging of dominant cultures. The progressive classroom's described by democratic educations such as Freire and hooks may be troubled by ambiguity, complexity, and controversy. Teachers will have to be equipped to unpack hegemonic forces influencing the curriculum and pedagogy of *their* schooling and training. Teachers will have to address white supremacy and cultural imperialism when dealing with the school supporters, WHM, and patriarchy, when assessing their own community.

How will the school empower its teachers to commit to human dignity, student discussion, and teacher reflection?[122] Pragmatically teachers need to be emancipated from many factors that prevent the love relationship hooks describes. The new school must pay their teachers adequately, class sizes must be manageable, materials must be available, and school leaders need to support and encourage professionalism in their teachers. If implemented correctly, EN has the potential to address these issues.

Teachers will need to receive schooling themselves to help them develop the aims implied in much of democratic or progressive education: rationality and caring. Arnstein states that, "[t]he creation of the rational person and the caring person are seen as ideal goals for education and as valued ways that learners can respond to situations in the future."[123] She suggests we must practice what we preach and have school settings that elicit the use of rationality and caring in

[122] Roger Soder, "Professionalizing the Profession: Notes on the Future of Teaching," Occassional Paper No. 4. (Seattle: University of Washington, Center for Educational Renewal, 1986).
[123] Barbara Arnstine, "Rational and Caring Teachers: How Dispositional Aims Shape Teacher Preparation," *Philosophy of Education*, Vol. 92, 2, (Winter 1990), 3.

a way that is meaningful to the training teacher.[124] This means that the curriculum must be relevant to the teacher. Time must be built into teacher training to allow for thinking and caring. Consequently, if teacher training is meaningful and fosters rationality and caring, it lays the foundation for the teaching of primary school students using rationality and caring. Teacher education based on competition and arbitrary submission to authority is just as counter-productive for training teachers as they are for children. Feeling trapped in a "program dominated by a predetermined, tightly packed curriculum evaluated by competitive testing and organized within a hierarchical, bureaucratic, efficiency-minded institution," quells the thinking and caring teachers need to do.[125] Arnstein suggests that "we must dismantle the present structure of schooling and replace it with something else." What Arnstein suggests for teacher education, is true of primary schooling in Bundibugyo. Perhaps this "something" for the future teachers and students of Bundibugyo looks like the cooperative teaching and learning model of EN with its flexible curriculum.

If teachers are to shift their role as practitioners of authoritarianism and perpetuators of hegemonic educational practices to that of power-sharers and power-generators, it has been established that they will need to be able to be rational and caring and cultivate these attributes in their students. Thayer-Bacon adds to the discussion with her argument for receptivity and caring to augment

[124] Ibid., 2.
[125] Ibid., 16.

rationality in critical thinking.[126] This requires acknowledgement of our own personal, expert, and reasoning voices and "allowing that feelings such as caring for the other are necessary" for being the constructive thinkers discussed in Chapter Two.[127] Being open to others' thoughts and being able to listen and "consider their possibilities," are fundamental for teachers who teach in a democratic classroom and wish to foster democratic behaviors in their students.[128]

What is especially powerful in the work of Thayer-Bacon is the inclusion of "what the knower brings to the knowing." This offers teachers and students a means to be experts in their own rights, based on their own experiences and insights. It values people and gives them the right to bring their offerings of knowledge into conversations. By being caring, we make ourselves receptive and respectful of these offerings. Consequently, new voices that have been formerly marginalized are brought into the conversations at school, in the community, and amongst people formerly separated by power differentials. Now an illiterate father from the village is a contributor to the knowledge creation process at the school as he shares his knowledge of cattle farming with the children as part of the EN community involvement. A little girl is asked what she wants to learn and a young mother is heard because critical thinkers, problem solvers, are no longer only seemingly "emotionally secure, self-confident, [with a] positive self-image, and traditionally-conceived psychological health," educated, white men.[129]

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[126] Barbara Thayer-Bacon, "Caring and its Relationship to Critical Thinking," *Educational Theory*, Vol.43, 3 (Summer 1993), 323-340.
[127] Thayer-Bacon, *Caring and its Relationship to Critical Thinking*, 323-340.
[128] Ibid., 323-340.
[129] Ibid., 330.

The effects of this power shift are hard to speculate. Teachers may lose control of their classrooms, perhaps the village hierarchies will be impacted, relations between women and men might be different, interactions between adults and children might take on new forms, relationships between Euro-western agencies and the community might be altered. It remains to be seen if the examples I have mentioned will be productive or oppressive power shifts. I have seen through my own personal experiences in South Africa during post-colonial emancipation, patriarchy has been challenged by the criminalizing of physical abuse of wives on one hand, while on the other village life is disappearing and morals and values are no longer being disseminated from one generation to the next. The good and the bad of power and hegemony continue to ebb and flow.

THE PROBLEM OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND ILLUSIONS OF CONTROL

Senese describes the troubling outlook for American Indian education in terms of self-determination.[130] The right to determine the education of their own children was an achievement long sought and hard won, and solidified through the enactment of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act in 1975. This act regulated the existing system whereby American Indians provided their communities with schools that the government in turn paid for. However, power was undermined by a lack of resources to run the schools effectively. Currently state funds allotted for public schooling are channeled through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), which continues to have the discretionary power to

[130] Guy Senese, "Self-Determination and American Indian Education: An Illusion of Control," *Educational Theory*, Vol. 36, 2 (Spring 1986), 153-163.

distribute monies and determine the amount of monies available. This compromises the schools ability to deliver quality schooling, when "[p]ayroll, hiring, job, and supply security are a constant worry and a drain on administrative energy and time."[131] The Indian communities have been relegated to an "'advisory' rather than a bargaining capacity" and are subject to denial of funds.[132] Schools struggle to maintain morale with "a constant risk of default and closure."[133] There are issues with conflicts of interest, provision of money without strings, and issues of trust between the government agency and the American Indian tribe in question.

Although there are limitations to making international comparisons there are some possible similarities in the difficulties expressed by Senese that can be explored in the context of the primary school in Bundibugyo. In the Ugandan example the funding agency is WHM and the indigenous tribe, the people of Bundibugyo.[134] Based on signed treaty agreements the United States government owes American Indian monies, but the BIA controls the disbursement of funds. The conflict of interest that the BIA faces is that if American Indians manage their own monies and run their own schools the BIA ceases to have a need to exist.

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[131] Ibid., 154.
[132] Ibid., 158.
[133] Ibid., 160.
[134] What must be established before this example is dissected is that WHM cannot be compared in good conscience with the United States government and their treatment of the American Indians. The people of WHM are no doubt very familiar with the teachings of Christ known as the Beatitudes, one of which states: God blesses those who are humble, for they will inherit the whole earth. There is implicit in this teaching the idea that the oppressed and marginalized are valued and that oppressive domination is not. The Christians from WHM in Bundibugyo wishing to start this school are not wishing to subjugate the Babwisi people, whereas the United States government attempted to eradicate the American Indians. However, the fact that WHM is a Euro-western agency, is part of the dominant culture, and has relative wealth place it in a position of power in Bundibugyo. See Appendix 0-3 for a history of World Harvest Mission.

For WHM creating a school that is sustainable by the indigenous people is a key goal of their school creation in the area. CSB, the secondary school started by WHM, has now only indigenous teachers and staff, however the leadership and much of the funding remains Euro-western at this time.

Not being able to be self-sustaining financially leads to the troubling issue of financial accountability. If the proposed primary school, due to the extreme poverty of the community, has to remain subsidized, what sort of oversight would WHM want? Can the community develop a strong leadership to manage the school? Will this relationship create a power-dynamic that is mutually beneficial or controlling? Is there enough trust and respect of the community to allow them to control the funds and is there enough trust and respect of the community for WHM to be good stewards of the funds? And perhaps the biggest question: can this school avoid the low morale and uncertainty the schools face in the Senese article?

The benefits of having the potential pool of funding to draw from that WHM could generate from Euro-western donors might offer the staff job security, provision of supplies, and a commitment to the community donors are investing in. This productive power would afford the school the longevity to impact the community, despite the "power asymmetry" the relationship generates.[135] Conversely, the community needs to feel invested in the school; empowerment will come through being active participants not just recipients of aid. This tension between institutional and community support brings to the fore the issue of top-

[135] Kincheloe and Steinberg, *Multiculturalism*, 81.

down (institutional, for example government) reform and ground-up (community, for example local teachers) innovations.

ISSUES OF TOP-DOWN EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND GROUND-UP INNOVATIONS

Despite the many documented achievements of *Escuela Nueva,* one of the problems the model faces (which EN International is well aware of) is the static nature of government level school reform verses the organic ground-up innovations that brought about much of what made EN so successful. Clearly there are instances that universal reform is needed, such as dealing with the HIV/AIDS pandemic, terrorism, poverty. However, in addressing these problems the threat is that cultural beliefs and behaviors will be negatively impacted. Bundibugyo can receive assistance from global institutions whom have the economic means to help because of the advances in international communication, but with this assistance comes a "distributive effect and its influence on the production and transmission of knowledge."[136]

International projects do not often take into account the opinions of the local community. The local knowledge base of Bundibugyo must be included to avoid a new form of colonization. We must ask ourselves: how will this top-down reform "intensify or diminish existing local identities;" how will the mingling of cultures affect the ways individuals and communities function; and how will the dis-

[136] Kubow and Fossum, *Comparative Education*, 285.

tribution of resources affect local people?[137] The founders of the school need to address the questions of what the school's function will be as in the new global economy increasingly the desire of big business is for technically trained not university educated employees.[138] This focus on work force creation could be detrimental to the ideal of a school that encourages critical thinking and caring. Top-down reform also brings the danger of the commercialization of education that attempts to homogenize curriculum and pedagogical practices. This places local "traditions, religious identities, authority structures, values, and worldviews" at risk.[139] School leaders and teachers will have to remain alert to the hegemonic forces at work within institutional reforms and aid.

I argue that a solution to some of these potential power struggles is to engage local input regarding curriculum and pedagogy. This organic method of reform however requires leadership. EN had charismatic scholars and educators championing the model in Colombia and Honduras. EN also had proponents of the model in high level government positions in the Education Department of Colombia. Thus the ground up innovations had the support of the local teachers *and* the larger institutions of higher education and the department of education. It was a trickle-up process. However, when replicating the model it becomes more and more difficult to maintain the cooperative learning circles of teachers, to do the scholarship needed, and find funding to maintain the schools. Again, issues

[137] Ibid., 288.
[138] Ibid., 295.
[139] M Saurez-Orozco and D Qin-Hillard (Eds.), *Globalization: Culture and Education in the New Millennium*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 2004), 7.

that make the model helpful to marginalized groups in developing areas are also the forces that sabotage its effectiveness. Lack of funds, disease, and war continue to tax the developing regions so that implementation of the entire model as it was intended becomes difficult. However, the new school in Bundibugyo creates a unique prospect of creating a small-scale model that engages the local knowledge base while applying the universally beneficial aspects of EN on a school-by-school basis, rather than a top-down, government level implementation.

Looking at issues of power as they relate to the future teachers, the community, and the institutions teases out some of the challenges that face this primary school. To seek to foster students that are aware of the forces at work in their relationships with their teachers, their curriculum, their benefactors, and their community creates the hope that awareness of these relationships will bring productivity not oppression. Assessing power empowers us to act. I argue these actions should be those that seek to address issues of social justice. In the following chapter social justices issues in education in relation to the Ugandan context will be assessed.

CHAPTER FOUR

The planned school in Bundibugyo has been evaluated in terms of theoretical change and issues of power. In this final chapter the need to assess the issues of social justice and promotion of social justice will be discussed. Particular attention will be given to issues of access to quality schooling, critical reflection on the motivation of the assisting agency, and the issues of identity. For the purposes of this thesis I prescribe to the concept of social justice described by Iris Young. Her definition seeks to eliminate institutionalized domination and oppression by looking at issues of distribution, but goes beyond the conception of "persons as primary possessors and consumers of goods to a wider context that includes action, decisions about action, and provision of means to develop and exercise capacities."[140] This conceptualization seeks to address domination and oppression, and for the purposes of the analysis of schooling in Bundibugyo, broadens social justice work beyond the institutions of politics and economics, to include those of schools, communities, and religion.

The case for the implementation of a progressive educational approach in the form of *Escuela Nueva* (EN) in the new primary school in Bundibugyo, is assisted by the ability of this model to adapt to the circumstances unique to the student body. These include issues of social justice faced by this particular population, namely access to quality schooling and resources. Denied *access* is most often caused by discriminatory gender practices towards women and/or poverty.

[140] Young, *Justice and Politics of Difference*, (Princeton, NJ,: Princeton University Press, 1990), 16.

African schools through efforts of institutions such as United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), and United States Agency for International Development (USAID) have put a special emphasis on the rights of girls to attend school and have protection in schools and these programs are to be found in Uganda. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to fully explore the issues of the schooling of girls, but the study of the various programs and initiatives to support the schooling of women is worthy of further inquiry.[141] For the task at hand I will examine the effects of poverty and the creation of a meritocracy based on economic factors. Additionally, I will be focusing on access to *quality* schooling.[142]

SOCIAL JUSTICE ISSUES IN BUNDIBUGYO: ACCESS TO SCHOOLING

According to the Ugandan newspaper, *The Monitor,* in February, 1999 the best five top scoring schools were all private, which has lead to the migration of children of "well-to-do" parents to private schools.[143] This is a trend the United States is familiar with. Schooling that successfully prepares students for secondary school is private and these schools cost money. Even with Universal Primary Education, families are responsible for financial outlay for their children's

[141] When I established the needs of the students in Bundibugyo in Chapter One, my research found many reasons to be concerned about school access for girls in Uganda. Deferring in generalities to the work of UNICEF, WHO, UNESCO, and USAID in this chapter is a weakness in my examination of the topic. I hope at a later time to examine initiatives needed to address the problem of access to schooling for girls in Bundibugyo.
[142] Quality education in this context means education that is student-focused and supports student learning through relevant curriculum, authentic assessment, and supportive school organization (flexible promotion, multi-grade classes, schedules that take into account agricultural and cultural community calendars to avoid absenteeism, etc.).
[143] Fred Kirungi, "Uganda Tackling School Bottlenecks," *Africa Recovery*, 14, no. 2 (July 2000), 20.

schooling. This precludes many of the poor from continuing their schooling. Consequently, the wealthy continue to have access to schooling and the ensuing employment, higher wages, better quality of life, while the poor struggle for access to schooling to help facilitate their uplift from poverty. This creates a meritocracy in its most distressing form: the system continues to give opportunities and, accordingly, advantages to people based on their abilities which by definition should not be contingent on their wealth and/or status. But their abilities have been determined by access to quality schooling, which in turn is determined by wealth and/or status.

What is additionally troubling is that even if students are in school, they may not be getting access to a quality education, one that is tailored to their needs and set up to help them succeed. Rather they are subject to curriculum and assessment that weeds them out, restricting access for all to schooling. In her presidential address at the Philosophy of Education Society 48th Annual Meeting, Nel Noddings challenged the phrase "all children can learn" by analyzing the language of excellence, equality, and quality.[144] She stated that "a substantial number of students are denied access to the education they wanted and from which they could profit."[145] This address was describing education in the United States; however, students in Bundibugyo are experiencing this same deficit – schooling not tailored to their needs and contexts thus jeopardizing the quality of their learning. Noddings recommended authentic assessment and a curricu-

[144] Nel Noddings, "Excellence as a Guide to Educational Conversation," *Teachers College Record,* 94, no. 4 (1993), 730-743.
[145] Barbara Arnstein describes an element of Noddings' argument in her response to "Excellence as a Guide to Educational Conversation," .

lum valued by the students in her address, what follows is the application of these recommendations to the context of Bundibugyo, Uganda.[146]

The problem of access to education is not the lack of schools, as mentioned before, there are schools in Bundibugyo. But it is the lack of *quality* schools, schools that teach what the students require rather than a one-size-fits-all curriculum. Quality schooling curriculum content should include: knowledge through acquisition, understanding through application of knowledge, and growth over time through reflection.[147] This three-fold approach avoids the learning of a set of facts that may or may not be relevant to the student to be reproduced in an exam within the school year. An arbitrary system of instructor-focused instruction and rote-memorization evaluation is what is found in many Ugandan schools. This non student-centered approach is one of the causes of high repetition rates which eventually translate into high drop-out rates as students are discouraged with their lack of connection with the curriculum content and lack of success.

Additionally non student-centered curriculum requires mastery at an externally determined pace within an externally determined timetable. Alternately, a self-paced model, such as that of *Escuela Nueva* offers a means for students to acquire knowledge and understanding, but at the student's own rate. Material is covered, but students are not penalized by the school system by being retained, the system works for them and moves them from one level to the next after mastery. EN's timetable additionally takes into account calendar issues spe-

[146] Noddings, Excellence as a Guide to Educational Conversation, 730-743.
[147] Newstead, Saxton, and Colby, "Going for the Gold: Secrets of Successful Schools," *Education Next,* 8, no. 2 (Spring 2008), 45.

cific to the community and adjusts their schedule to ensure maximum student attendance. For instance planting and harvesting times often cause students to miss school in order to help their families. Not scheduling school during these times can avoid absenteeism that can lead to loss of instruction time for students, inability to catch-up, and consequent dropping out.

If we want to change the learning students have access to we need to change the way their learning is assessed. Noddings recommends authentic assessment.[148] The work of Darling-Hammond supports this recommendation.[149] The assessment recommended by Darling-Hammond is that which tries to evaluate the student's work over time. This requires using a variety of strategies such as personalized instruction, helping the student to connect to the subject matter through changes in curriculum, and different ways of organizing the school structure.[150] Assessment should be a teacher's tool to help determine when the student is ready to advance and where the teacher needs to assist them in their learning. Measurements should be both formative, showing the student's progression, and summative, reflecting the students mastery. Authentic assessment is a tool to assist teachers in tailoring their teaching and requires a holistic approach. For example, the Envision Instructional System uses a three-fold strategy to evaluate student knowledge acquisition, understanding, and reflection.[151] Measurement should take the form of tests, quizzes, reports, and

[148] Ibid., 45.
[149] Darling-Hammond, *Authentic Assessment in Action: Studies of Schools and Students at Work*, (New York: Teachers College Press, 1995).
[150] Ibid.
[151] Newstead, et. al., *Going for the Gold*, 45.

recitations when reflecting acquisition of a body of knowledge.[152] Assessment of student understanding should include exhibitions and demonstrations.[153] Evaluation of the student's reflections should comprise of portfolios, journals, and observations.[154] I think this sort of multifaceted learning provides students will many ways to create, acquire, and use knowledge. It offers students multiple ways to succeed, takes into account learning styles, and increases student ability to use the schooling as an equipping for life, rather than a series of meaningless hoops to jump through.

Current testing in Uganda is a sifting of students, not an evaluation of progress along a learning continuum or a tool for remediation or enrichment. The Ugandan public school Primary Leaving Examinations (PLE) must be passed for children to go on to secondary school and with less secondary school openings that primary school graduates, schools select students based on their scores. Examinations thus determine the course of a student's academic life at P6, O-levels, and A-levels. Each exam literally becomes a hoop to the next educative echelon. Furthermore formative assessment cannot occur in classrooms of over 100 primary school students. Summative assessment becomes a high stakes game of winner takes all. The case is made that the attrition is needed to reduce class size for those that do manage to get in, the logic being that some educated is better than none. This is clearly a situation requiring social justice intervention, in the sense of distribution of resources such as access to quality schooling

[152] Ibid., 45.
[153] Ibid., 45.
[154] Ibid., 45.

for all students, and in the fact that students are being oppressed by being denied access to a means of social uplift.

The creation of ground-up, relevant curriculum and authentic assessment needs teachers available and committed to evolving it, administrators to champion it, and constant material support for the school to retain educator focus on curriculum, not the survival of the school. Herein is one of the benefits of the support of World Harvest Mission. This organization has the potential means to address the social justice disjoint of access to quality schooling and resources by making access possible by subsidizing fees, maintaining buildings, paying salaries, and financing curriculum development. This leads to the need to assess what motivates WHM to engage in social justice causes and how they should address issues of identity while they engage in these causes within the community of Bundibugyo.

SOCIAL JUSTICE MOTIVATIONS OF THE ASSISTING AGENCY, WORLD HARVEST MISSIONS

As a cultural studies scholar, social justice issues form one of the many integrated spheres of study in my field. Social justice in the framework of the establishment of this primary school brings to the fore the issue of access to quality schooling. What is interesting about addressing social justice in this context is that those desirous of starting this school are Christians affiliated with a mission organization from the United States. They are college-educated, Euro-western, well-to-do individuals that have decided to place themselves and their families

within this isolated community. They have left behind running water, electricity, paved roads, family, friends, careers, and opened themselves up to war, disease, and the daily pain of knowing they have alternatives, and the people they seek to serve do not. What motivates them to engage in the projects they have in place (clinics, feeding program, secondary school, etc.) and makes them desire to address more needs, such as the need for primary education for *all*?[155] I would like to trace some of the mandates for social justice taken from a Biblical worldview to further justify the case for the creation of the progressive model primary school in Bundibugyo driven by a ground-up approach to curriculum creation and community involvement.

Biblical references to social justice in the Old Testament abound. Protecting the orphans and widows from exploitation and poverty; feeding the hungry; relieving oppression; working together to rebuild what is in ruins; being merciful and humble: all calls to action on the behalf of those historically marginalized at the time of writing.

> He executes justice for the orphan and the widow, and shows His love for the alien by giving him food and clothing.[156]

> At the end of every three years, bring all the tithes of that year's produce and store it in your towns, so that the Levites (who have no allotment or

[155] In seeking the answer to why Christians engage in social justice causes, it must be said that they do not have the corner on the market. Humanitarian agencies and other religious groups are prevalent throughout the continent and are present in Bundibugyo in times of crisis. During the recent Ebola outbreak the World Health Organization, United States Agency for International Development, and Mission Aviation Fellowship helped contain the deadly virus.

[156] Deuteronomy 10:18 (New American Standard Bible)

inheritance of their own) and the aliens, the fatherless and the widows who live in your towns may come and eat and be satisfied, and so that the LORD your God may bless you in all the work of your hands.[157]

Learn to do good;
Seek justice,
Reprove the ruthless,
Defend the orphan,
Plead for the widow.[158]

and if you spend yourselves in behalf of the hungry
and satisfy the needs of the oppressed,
then your light will rise in the darkness,
and your night will become like the noonday.[159]

This is what the LORD says: Do what is just and right. Rescue from the hand of his oppressor the one who has been robbed. Do no wrong or violence to the alien, the fatherless or the widow, and do not shed innocent blood in this place.[160]

[157] Deuteronomy 14:28-29 (New International Version)
[158] Isaiah 1:17 (NIV)
[159] Isaiah 58:10 (NIV)
[160] Jeremiah 22:3 (NIV)

> Then I said to them, "You see the trouble we are in: Jerusalem lies in ruins, and its gates have been burned with fire. Come, let us rebuild the wall of Jerusalem, and we will no longer be in disgrace." I also told them about the gracious hand of my God upon me and what the king had said to me. They replied, "Let us start rebuilding." So they began this good work.[161]

> He has showed you, O man, what is good.
> And what does the LORD require of you?
> To act justly and to love mercy
> and to walk humbly with your God.[162]

Christians and Christianity as an institution have failed in many respects to address the social justice issues of exploitation, poverty, and protection of the marginalized. How can WHM avoid the pitfalls of Christian missionaries of that past, especially for a former British colony?[163] Perhaps the combination of justice, mercy, and humility provides the balance needed. Justice speaks to fairness, while mercy indicates a sort of clemency. Social justice actions based on fairness will demand an even distribution of the tangible and intangible resources. However WHM is not using legal advocacy or political means as their primary tools to assert their call to social justice in the area. Mercy, however, does offer

[161] Nehemiah 2:17-18 (NIV)
[162] Micah 6:8 (NIV)
[163] A history and analysis of colonial and post-colonial educational missions is beyond the scope of this work, but would offer much insight into how to create sustainable and transformative schools.

the most promising tool to address social justice issues by appealing to the compassion of local and foreign people to help the community meet its needs. The Bible verses can be taken quite literally in this context, Bundibugyo has many orphans and widows due to war, malaria, HIV/AIDs, etc and there are many hungry – eating diets so low in the nutrients needed for health growth that many children suffer from malnutrition. And the humility is that factor that helps the former colonizers, the wealthy interlopers, to engage the culture, and help the community, while avoiding arrogance and asserting superiority.

The New Testament brings with it further calls to action and motivators. An interesting shift occurs as the figure of Christ forms a role model for an agent of social justice. The protector of women, respecter of children, and friend of the lowest classes, He exemplified a life devoted to the service of others to the point of death. It was His willingness to defy convention to reach the socially outcast, such as prostitutes and reviled tax collectors, and help the marginalized, lepers and the mentally ill, that drove the Roman and Jewish leaders of the day to have Him killed.

In the New Testament texts new factors can be extrapolated in the area of social justice. First, in Matthew 9: 35-38 the passage describes a great need and the compassion of Christ, but also the lack of people to help. [164] This is certainly a factor to consider when starting a school, especially a school whose methodol-

[164] Matthew 9:35-38 (NIV) Jesus went through all the towns and villages, teaching in their synagogues, preaching the good news of the kingdom and healing every disease and sickness. When he saw the crowds, he had compassion on them, because they were harassed and helpless, like sheep without a shepherd. Then he said to his disciples, "The harvest is plentiful but the workers are few. Ask the Lord of the harvest, therefore, to send out workers into his harvest field."

ogy, pedagogy, and curriculum demand financial and human resources to effectively impact the lives of the students and community. It will require the empowering of the local community to contribute. It will also necessitate the empowering of international people to feel they can advance a program that desires to offer the hope of a caring and democratic school.

There is a second passage in Matthew that describes that when we give someone something to drink, something to eat, extend hospitality, give clothing, care for them while ill, and visit them in jail it is as if we were doing them to Christ.[165] The text has a harsher tone about those who do not act. This is an interesting imperative as it relates to issues of involving oneself in the problems of others. The WHM missionaries will have to address the issue of being compelled to act and to do so in a respectful and humble manner so as not to undermine those in need. Another aspect of the justice-mercy-humility tension is that of grace. Paul in his letter to the Ephesians writes: “For it is by grace you have

[165] Matthew 25:31-46 (NIV) When the Son of Man comes in his glory, and all the angels with him, he will sit on his throne in heavenly glory. All the nations will be gathered before him, and he will separate the people one from another as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats. He will put the sheep on his right and the goats on his left. Then the King will say to those on his right, 'Come, you who are blessed by my Father; take your inheritance, the kingdom prepared for you since the creation of the world. For I was hungry and you gave me something to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you invited me in, I needed clothes and you clothed me, I was sick and you looked after me, I was in prison and you came to visit me.' Then the righteous will answer him, 'Lord, when did we see you hungry and feed you, or thirsty and give you something to drink? When did we see you a stranger and invite you in or needing clothes and clothe you? When did we see you sick or in prison and go to visit you?' The King will reply, 'I tell you the truth, whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers of mine, you did for me.' Then he will say to those on his left, 'Depart from me, you who are cursed, into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels. For I was hungry and you gave me nothing to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me nothing to drink, I was a stranger and you did not invite me in, I needed clothes and you did not clothe me, I was sick and in prison and you did not look after me.' They also will answer, 'Lord, when did we see you hungry or thirsty or a stranger or needing clothes or sick or in prison, and did not help you?' He will reply, 'I tell you the truth, whatever you did not do for one of the least of these, you did not do for me.' Then they will go away to eternal punishment, but the righteous to eternal life.

been saved, through faith—and this not from yourselves, it is the gift of God—not by works, so that no one can boast. For we are God's workmanship, created in Christ Jesus to do good works, which God prepared in advance for us to do."[166] This releases people from doing good works to receive salvation, but it does state that we are created for good works. The incentive for starting a school in Bundibugyo on this logic is obvious for the WHM team, however, Illich's speech is a constant reminder to be dedicated to: thoughtful analysis of the culture, to the defining of what a social justice violation is, and how to humbly partner to alleviate the problem.[167]

Biblical teaching has impacted other social justice activists, such as Myles Horton. A cornerstone to the Christian faith is the verse: Love your neighbor as yourself.[168] Horton shares how his mother modeled this for him. To him it was the "principle of trying to serve people and building a loving world. If you believe that people are of worth, you can't treat anyone inhumanely, and that means you not only have to love a lot of people, but you have to think in terms of building a society that people can profit most from, and that kind of society has to work on the principle of equality. Otherwise, somebody is being left out."[169] This statement appears like a watermark to the definition of social justice given by Young. Horton offers a starting point to achieve this lofty goal of love: "start where we

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[166] Ephesians 2:8-10 (NIV)
[167] The standard of living in the United States cannot and most probably should not be used as a benchmark to determine quality of living. Social justice should not be about lifting everyone up to an American middle-class existence, but it should be about relief from oppressive forces that are effecting the distribution of resources to the point of collective suffering. Illich, *To Hell with Good Intentions.*
[168] Leviticus 19:18, Matthew 19:19, Mark 12:31, Luke 10:27, Romans 13:8, Galatians 5:14, James 2:8
[169] Horton, *Long Haul*, 7.

are…begin incorporating principles of equality into everything you do."[170] Incorporation of equality into all our activities can be the utilizing a curriculum such as EN, that fosters egalitarian practices, in the proposed school.

Horton continues later in his autobiography to discuss things religious. He is careful to differentiate between the Church and the religious core of Christianity.[171] This exfoliation of institutional aspects from the heart of the Faith will have to be constant for the Christian educators in Bundibugyo. The risk of harming the spiritual and emotional sensibilities of children by mixing up religion with school pedagogy and curriculum is great. To see religion embodied by adults that have authority over children is a dangerous power dynamic. Similarly to have curriculum infused with religious dogma runs counter to the organic search for spirituality found in each child. As with the other "intangibles" such as emotion, spiritual development of students should not be institutionalized. The Church as an institution can misrepresent the religion of Christianity; the school institution is just as fallible. Religious development should be encouraged through means that are not part of the assessable curriculum; do not affect teacher-student standing; and that work rather to nurture the spiritual search of each child through exposure, rather than engage in wholesale indoctrination. Such exposure perhaps accounts for the ability of Horton to state:

> From Jesus and the prophets I had learned about the importance of loving people, the importance of being a revolutionary, standing up and saying that this system is unjust. Jesus to me was a person who had the vision

[170] Ibid., 7.
[171] Ibid., 26.

> to protect a society in which people would be equally respected,…he was a person who said you had to love your enemies, you have to love the people that despise you."[172]

This revolutionary love shaped Horton's worldview and the quest of his life. He said that he learned from Jesus that taking action was risky, that to make a life worth living you have to believe in those things that will bring about justice in society, be willing to die for them. He grasped this because of the willingness of Christ to die because of His love for others. Horton sense of social responsibility may not have been entirely biblically motivated, but it required the same action that compels the missionaries of WHM.

This loving attitude opened up for Horton a means to help people help themselves. His facilitation allowed others to find their voices and use their ideas as means to solve the problems they were facing. Just as Young recommends, Horton offered people practice is making decisions, so that they later could make decisions and develop plans of their own.[173] Gaining experience in decision making exemplifies the transformative aspect of the proposed school. Students and community members are transformed from victims awaiting assistance to proactive change agents working to alleviate social justice inequalities in their community. Allowing for dialogue and collaborative decision making will make for long classroom, staff, and community meetings, but provides a means to place WHM in a community partnership reflecting equality and joint problem solving.

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[172] Ibid., 26.
[173] Ibid., 136-137.

. In *The Long Haul* Horton offers valuable insights into the troubling nature of role or identity. He could never be black or be a woman. He realized he could never "fully walk in other people's shoes,"[174] which speaks to the troubling differences between white missionaries and black Ugandans who cannot fully understand the experiences of the other. Horton suggests the frank acknowledgement of difference and being authentic - advice that can help WHM team as they work within the community to begin the primary school. As they will be seeking out what the community's needs are and facilitating dealing with issues of power and social justice, they cannot fake understanding the circumstances of the Ugandans. However, if the WHM team conducts themselves with humility and authenticity their love will shine through the privilege and power their identity provides. The following section will further address issues of the identity of the protagonists in the social justice endeavor to create a quality primary school in Bundibugyo.

SOCIAL JUSTICE AND IDENTITY

Identity is an "abstract and multifaceted concept" that affects the way we see ourselves and others, and how we interact.[175] The need to dissect identity to facilitate social justice programs, such as the proposed school, is necessary on two levels: first, the adults in the school implementation process will need to communicate and collaborate together. Knowing how their identities might be defined, acquired, enacted, and have a role to play in interactions, can help facili-

[174] Ibid., 195. Young, *Justice and Politics of Difference*, 16.
[175] Samovar, Porter, and McDaniel, *Communication Between Cultures*, 6th edition, (Belmont,CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2007), 109.

tate an intercultural partnership for the adult school participants (such as local government leaders, teachers, parents, and World Harvest Mission team members).

Second, the students of the schools will benefit from the same awareness of their identities and the complexity of their generation's bicultural and multicultural identities.[176] The students will developmentally be in the midst of moving from not having examined their identity to searching for it. They will experience the desire to conform and accept their identities, but they may also resist and seek to redefine their identity.[177] The proposal is to have missionary children and local children attend, thus intercultural communication and collaboration will be happening in the students' sphere too. As the students develop their identities they may resist their traditional customs or resent Euro-western ways. They may begin to lose their language, change the way they dress, or decline from engaging in traditional religious rituals due to exposure to other identities. The school leadership will have to be sensitive to these issues and not risk loss of identity for the sake of integration. However, students may break down the identities that are socially constructed that are linked to power and are oppressive.

Trends in the United States have revealed that in the face of cultural diversity, there is a "reshuffling of identities, and the creation of new, often more rigid groupings."[178] Uncertainty resulting from exposure to a quickly changing world is causes people to react by clinging to those who are like themselves, thus

[176] Ibid., 110.
[177] Ibid., 110.
[178] David Brooks, "All Cultures Are Not Equal," *New York Times*, August 11, 2005.

identity is an important factor in "how they live their lives and with whom they associate."[179] The implications of this development in the United States for the Bundibugyo community (comprising the Ugandan nationals and the missionaries from the United States) is a forewarning of the important role identity will play as cross-cultural interactions bring to the fore issues of unity, separation, expectations, roles, and communication.[180]

I know I am treading a difficult path using the word *identity*, as it is so nebulous. Most definitions convey the idea of identifying with a group that has shared practices, language, and norms.[181] What is troubling to me is the idea of the person *identifying* with the group they are in. I think the case can be made that there are many identities that are foisted on people that they do not willingly chose to assume; groups they do not elect to belong to. Identity is not only what is unique about you (personal identity) and the product of your relationship with other people (relational identity), but communal.[182] This communal identity includes "nationality, ethnicity, gender, or religious or political affiliation."[183] Race, nationality, ethnicity, and arguably gender, are all social constructs. These are identities chosen for us by society.

I personally think of the example of race as a white person from South Africa. Initially we do not cognitively have the choice to be black, white, Asian, etc. We are born to it and live in a world that attempts to divide people into groups

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[179] Ibid.
[180] Samovar et. al., *Communication Between Cultures*, 110.
[181] Ibid., 111.
[182] Bradford J. Hall, *Among Cultures*, 2nd edition, (Belmont, CA: Thomson-Wadsworth, 2005)108-109.
[183] Ibid., 108-109.

based on similar external physical features.[184] However this essentializing is constantly thwarted by the intermingling of the races in our globalized world and the lack of genetic variation amongst individuals.[185] My four-year old child identified a man in a parking lot as "from China," a country she is fascinated by due to our friendship with some Chinese nationals. I then said he may be from the United States, you could not tell where someone was from just by their looks. She subsequently asked what color skin people from El Salvador had, a place her grandfather visits annually. I said El Salvadorians could have light brownish or brown skins, depending on their ethnicity. After that I asked in Africa what color does she think people were. She answered dark brown. I asked, "But what about the white people from Africa like Mommy?" She just said, "There are not any *white* people!" I inquired what color we were, and she answered without hesitation, "Pinkish." Clearly using color to divide humanity up is a confusing system of exceptions-to-the-rule to the disturbing anthropological register listing Negroid, Mongoloid, and Caucasoid.[186]

However, racialized identities are entrenched in our societies. The community of Bundibugyo brings with it to the school house the issue of the identities of its supporters and students as whites and blacks. As the school is formed, the community members who are Ugandan nationals and the members that are WHM missionaries will have to walk in their partnership the "tightrope between

[184] Kincheloe and Steinberg, *Changing Multiculturalism*, 215.
[185] Hall, *Among Cultures*, 113.
[186] Gordon. W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1954), 111.

racial essentialism on one side and a liberal colour-blindness on the other."[187] The partners will need to find a middle ground that explores the "socially constructed, artificial, ephemeral nature of racial identities and, second, carefully trace the all-too-real effects of such identities."[188] Other identities that will need attention are those of age, social class, roles (student/teacher, parent/child, former-colonist/former-colonized), and membership to stigmatized groups such as people with AIDS.[189] I will focus my search for justification for a ground-up, progressive primary school in Bundibugyo by looking at the issue of the identity of whiteness that symbolizes the former colonizer and that of the decolonized embodied in blackness.

The situatedness of the non-African mission team contributors to the formation of the school is a factor in determining the potential positives and negatives of the vision of a ground up progressive primary school. Sartre calls humankind, the oppressed and those in power, to take steps to correct injustices, not to feel helpless, to stop "sleep walking towards …destiny."[190] The missionaries that are devoting their lives to the people of Bundibugyo have taken great steps to correct injustices, fight daily not to be overwhelmed by helplessness, and are making active plans for the future.[191] Part of being "wide awake" rather

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[187] Kincheloe and Steinberg, *Changing Multiculturalism*, 216.
[188] Ibid., 216.
[189] William Gudyjunst, *Bridging Differences: Effective Intergroup Communication*, 4th edition, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2004), 77.
[190] Jean Paul Sartre, *Colonialism and Neocolonialism*, translated by Azzedine Haddor, Steve Brewer and Terry McWillimas, (New York: Routledge, 2006), 74.
[191] See Appendix 0-2 for a history of World Harvest's actions to correct injustices through its many projects. The daily struggle to not feel helpless by the World Harvest Mission team is poignantly chronicles in the blogs of Dr's Myhre and Annelise Pierce,

than “sleep walking” is being aware of another factor Sartre highlights: “guilty innocence.”[192] The complexity the mission team faces is the invariability of their white privilege. McIntosh states:

> White privilege is a term denoting the rights, advantages, exemptions or immunities enjoyed by white persons…beyond which is commonly experienced by non-whites in those same nations. It has been described as “an invisible package of unearned assets which I [as a white person] can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was ‘meant’ to remain oblivious.[193]

As much as the one may wish to be color blind, it is impossible to negate the complex dynamics of inter-racial relationships. This is made abundantly clear in books such as Fanon’s *Black Skin, White Masks*.[194] Fanon describes how relationships are complicated psychologically by needs for validation, the exotic, the erotic, pride, and shame. In his exploration of relationships between women of color and white men, relationships between men of color and white women, and relations between colonizers and the colonized he questions the superiorities and inferiorities society assumes and examines the prejudices that run between and *amongst* whites and people of color. As the team has crossed racial and cultural

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www.paradoxuganda.blogspot.com and www.calledtouganda.com respectively. Future plans include the primary school and a school in Sudan.

[192] Maxine Greene, “Doing Philosophy and Building a World” in *Teacher as Stranger: Educational Philosophy for the Modern Age*, (Belmont, CA: Thomson-Wadsworth, 1973), 6-7. Sartre, *Colonialism and Neocolonialism*,70.

[193] Peggy McIntosh, “White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack,” Excerpt from McIntosh 1988 Working Paper #189, published in *Peace and Freedom*, July/August 1989; reprinted in *Independent School*, Winter 1990.

[194] Franz Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks*, Translated by Charles Lam Markmann, (New York: Grove Press, 1967).

lines, they have to tread with awareness and honesty about their cultural wiring, privileges, and prejudices. Fanon's work in *Wretched of the Earth* also troubles again the presence of non-Africans in Africa.[195] He calls Africans to wash their hands of Europe, to reorganize in a new way, not to mimic Europe's structure, and to be united. He calls his comrades to solve the problems of Africa that Europe could not solve. White Euro-westerners situated in post-colonial Uganda find themselves in a conflicted position. Despite not being historical colonizers, their identity brings with them the baggage of being associated with colonization.

Memmi adds to the identity issues of the non-African school partners by describing the colonials of Africa. "[A] colonial is a benevolent European who does not have the colonizer's attitude towards the colonized."[196] However Memmi declares immediately and emphatically: "[A] colonial so defined does not exist, for all Europeans in the colonies are privileged." Sartre explains that colonization was driven by capitalism. The colony became the exporter of its raw materials and the importer of the manufactured goods produced from its raw materials. The structure of the colony was removed and a new economic and political system put in its place. Collective tribal properties were broken up into tracts and sold, and tribal society was broken down thus creating landless people to be laborers on the land they once owned. Wages were used for food and little was left for clothing, housing, or tools.[197] The colonized were exploited and left un-

[195] Franz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, Translated by Richard Philcox. (New York: Grove Press, 2004).
[196] Memmi, *Colonizer and the Colonized*, 8-10. A colonizer is described by Memmi as a usurper experiencing a privileged life beyond that of the compatriots of their country of origin.
[197] Sartre, *Colonialism and Neocolonialism.* 30.

derdeveloped with their infrastructures ruptured while the colonizing country reaped the benefits and privileges.

Memmi does state however that "Western colonization did serve as the opportunity for some technical, political, and even cultural advances, as can happen when civilizations come into contact with one another."[198] The WHM team is working on many of the tangible injustices, which the current generations have inherited from the loss of land, tribal instabilities, and lack of development, using Euro-western expertise and funding. Difficulties can emerge as benefactors are white and of European decent and the tangible negative effects of colonization are not being experienced by Euro-westerners, but are being lived out daily by the many Ugandans who are only subsisting. WHM seeks to partner to develop self-sustainability on the rocky terrain of the proverbial unlevel playing field. The white Euro-westerners have privilege, privilege that they hope to use for the betterment of the community, not to oppress. But no matter how benevolent and well-intended the mission team may be, they will constantly have to guard against the perception of paternalistic kindness to the oppressed, or shallow treatment of difference, or charges of neocolonialism. It is my hope that the partnership of WHM to create a progressive school using mainly Euro-western funds and pedagogy, can surmount the identity of white colonial, and through the ground-up curriculum and community involvement find a fusion with the indigenous post-colonial community.

[198] Memmi, *Decolonization and the Decolonized,* 21.

The words of Memmi help us look at the identity of the indigenous post-colonial community:

> The colonized would give birth to the citizen, master of his political, economic, and cultural destiny. After decades of imposed ignorance, his country, now free, would affirm its sovereignty. Opulent or indigent, it would reap the rewards of its labor, of its soil and subsoil. Once its native genius was given free rein, the use of its recovered language would allow native culture to flourish.[199]

Unfortunately, African countries such as Uganda have experienced in their post-colonial years "poverty and corruption, violence, and sometimes chaos."[200] Memmi continues to describe from his perspective that

> [F]or a number of third-world governments, the elimination of poverty was not their major concern; they did not consider it the principle problem facing their people. Yet, from the evidence, poverty leads to and helps prolong ignorance and superstition, stagnant forms of social behavior, the absence of democracy, poor hygiene, sickness, and death.[201]

This is a troubling assertion. But Memmi's critique offers a means to break the power of helplessness for Africans. He does not tolerate claims that are the

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[199] It is with trepidation that I begin this section as a white former colonist. My paternal ancestors were Dutch settlers in South Africa and my mother's ancestors came in the 1820s to South Africa as missionaries from Scotland. I lived in South Africa during the final years of apartheid. While I never cognitively assumed the role of oppressor and colonist, my presence in South Africa and the privilege my whiteness afforded me makes me a colonist. Critical multiculturalists assert that it is not inappropriate for analysis to be done by an individual who does not share the identity of the oppressed, however to avoid claims of racism I want to incorporate the voice of Albert Memmi to help me make my claims and justifications. Memmi, *Decolonization and the Decolonized*, 3.
[200] Ibid., 3.
[201] Ibid., 5.

problems the developing former colony faces are "the fault of history" or the responsibility of the whites.[202] Memmi writes, "[d]olerism is a natural tendency to exaggerate one's pains and attribute them to another" and declares that as long as the decolonized do not liberate themselves of dolorism, they cannot accurately "analyze their condition and act accordingly."[203]

This empowerment that refuses the identity of victim is an exciting possibility for the students of the primary school. The students can feel empowered by the knowledge that colonization was not the cause of all that troubles their community, that famines and corruption had occurred before colonization.[204] This ironically returns to the Africans the knowledge that *they* can impact their community, for good or bad. The identity of non-Africans loses its influence and Africans no longer appear impotent in solving their own problems. As participants in the democratic processes of their EN school, directors of their own educational pace, and collaborators in cooperative learning, these students are daily doing the work of being active contributors in shaping their lives, rather than being passive participants.

Additionally, the moving past dolorism and moving towards empowerment affords the Africans the ability to harness the resources of Euro-westerners that may benefit their community, such as medical, educational, and technical advances. They will regain their history to critique and evaluate for its earlier de-

[202] Ibid., 19.
[203] Ibid., 19.
[204] Ibid., 21.

clines not just the arrested development due to colonization.[205] The democratic, cooperative, and collaborative model of schooling proposed would create a generation ready to think critically and tackle problems themselves. However, as Memmi says, "The actual face of the world's young nations bears the imprint of their colonial past along with their own history."[206] This creates an identity that is not simply a reaction to colonization. It is textured and complex; more complete and more empowered to be master of itself.

Freire's work supports identity that is multifaceted and empowered. People are able to perceive the many different identities we embody and are able to view ourselves as subjects and therefore active protagonists in our own lives. In *Pedagogy of Freedom,* he states that

> One of the most important tasks of critical educational practice is to make possible the conditions in which the learners, in their interaction with one another and with their teachers, engage in the experience of assuming themselves as social, historical, thinking communicating, transformative, creative persons; dreamers of possible utopias…Capable of assuming themselves "subject" because of the capacity to recognize themselves as "object."[207]

The study of self Freire describes comes about in a school that values democracy and that wishes to include the voices of its students, such as the one proposed. As Freire says, "The socio-political solidarity that we need today to build

[205] Ibid., 21.
[206] Ibid., 21.
[207] Freire, *Pedagogy of Freedom*, 45.

a less ugly and less intolerant human community…cannot neglect the importance of democratic practice."[208] Unpacking our identity cannot happen in a school that is authoritarian and elitist, but rather in one that gives its students time to learn and practice becoming a "subject."[209] Then their identities that are in the process of construction can be encouraged by "taking into consideration the conditions in which they are living and the importance of knowledge derived from life experience, which they bring with them to school."[210]

The case has been made for the establishment of a school with progressive pedagogical practices, ground-up curriculum development, and democratic principles, using a model such as *Escuela Nueva*. What remain are the recommendations of what practically needs to occur to fulfill the cultural studies mandate for praxis now that the philosophical argument has been laid out.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The proposed school in Bundibugyo creates a situation to examine the need for theoretical change, from traditional to progressive pedagogy; the need to assess power issues, such as the role of the teacher; the need to assess the issues of social justice and promotion of social justice, such as access to quality schooling, critical reflection on the motivation of the assisting agency (World Harvest Mission), and the issues of identity. This examination has attempted to express the need for a primary school that empowers its students with knowledge,

[208] Ibid., 46.
[209] Ibid., 46.
[210] Ibid., 62.

develops a community of learners, and embraces democratic and progressive pedagogy. I have argued that despite the many complexities in issues of pedagogy, power, and social justice that the ideal is a worthy one for the community.

I believe the potential consequences could be a predication of the tremendous good that can come to the students, community, and WHM through the implementation of a school that nurtures and educates children to be engaged, empowered, and energized to rise above the violence, disease, and poverty they find themselves in. The vision of the collaboration of WHM and the community of Bundibugyo, and the cooperation of the students and teachers as learners, for the mutual aid of the area, is truly exciting. However, every area I have examined presented cautionary matters that will have to be addressed to avoid superficial and non-sustainable reform, various forms of oppression, continuation of social injustices, and colonial-style imposition. Accordingly my recommendations are: (1) develop a school model based on the primary principles of *Escuela Nueva* (EN), and (2) engage in further cultural studies research. The former recommendation concludes my evaluation of the suitability of EN to the Ugandan context.

1. *Development of a School Model Based on the Primary Principles of Escuela Nueva*

Escuela Nueva has been expanded into regions whose educational target was "indigenous people, isolated rural populations, and girls."[211] Its focus was to "improve the efficiency, coverage, and quality of basic education services to rural

[211] Klein, *A Model for Improving Rural Schools: Escuela Nueva in Colombia and Guatemala,* 175.

populations that have traditionally had the least access to basic education services."[212] Bundibugyo has the same objectives and targets. Research shows that the EN model has a higher level of participation in adult education, and agricultural, athletic, health, and community events.[213] This model would thus dove-tail with the other World Harvest Mission (WHM) programs in the area that are present in all the fore mentioned arenas.

However, no EN school has been implemented in Africa. In Colombia and Guatemala *Escuela Nueva* International (ENI) provided: the identification of problems and needs through teachers and administrators; the design of solutions for the running of the schools; and incorporation of teachers in the creation of self-instructional guides for students.[214] Schools also used "active pedagogy, flexible promotion, student government, and community involvement" - all vital provisions for the Bundibugyo primary school.[215] Additionally, many of these schools were funded by non-government religious organization which is another similarity with the proposed Ugandan school. They were also "grassroots" or ground-up initiatives rather that forced reforms, which is the hope for the proposed school.[216]

Nonetheless, there is a major hindrance to the actual likelihood of the EN model of being implemented. EN International is focused at present working with large institutions such as World Bank or national governments on large scale im-

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[212] Fernando Rubio and Ray Chesterfield, *Baseline Study of Teacher Effectiveness*, (Washington D.C.: Academy for Education and Development & Juarez and Associates, Inc, 1995).
[213] Psacharopoulos, *Achievement Evaluation of Colombia's "Escuela Nueva": Is Multigrate the Answer?*, 275.
[214] Klein, *Model for Improving Rural Schools,* 176.
[215] Ibid., 176.
[216] Ibid., 178.

plementations of EN schools.[217] ENI is not starting individual schools at this time. Small scale school set ups avoid the thorn in EN's side: loss of quality due to enormous expansion.[218] But, without the model schools, with limited staff for training sessions, and difficulties in overseeing the schools, ENI is unable to support new small scale start ups.[219] As Klein concludes, "the Escuela Nueva…reforms can serve as an inspiration and model for how policy makers and teachers can better educate their marginalized communities through innovation, cooperation, and a deep understanding of the context."[220]

It would be my hope that WHM would embrace the theory and practice of EN and use it to create their own unique school curriculum, using the elements of EN described that have such potential to help students and communities. WHM would have to recruit educators and theorists to develop this curriculum, develop school practices, and train teachers. The community will have to be surveyed and engaged thoroughly and thoughtfully. WHM would have to determine who will get to attend the pilot school, where it should be located, and will need to develop a budget for training and running the school. Funds would need to be raised. A building would need to be procured or built. Local, qualified teachers would need to be recruited. Training would need to occur, curriculum developed incorporating the national standards, and evaluation strategies would have to be delineated for the school, teachers, and students. Materials, such as learner and

[217] Telephone interview, Erin Krampetz, Global Program Director, *Escuela Nueva* International.
[218] Psacharopoulos, *Achievement Evaluation of Colombia's "Escuela Nueva": Is Multigrate the Answer?*, 276.
[219] Ibid., 276.
[220] Klein, *Model for Improving Rural Schools,* 178.

teacher guides will have to be made. Libraries will have to be stocked. During the entire process the team will have to continue to remain vigilant to issues of pedagogy, power, social justice, and identity. Clearly this is cultural studies praxis in action, flavored by the field's "influential discourse in progressive education."[221] The theoretical will drive the practical "addressing of education issues" and impact practice.[222] This is my offering of "intellectual popularism" – connecting academia to the "everyday concerns that matter most to people [of Bundibugyo] regarding their relationships, their work, their education, and their futures."[223]

2. Engagement in Cultural Studies Research

This text is what I hope to be a first stage in a cultural studies research process. I desire to continue beyond theoretical work and textual analysis.[224] In the reflexivity of the process I have discovered that to do the on-going research on this topic I will have to expand my field of studies beyond the auspices of philosophy of education. I will need to add to my methods the study and practice of ethnography/qualitative research found in the areas of anthropology and sociology respectively. I would like to pursue an in-depth study of mission education during the colonial and post-colonial periods of sub-Saharan Africa from a historical perspective. Additionally I may need to draw on the fields of curriculum

[221] Wright and Maton, *Cultural Studies and Education*, 80.
[222] Ibid., 78.
[223] Casella, *What Are We Doing When We Are "Doing" Cultural Studies in Education – and Why*?, 107.
[224] Ann Gray, *Research Practice for Cultural Studies: Ethnographic Methods and Lived Cultures*, (Thousand Oaks,CA: SAGE Publications, 2003), 3-35.

development, international education, and comparative education to round out my research.

Once I have gained more expertise in qualitative research practices I will face the huge obstacle of my research being located in a distant location.[225] I will have to find creative ways to gather data, especially as I would like to use testimony, life-story, and memory in my research.[226] If I do get to do field research in Bundibugyo, I will then have to attend to the task of adequately articulating and analyzing my experiences.[227] Additionally, I will have to address issues of identity, culture, and context as a research. I will also have to speak to the situatedness of my subjects.

This initial philosophical visioning has created a dream of a school which I hope one day to see come to fruition. In the words of Lucy Mitchell

> [E]ducation is the most constructive attack on social problems, for it deals with children and the future. It requires endless research concerning children and what they need to make them grow wholesomely. It requires experimentation in curriculum for children and in teacher education. It requires an understanding of our culture. It is the synthesis of all my interests, all my hopes for humanity.[228]

[225] Ibid., 6.
[226] Ibid., 8.
[227] Ibid., 31.
[228] Lucy Sprague Mitchell, *Two Lives: The Story of Wesley Clair Mitchell and Myself*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953), 210.

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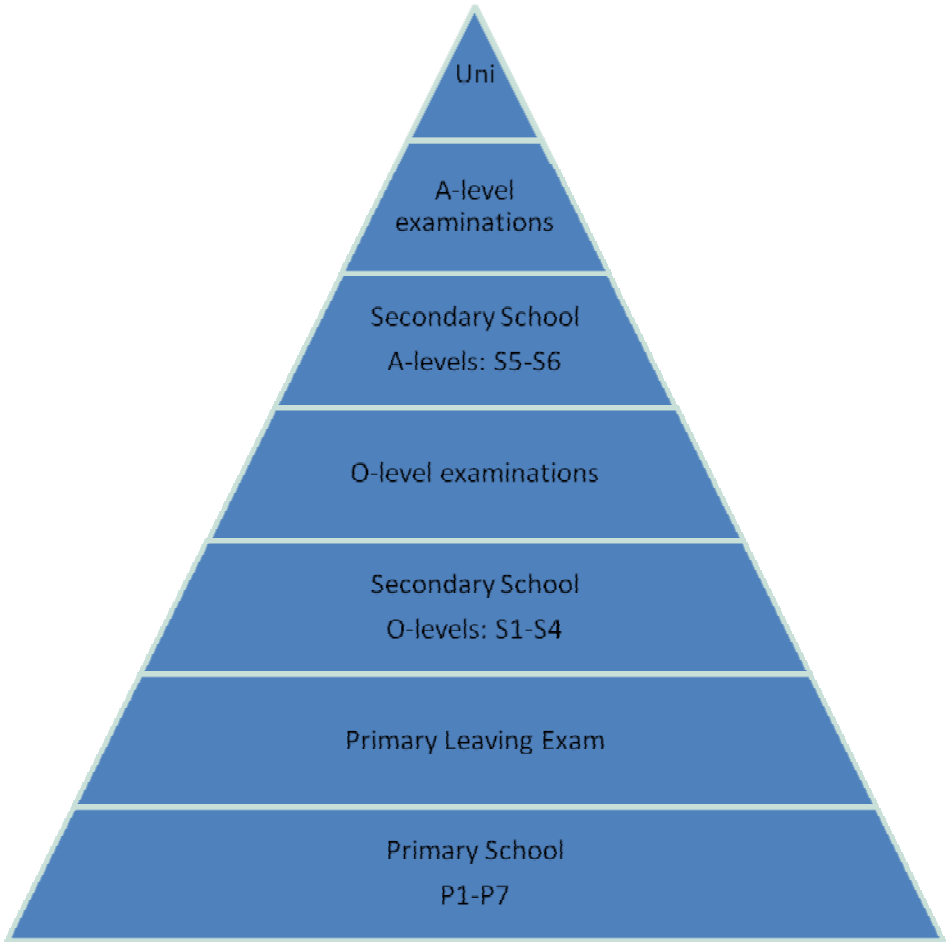
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 0-1: PROGRESSION FROM PRIMARY SCHOOL TO UNIVERSITY IN UGANDAN EDUCATION SYSTEM



APPENDIX 0-2: ESCUELA NUEVA TERMINOLOGY

Escuela Nueva (EN) - “New School” pedagogical methodology

Escuela Nueva Foundation (ENF) – a non profit, non governmental organization founded in 1987

Escuela Nueva Activa™ – “Active *Escuela Nueva*” name of ENF adaptation of EN to urban regions

Circulos de Aprendizaje – Escuela Nueva Activa™ – “Active New School Learning Circles” – adaptation of EN to serve displaced migrant populations in 2001

Escuela Nueva International (ENI) – organization founded and registered as a 501c3 in San Francisco, CA to support and enhance existing activities of EN, focusing on fundraising, marketing, and research

APPENDIX 0-3: HISTORY AND FUNCTION OF WORLD HARVEST MISSION

The need of struggling developing countries has led to the involvement of many humanitarian and religious organizations in education in the region. One of which is the American-based missions organization World Harvest Mission (WHM). WHM has concentrated its effort in the last decade in one of the poorest regions of Uganda, Bundibugyo. Rebel warfare and geographical isolation has retarded the development of the area.

World Harvest Mission was begun in the 1970s as an extension of New Life Presbyterian Church, under the leadership of Dr. Jack Miller. As the work extended beyond the scope of the single church, other church leaders joined the effort and WHM was officially established in 1983. WHM currently has over 140 missionaries serving on five continents as a nondenominational foreign missions agency.[229]

> In their mission statement they list "Healing" as one of their goals:
>
> We believe seeking the healing of physical, emotional, and social brokenness is an inextricable part of proclaiming the Kingdom of Jesus Christ. When Jesus sent out his disciples, he sent them to teach, preach, and heal (Matthew 4:23–25). Early church leaders were instructed to pray for healing for the sick and broken (James 5:14-16). We believe healing–treating injury and disease, providing drinkable water, and seeking to influence social and economic structures–is itself an active expression of

[229] World Harvest Missions, "A Brief History of WHM," www.whm.org, Accessed January 15, 2008.

> the far-reaching effects of the gospel of the Kingdom, and not just a means to the end of converting the soul.[230]

This desire to "heal" has manifested itself in a myriad of projects in Uganda, including assisting the people of Bundibugyo with medical help and education about the spread of the disease during the recent Ebola outbreak in the area. The disease usually has a fatality rate of 93 percent, but only 37 of 149 reported cases resulted in death and the disease was remarkably contained. This is a testament to the care of the WHM medical team and the other agencies that assisted during the emergency. WHM's Africa Response Fund was created in reaction to the outbreak in January. The funds are used to help those affected by the crisis, especially the family of a local doctor associated with WHM, Dr. Jonah Kule, who contracted the disease and died while attending to Ebola sufferers.[231]

WHM has assisted the community of Bundibugyo in establishing a clean water supply for drinking and food preparation. Over the years, World Harvest Missionaries have been providing nutritional assistance to the community in various ways. During wartime there were food distributions. After war, seeds and hoes were distributed. In the past few years, WHM has sponsored the BundiNutrition Program. The program distributes dairy goats. In April of 2007 over 60 goats were distributed to provide a daily supply of milk for needy families. The Chicken Project provides nursing mothers and young children with vital protein. In August and September of 2007 over 1000 eggs were given to malnourished

[230] World Harvest Missions, "Mission: Healing," www.whm.org, Accessed January 15, 2008.

[231] World Harvest Missions, "Projects," www.whm.org, Accessed February 6, 2008.

children in the area. The Seed Distribution Program distributed soybean and groundnut seed to over 115 local farmers in another attempt to introduce protein rich food sources into the diets of malnourished local people. The nutritionists also engage in recipe trials to find new ways to introduce vital nutrients into the diet of local families. WHM Agriculture Extension Officers have developed a hand-powered nut grinder to make the nutrient-dense soybean and groundnut powder. The BundiNutrition program additionally does nutrition education for local families.

World Harvest Mission also sponsors Christ School Bundibugyo.

VITA

Yvette Prinsloo Franklin was born in Los Angeles, California on October 14, 1974 to Ade Prinsloo and Anne Krummeck, natives of South Africa. Returning back to South Africa shortly after her birth, Yvette was raised and educated in Cape Town. She matriculated from Wynberg Girls High School in 1992 and proceeded to get her teaching qualification from Cape Town Teachers' Training College. After extensive traveling, she went to Maryville College, Tennessee on academic scholarship and graduated Cum Laude with a Bachelor of Arts in Elementary Education in 1998.

Yvette has received her master's in Cultural Studies in Education from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN.